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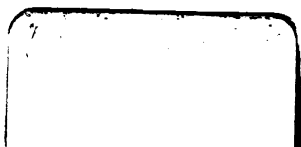
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HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM

THE PEACE OF UTRECHT

TO

THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

Stanhope
BY LORD MAHON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

THIRD EDITION, REVISED.

VOL. II.



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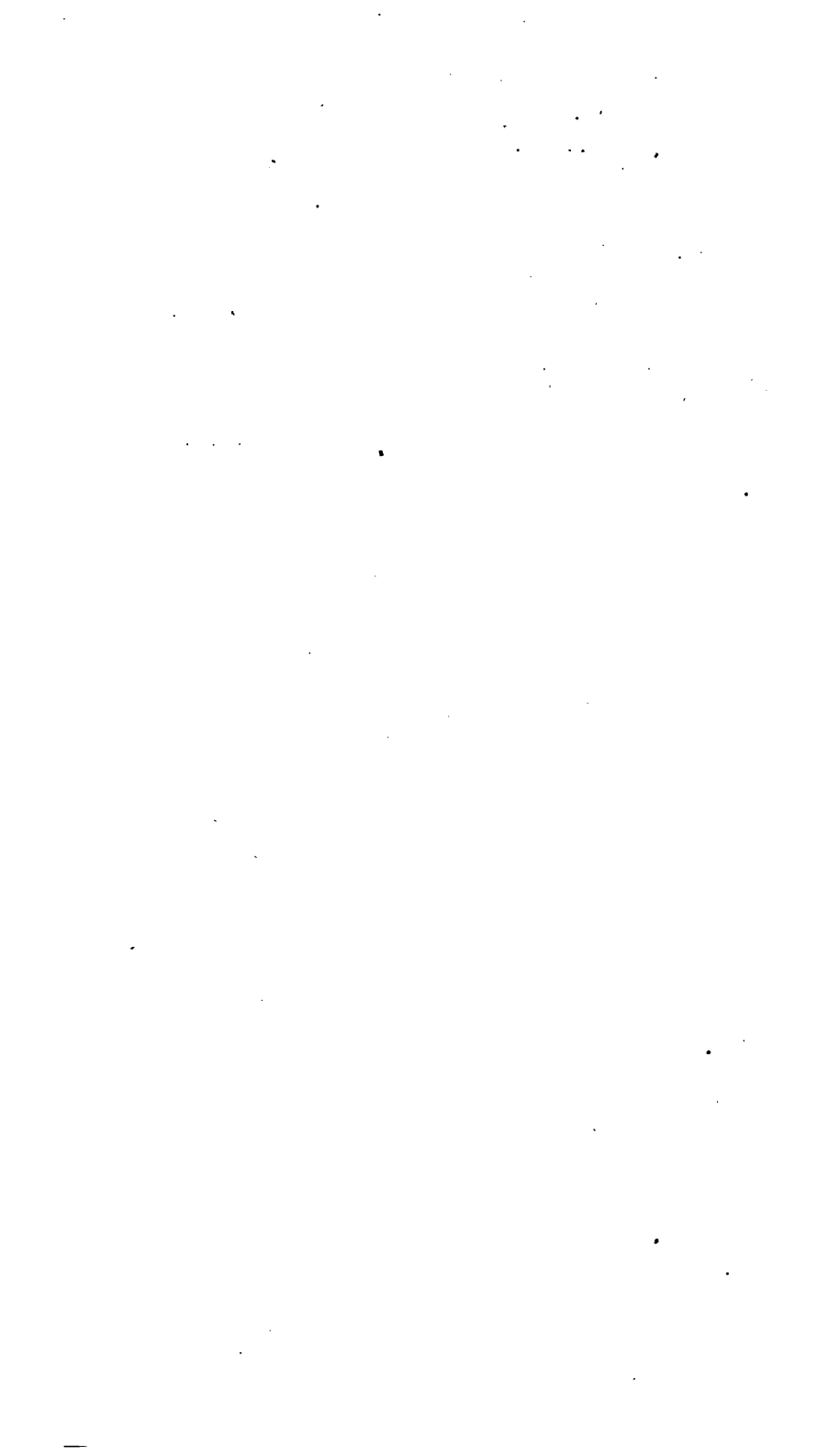
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THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM

THE PEACE OF UTRECHT.

CHAPTER XIX.

METHODISM.

A history of England in the times of George the Second would be strangely incomplete were it to leave untouched that religious revolution which, despised at its commencement, but powerful in its effects, is known by the name of Methodism. With less immediate importance than wars or political changes, it endures long after not only the result but the memory of these has passed away, and thousands who had never heard of Fontenoy or Walpole continue to follow the precepts and venerate the name of John Wesley (1).

This remarkable man was born in 1703 at Epworth, in Lincolnshire. His father was rector of that parish, a divine of great piety and learning, but of passionate and violent temper. On one occasion, finding that Mrs. Wesley was not so firmly persuaded as himself of the right of King William, and thinking, no doubt, that a just view of the Royal succession is indispensable to the duties of a wife, he made a vow that he would never cohabit with her till she changed her opinion, and immediately left the house; nor did she ever hear from him again, before the death of the King, which fortunately happened a twelvemonth afterwards. John was their

(1) My authorities in this chapter are mainly Wesley's Works, 16 vols. ed. 1809, especially his Journals in the six first volumes; Whitefield's Journals, part. I. and II. ed. 1788; Mr. W. Myles's Chronology of Methodism, ed. 1813, and his Life of the Rev. W. Grimshaw, ed. 1806; and the MI

notes of the Methodist Conferences from 1744 till Wesley's death. From these I can venture to bear my testimony to the accuracy of Mr. Southey's eloquent narrative, and I have derived great advantage from it; but I have also consulted the observations of his critic, Mr. Richard Watson.

first child after their reunion ; but they had also several others, and the exertions of John in after life were most ably and faithfully seconded by his brother Charles.

From an early age, John Wesley plunged into religious studies with an unwearied diligence, with a piercing intellect, with an ardent, but sometimes ascetic, piety. He was educated at Oxford, ordained by Bishop Potter, and afterwards appointed curate to his father. During this time Charles Wesley had also gone to Oxford and likewise adopted an enthusiastic and austere view of religious duty, which while it alienated the greater number, closely attached to him a few kindred spirits. Among these was Harvey, afterwards author of the well-known *Meditations*, and Whitefield, at first a waiter in a country inn. These zealous young men used to meet together for spiritual improvement, but shunned all other intercourse ; and they received various nicknames in derision, such as Sacramentarians, from their taking the Eucharist weekly ; Bible Moths, from their constant reading of the Scriptures ; and finally, from their living by rule and method, Methodists ; a by-word which they themselves afterwards adopted. When John Wesley returned to Oxford, they all readily followed his guidance ; but in spite of their peculiarities, no idea of separation from the Church was entertained, and several of this little society soon left it to go forth into the world.

The two Wesleys, full of zeal for the conversion of the heathen, embarked for the new settlement of Georgia. But the dissolute habits of the Colonists were a strong bar to the propagation of the pure faith which they professed. When the Missionaries pressed Tomo-Chichi, an Indian chief, to become a Christian, the poor savage exclaimed :—" Why these are Christians at Savannah ! Christian much drunk ! Christian beat men ! Christian tell lies ! " —It is very strange, however, that Wesley never appears to have taken any step to acquire the language of these Indians ; a neglect which, in a man who never spared himself, cannot possibly be imputed to any want of ardour or activity, but which may perhaps be explained by some unfavourable omen ; for we find that, when doubtful on any resolution, he used to try drawing lots, and call the result " the answer of God ; " a superstition precisely similar to those of sortilege and ordeal in the darkest ages. In the spirit of those ages also were his monkish austerities ; at one time he entirely left off meat and wine ; he attempted to sustain life by bread only ; he thought it meritorious to sleep on the floor rather than in a bed (1). Yet let me observe, that these errors cannot fairly be imputed to Wesley's own maturer years, or, still less, to the great body of his followers at that time.

In 1738, Wesley returned to England after an absence of above

(1) Wesley's *Journal*, October 20. 1738, January, 30. 1736, etc.

two years. Meanwhile, the little society he had left at Oxford had continued to grow and thrive. It had even struck root in London, and an association, formed on its principles, used to meet in Fetter Lane. Whitefield, having been ordained by Bishop Benson, soon attracted much notice by the eloquence, the enthusiasm, and the indiscretion of his sermons; and the same path was followed by Wesley with equal zeal and superior abilities. The first instance of field-preaching was by Whitefield to the colliers at Kingswood, near Bristol. These poor men had been left without any place or means of religious worship, so that to address them from the summit of a green knoll instead of a pulpit was scarcely a matter of choice. Well might the preacher's heart exult when he found, in a few weeks, twenty thousand people gathered round him from their coal-pits(1), and saw, as he says, the white gutters made by the tears which plentifully fell down their black cheeks! Negligent indeed must have been the reapers, where there was left so much to glean!

The practice thus begun from the want of a Church was soon continued from a different necessity; when the extravagancies of the new preachers caused most of the regular pulpits to be closed against them. "I could scarce," says Wesley, "reconcile myself at first to this strange way. (2)" He still earnestly wished to adhere to the Church; in fact, both he and his brother Charles had at this time so much horror of schism as to form a project (most properly checked by the Bishops) for the rebaptizing of Dissenters! But the fever of fanaticism was now upon him, and transported him to many things of which his calmer reason disapproved. Like all enthusiasts, he began to consider the most ordinary and trifling occurrences as miraculous manifestations of a special providence. Thus, for example, on one of his journeys, dining at Birmingham, he omitted, as was his wont, to instruct the servants who had attended him, and a violent hail-storm having ensued when he left the town, he believed it a divine reproof for his neglect (3)! When, on the contrary, a shower passes by him, Wesley repeatedly interprets it as a special Providence in his behalf. Any thing seemed to him more probable than that the elements should roll on their appointed course for the regulation of seasons, and the sustenance of millions! Any thing seemed more probable than that there should not be a miracle!

At this period, also, Wesley lent his ear to certain convulsions and ravings that began to seize some of his hearers, especially the female portion of them. They used to fall prostrate to the ground, to gnash their teeth, to rave and struggle, and in some cases to declare themselves possessed by evil spirits; and Wesley believed it! Many instances of this kind are recorded in his Journals. On another occasion, whilst he was preaching, great laughter prevailed

(1) Whitefield's Journal, March 28. 1739.

(2) Journal, March 29. 1739. But on the 1st of next April he observes, that "our Lord's Sermon

"on the Mount is a pretty remarkable precedent

"of field-preaching."

(3) Wesley's Journal, March 16. 1738.

amongst the congregation. This he thought clearly supernatural. "Most of our brethren and sisters were convinced, that those who were under this strange temptation could not help it. Only Edith B. and Anne H. were of another mind, being still sure any one might help laughing if she would. This they declared to many on Thursday, but on Friday God suffered Satan to teach them better. Both of them were suddenly seized in the same manner as the rest, and laughed whether they would or not, almost without ceasing. Thus they continued for two days, a spectacle to all, and were then, upon prayer made for them, delivered in a moment (1)."

Charles Wesley, however, was less credulous; and sometimes detected an imposition, where his brother could only see a miracle. Once, when he was preaching at Kingswood, he saw a woman distorting herself, and calling out as if in agony; he quietly told her that he did not think the better of her for it, and she immediately became quite calm. Another woman, at Bristol, when he questioned her in private, respecting her frequent fits, at length owned that they were for the purpose of making Mr. Wesley take notice of her. In many other cases, the convulsions were no doubt real and unfeigned; the effect of austere fasting or of ignorant fanaticism; of an empty stomach, or an empty brain.

Moreover, almost from its birth, the new society was rent asunder by a violent schism. It had hitherto acted in communion with the Moravians, a sect recently founded in Germany, but whose English followers had engrafted fresh singularities on the parent stock. From an extremity of religious zeal, these Moravians had come round to the same point as those who lack it altogether. They made a jest of religious observances, such as going to church or to the sacrament; for they argued, he who has not faith ought not to use these things, and he who has faith does not want them. One Moravian even went so far as to say, while discoursing in public, that as many go to hell by praying as by thieving (2). Wesley naturally protested against these fanatics; they were also condemned by the chief of the sect in Germany, and the union between the Methodists and the better Moravians might perhaps still have been preserved. But Wesley, according to his usual system of drawing lots, under the idea of consulting Providence, had fallen upon the text, "What is that to thee? Follow thou me;" and from that moment thought himself bound to oppose all reconciliation.

A still more important breach for the Methodists next arose, when their own house became divided against itself. Whitefield, a man younger in years, and inferior both in learning and talents to Wesley, had hitherto treated him with almost the deference of a pupil, and in their correspondence at this time calls himself "a

(1) Wesley's Journal, June 21. 1740.

(2) See Wesley's Works, vol. II. p. 100. ed. 1809.

“child, who is willing to wash your feet.” They differed, however, on the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. “What is there in reprobation so horrid?” asks Whitefield. “How,” exclaims Wesley, “the elect shall be saved, do what they will! “The rest shall be damned, do what they can!” An ample discussion on this mysterious subject failed to reconcile them; but seeing the evil of fresh divisions, and anxious to afford no triumph to their common adversaries, they wished to refrain from preaching upon it, or assailing each other in public. But enthusiasts, who would brave any other suffering can never long endure the agony of moderation. Wesley soon again cast a lot for his guidance: his lot, which seems generally to have followed his preceding inclination, was, this time, “Preach and Print;” and he accordingly not only preached, but printed a sermon against the doctrine of election. Whitefield, on his part, took fire at this aggression, and the more so as his expressions at this time show the growing ascendancy over him of spiritual pride. “I have a garden near at hand, where I go particularly to meet and talk with my God at the cool of every day. . . . Our dear Lord sweetly fills me with his presence. My Heaven is begun indeed. I feast on the fatted calf. The Lord strengthens me mightily in the inner man.”—A man who could write and feel thus, was not likely to brook any opposition to any internal impulse: he wrote an acrimonious letter against Wesley, which his indiscreet friends sent to the press in London. Well might Wesley complain of the intemperate style and surreptitious publication; well might he tear a copy to pieces before his congregation, saying, that he believed he did just what Mr. Whitefield would, were he there himself!

The superstitions and excesses of the first Methodists cannot be concealed, with due regard to truth. But it is no less due to truth to acknowledge their high and eminent qualities. If to sacrifice every advantage, and to suffer every hardship—if to labour for the good, real or supposed, of their fellow-creatures with all their heart, with all their strength—if the most fervent devotion—if the most unconquerable energy, be deserving of respect, let us not speak slightly of those spiritual leaders, who, mighty even in their errors, and honest even in their contradictions, have stamped their character on their own and on the present times. It is proper to record, it is easy to deride their frailties; but let us, ere we condemn them, seriously ask ourselves whether we should be equally ready to do and bear every thing in the cause of conscience,—whether, like them, we could fling away all thought of personal ease and personal advantage. It has often been said, that there is no virtue without sacrifices; but, surely, it is equally true, that there are no sacrifices without virtue. Generous actions often spring from error; but still we must prefer such error to a selfish and lazy wisdom, and, though neither Jacobites nor Metho-

dists, we may admire the enthusiasm of a Lochiel in politics, and of a Wesley in religion.

The breach with the Moravians, and with the party of Whitefield, left Wesley sole and undisputed chief of the remaining brotherhood, and the gap thus made was far more than repaired by the growing multitude of converts. Methodism began to rear its head throughout the land, and the current of events soon carried Wesley far beyond the bounds which he himself had formerly drawn. Thus, he had condemned field-preaching until he felt the want of pulpits; thus, also, he had condemned lay-preaching, until it appeared that very few clergymen were disposed to become his followers. Slowly, and reluctantly, did he agree that laymen should go round and preach, though not to minister. These were, for the most part, untaught and fiery men, drawn from the loom or the plough by the impulse of an ardent zeal; but not unfrequently of strong intellect, and always of unwearied exertion. Their inferiority to Wesley in birth and education made them only the more willing instruments in his hands; their enthusiasm, it was hoped, would supply every deficiency; and it was found easier, instead of acquiring learning, to condemn it as dross. Their sermons, accordingly, had more of heat than of light, and they not unfrequently ran into extremes, which Wesley himself cannot have approved, and of which it would be easy, but needless, to multiply extraordinary instances. Their rules were very strict; they were required to undergo every hardship, and to abstain from every innocent indulgence, as, for example, from snuff (1). But their organization was admirable. Directed by Wesley, as from a common centre, they were constantly transferred from station to station, thus affording to the people the excitement of novelty, and to the Preacher the necessity of labour. The Conference, which assembled once every year, and consisted of preachers selected by Wesley, was his Central Board or administrative Council, and gave weight and authority to his decisions. Every where the Methodists were divided into classes, a leader being appointed to every class, and a meeting held weekly, when admonitions were made, money contributed, and proceedings reported. There were also, in every quarter, to be Love Feasts,—an ancient institution, intended to knit still closer the bands of Christian brotherhood. Whenever a member became guilty of any gross offence, he was excluded from the Society, so as to remove the Methodists as much as possible from the contagion of bad example, and enable them to boast that their little flock was without a single black sheep. It would be difficult even in the Monastic orders to display a more regular and well-adapted system. Like those Monastic orders the Methodists might still have remained in communion with the

(1) "Let no preacher touch snuff on any account. Show the societies the evil of it." Minutes of Conference. Aug. 1765.

Church of their country ; but in later life Wesley went several steps further, and took it upon him to ordain Ministers, and even Bishops, for his brethren in America.

Yet with all this, Wesley never relinquished, in words at least, his attachment and adherence to the Church of England. On this point, his language was equally strong from first to last. We find, in 1739 : " A serious clergyman desired to know in what points we differed from the Church of England. I answered, to the best of my knowledge, in none (1)." In 1766, he says : " We are not Dissenters from the Church, and will do nothing willingly which tends to a separation from it. . . . Our service is not such as supersedes the Church-service : we never designed it should (2)." And in December, 1789, only a few months before his death : " I never had any design of separating from the Church : I have no such design now. . . . I declare, once more, that I live and die a member of the Church of England, and that none who regard my judgment or advice will ever separate from it (3)."—But, as we have seen, the conduct of Wesley did not always keep pace with these intentions, and his followers have departed from them far more widely. Several, who joined the Methodists from other sects, brought with them an unfriendly feeling to the Church ; several others, who would have shrunk with horror from any thing called Schism, were less shocked at the words Dissent or Separate Connexion ; for of course when the name is changed, the thing is no longer the same!—Yet even in the present times an eminent Methodist observes, that, although the relation to the Church has greatly altered since the days of Wesley, dissent has never been formally professed by his persuasion, and that " it forms a middle body between the Establishment and the Dissenters (4)."

None of Wesley's tenets were, as he believed, at variance with the Church of England. His favourite doctrines were what he termed the New Birth, Perfection, and Assurance. It is not my intention to entangle myself or my readers in the mazes of controversy ; and I shall therefore only observe, that Wesley at his outset pushed these doctrines to a perilous extreme ; but that, when his fever of enthusiasm had subsided to a healthy vital heat, he greatly modified and softened his first ideas. He still clung, however, to the same words, but gave them a narrower meaning ; so that once, when defending his views on Perfection to Bishop Gibson, the Prelate answered : " Why, Mr. Wesley, if this is what you mean by Perfection, who can be against it ?"—But unhappily the multitude is incapable of such nice distinctions, and apt to take words in their simple and common meaning. These doctrines, in

(1) Journal, September 13. 1739.

(2) Minutes of Methodist Conferences, August 1766.

(3) See Wesley's Works, vol. xv. p. 238.

(4) Mr. Watson's Observations on Southey's Life, p. 139. and 139. ed. 1821.

a wider sense, soon became popular, for they gratified spiritual pride, which is too often the besetting sin of those who have no other.

The object of Wesley was, as he avowed it, not to secede from the Church of England, not to innovate upon its doctrines, but to infuse new life and vigour into its members. It becomes, therefore, an important question, how far, at this period, the clergy may be justly charged with neglect, or the people with indifference. And if we consult writers the most various in their views and feelings and opinions on most other points, we shall find them agree in lamenting the state of religion in that age. Bishop Burnet, in the conclusion of his *History*, in 1713, entirely acquits the Clergy of any scandalous faults; but complains that their lives, though decorous, were not exemplary. "I must own," he says, "that the main body of our Clergy has always appeared dead and lifeless to me, and instead of animating one another, they seem rather to lay one another to sleep. . . . I say it with great regret, I have observed the Clergy in all the places through which I have travelled—Papists, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Dissenters; but of them all, our Clergy is much the most remiss in their labours in private, and the least severe in their lives." These are the words of a Whig; the testimony of a Tory Prelate is equally strong. In 1711, Atterbury drew up a representation of the State of Religion, which was presented by the Convocation to the Queen. This Memorial complains of "the manifest growth of immorality and profaneness,"—"the relaxation and decay of the discipline of the Church;" and observes, that "a due regard to religious persons, places, and things, hath scarce in any age been more wanting (1)." My third witness shall be the eminent Dissenting Minister, Dr. Calamy, who, while endeavouring to prove that his sect had not decreased in numbers in 1730, admits, "But at the same time, a real decay of serious religion, both in the Church and out of it, was very visible (2)." The Church, beyond all doubt, still comprised very many ministers of powerful talents and eminent piety; but these stars in the firmament, though bright themselves, were not sufficient to dispel the surrounding darkness.

This decline in an establishment which has shown so much efficiency and excellence, both before and since, may, in a great measure, be traced to the political divisions of that period. At the Revolution it appeared that many, who had most bravely withstood despotic power, were no less steady assertors of hereditary right. They would not allow the King to take more than his prerogative; they would not allow themselves to give less. They admitted that the tyranny of James had forfeited the throne; but

(1) See Atterbury's *Correspondence*, vol. II. p. . (2) Calamy's *Life and Times*, vol. II. p. 531. 327—349. ed. 1783.

they maintained that, in such a case, as in the event of his natural demise, the next heir should be immediately acknowledged. The courtiers, indeed, had no such scruples, and those who had heaped incense before the Tyrant, were quite ready to bow the knee before the Deliverer. The sturdiest partisans of James appeared amongst his former victims. Of the seven Bishops whom he had persecuted and imprisoned, five refused to take the oath of allegiance to William; their example was followed by not a few of the inferior clergy; and though the greater number were willing to approve of, or to asquiesce in, the ruling government, yet their concurrence was cold and formal; and it was evident that they considered the accession of William not so much a positive good, as the least of two evils. The abolition of episcopacy in Scotland, however needful, did not tend to allay their apprehensions; and the untimely death of the young Duke of Gloucester dashed their hopes that the seed of the "Royal Martyr" would still inherit the land. They disliked the prospect of a German successor: they were not pleased with that successor when he came, and they complained that the Tory party was so wholly shut out from his counsels; an exclusion of which they saw the disadvantages, but could not so well appreciate the necessity. Thus, then, in the whole period since 1688, except the four last years of Queen Anne, a large proportion of the clergy were in a state of dissatisfaction, and opposition to the Ministers, if not to the Sovereign.

From this unnatural alienation between the Church and State, there soon followed another between the higher and lower clergy. The new Government, as might be supposed, selected its Bishops from its small minority of partisans, rather than from the unfriendly majority; and thus it happened that most of the clergy came to be on one side, and most of the Bishops on the other. Many of the new prelates were, like Tillotson, an honour to their country and to their calling; but the evil I have mentioned was inherent in the system, and did not depend upon the men. The body ecclesiastical became unnerved and disjointed; the head ceased to direct the limbs, and the limbs to obey the head. While the Convocation sat, there were most violent wranglings between the two Houses; after its cessation there was more silence, but not greater satisfaction. The result was a total decay of discipline; for where there is no confidence and cordiality, discipline can only be enforced by harsh measures, and these were repugnant to the gentle spirit of the Bishops. They therefore allowed their authority to sleep, except in the rare cases of any gross irregularity; they had seldom any labour of love, and their fatherly guidance was no more.

In like manner, and from the same causes, the Universities clashed with the heads of the Church and of the Government. In Oxford, especially, the High Church principles were dominant, and

most of the resident members were Jacobites almost without disguise. Considering how severely that University had smarted under the tyranny of the last Stuart, its Jacobitism surely deserves high respect, as a most disinterested and sincere, though most mistaken, principle of loyalty. Cambridge, partly perhaps from rivalry to Oxford, was more friendly to the House of Hanover; but even there the High Churchmen formed, to say the least of it, a very powerful minority. On the whole, these seats of learning were considered decidedly hostile by the Government; and we find that in 1716 Archbishop Wake was preparing a Bill to assert the supremacy of the Crown, and regulate the two Universities (1). In such unprofitable dissensions were those energies consumed which might else have wrought out such great deeds for the service of religion.

Another cause of neglect in the Clergy, was want of rivalry and emulation. No other sect was then in active competition with them. The Roman Catholics had been struck down by the victorious arms of William, and bound fast by the penal laws of Anne. The Protestant Nonconformists had greatly fallen off, both in numbers and energy (2). Under such circumstances a general coldness and deadness ensued even from apparent triumph; and the Church Militant, with no visible enemy before it, broke its ranks and laid aside its arms.

In many places, again, the population had outgrown the size of the Establishment. Where provision had been made for the religious care of only some small hamlet, a numerous race of manufacturers or miners had frequently sprung up. Many villages were swelling into towns, many towns into cities. It is a matter deeply affecting the former character of the Church, as well as its present interests, that provision was not made at an earlier period for these increasing wants. If we except Queen Anne's bounty, little care seems to have been taken for the enlargement of small livings, the diminution of pluralities, and the building of new churches (3). The fields were ripe for the harvest, but it was left for the Methodists to gather.

A Church Establishment cannot have a worse enemy than its own want of vigour, and is never really secure but when it is really useful. Twenty years before that great awakening of the human mind which we term the Reformation, when the Church of Rome sat supremely enthroned over the whole Christian world, and every heresy had been quenched in flame—even then its abuses

(1) Lord Townshend to Secretary Stanhope, November 2. 1716.

(2) Several tracts were published, especially in 1730, accounting for this decrease in various ways, but all admitting the fact. See Calamy's *Life and Times*, vol. II. p. 529. One of the tracts was entitled, "Free Thoughts on the most probable Means of reviving the Dissenting Interest."

(3) The sum paid during the whole reign of George the Second (thirty-three years) for building churches, including the repairs of Westminster Abbey and of St. Margaret's and St. John's, Westminster, amounted only to 152,240*l*. (Sinclair's *History of the Revenue*, part III. p. 61.)

and intolerance were preparing their own correction, and the keen eye of Comines could discern the coming and desired dawn (1). Thus, also, in the reign of George the First, the reflecting few could perceive that the Church of England, though pure as ever in doctrine, was impaired in energy, and must have either help or opposition to stir it. That impulse was in a great measure given by the Methodists. The clergy caught their spirit, but refined it from their alloy of enthusiasm. The discipline of the Church was gradually revived, and its deficiencies supplied. Every year the Establishment rose higher in efficiency and usefulness; and it has checked and arrested the progress of the Methodists, not so much by their faults, as by its merits. At no period had it lost its hold upon the great body of the people; but it now struck still deeper roots into their hearts,—roots of which the unconquerable strength will be found, if ever an attempt be made to pluck it out. Looking to all its branches,—to the noble army of missionaries toiling on a foreign shore for its extension—to the controversialists arrayed at home for its defence—to what is, perhaps, of all things the most difficult, great accomplishments contentedly confined to an humble sphere, and satisfied with obscure parochial duties,—how much at the present time shall we find scope to praise and to admire! We may question now whether in virtue, in piety, in usefulness, any Church of modern times could equal ours. Nor let any false shame hinder us from owning that, though other causes also were at work, it is to the Methodists that great part of the merit is due. Whilst, therefore, we trace their early enthusiasm and perverted views, and the mischief which these have undoubtedly caused, as well as the evils of the present separation, let us never forget or deny the great countervailing advantage.

Nowhere had the Church been so fatally inactive as in Ireland. When Wesley first visited that country, in 1747, he observes, “at least 99 in 100 of the native Irish remain in the religion of their forefathers. The Protestants, whether in Dublin or elsewhere, are almost all transplanted lately from England (2).” The unsettled and lawless state of Ireland, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, may be admitted as a valid excuse for not advancing the work of the Reformation. But after the battle of the Boyne, it ought surely to have been one of the first objects of the Church and of the Government, to afford to the Irish people the means of education, and the choice of the Protestant religion. There was no want of a favourable opening. The Roman Catholic priests, humbled by recent defeats, could not at that period have ventured to withstand the reading of the Scriptures, or the exhortations of the Clergy. Had the Irish peasantry been addressed in

(1) Comines, *Mém. lib. vii. ch. 18.*

(2) *Journal*, August 18. 1747. In another part of his Works (vol. xv. p. 209.), he says, “In many

parts of Ireland there are still ten, nay fifteen,

perhaps upwards of twenty Papists to one Protestant.”

the Irish language—had the activity of the Establishment been equal to its power—those who believe the Protestant religion to be the truth, can scarcely doubt that here, as elsewhere, the truth would have triumphantly prevailed. But unhappily no such measures were taken. It was found more easy to proscribe than to instruct. In 1735 the excellent Bishop Berkeley complains of the “want of decent churches” in towns, and in the country of “able missionaries, persons conversant in low life, and speaking the Irish tongue..... Is there any instance,” he asks, “of a people’s being converted in a Christian sense, otherwise than by preaching to them and instructing them in their own language (1)?” Instead of such means, it was attempted to make Protestants by Acts of Parliament. Then came the penal laws, which so long defiled the Statute Book, to the disgrace of one party, as much as to the oppression of the other; and mitigated only by their own extreme violence, which often left them a dead letter! Meanwhile the favourable opportunity passed away; and, before a better spirit came, the Roman Catholic priests had recovered from their depression, and the peasantry been stung into a sense of resentment. Wesley himself made little progress in Ireland. The people, indeed, he describes as most ready to hear: “they are,” he says, “in general of a more teachable spirit than in most parts of England;” and again, “their hearts seem to be as melting wax (2).” But the priests, finding that he was not only unsupported, but opposed by the ruling powers, took courage and exerted their authority to prevent his being heard. At Athlone, he tells us, May 7. 1749: “Abundance of Papists flocked to hear, so that the priest, seeing his command did not avail, came in person and drove them away before him like a flock of sheep.” The same thing occurred in other places. A ridiculous by-word also (they were called Swaddlers) tended to prevent the progress of the Methodists; for, it may be observed, that, with the multitude, a nickname is far more effectual than an argument. The origin of this appellation is thus related by Wesley. “Swaddler was a name given to Mr. Cennick first, by a Popish priest, who heard him speak of a child wrapped in swaddling clothes, and probably did not know the expression was in the Bible, a book he was not much acquainted with (3)! ”

Wesley was now travelling from county to county, and from town to town, every where preaching and gaining proselytes. No where did he attract more attention than at his own birth-place of Epworth. He applied to the curate for the use of the pulpit—his father’s for forty years: he was refused, and, attending the service, he heard, with great composure, a sermon against the evils of en-

(1) Bishop Berkeley’s Works, vol. II. p. 381. and 396. ed. 1784.

(2) Wesley’s Journal, August 17. 1747, and May 30. 1749.

(3) Journal, May 26. 1750.

thusiasm. But as the congregation were separating, they were informed that Mr. Wesley, having been denied the church, intended to preach that evening in the church-yard. There he accordingly appeared, and there, standing upon his father's grave, he delivered a most affecting discourse. Every eye was moistened, every heart was moved. One gentleman, who had not attended any public worship for thirty years, but was led by curiosity to hear Wesley at Epworth, was at once reclaimed from irreligion during the remainder of his life (1). In other places, also, the same good seed was sown. An affecting story is told, for example, of one poor woman who was saved from suicide, for, when already on her way to throw herself into the river, she was attracted by the sounds of a Methodist meeting, and, entering in, heard the words of hope and consolation. But the effect of Wesley's preaching was by no means uniform, nor all for good. While some minds were awakened to repentance, others were spurred into frenzy. While some began to look upon religion as their rule and guide in worldly business, others viewed it as an ecstasy that should supersede worldly business altogether.

It may be observed, however, that many persons joined the Methodists in a first impulse, and afterwards left them. When Wesley came to Newcastle, in March, 1743, he found that, since the end of last December, seventy-six persons had left the society, and he took the pains to ascertain the motives of each. Fourteen of them (chiefly Dissenters) said they left it, "because, otherwise, their Ministers would not give them the Sacrament;" nine more, "because their husbands, or wives, were not willing they should stay in it;" twelve, "because their parents were not willing;" five, "because their master or mistress would not let them come;" seven, "because their acquaintance persuaded them to leave it;" five, "because people said such bad things of the society;" nine, "because they would not be laughed at;" three, "because they would not lose the poor allowance;" three more, "because they could not spare time to come;" two, "because it was so far off;" one, "because she was afraid of falling into fits;" one, "because people were so rude in the street;" two, "because Thomas Naisbit was in the society;" one, "because he would not turn his back on his baptism;" one, "because the Methodists were mere Church of England men;" and one, "because it was time enough to serve God yet (2)." Another person, a gentleman, whom Wesley met a few days after in the streets, said, with much earnestness, that he would come and hear him, only he was afraid that Wesley should say something against cockfighting!—A lamentable array of motives for relinquishing a religious persua-

(1) Compare Wesley's Journal, June 12. 1742. Scotchman that objected to the "mere Church of (his sixth day at Epworth), and April 17. 1752. "England men." This is stated, July 25. 1786.

(2) Wesley's Journal, March 12. 1743. It was a

sion! But were the reasons of those who joined it always so much better?

That very many persons were drawn to Wesley by a pious and Christian impulse is undeniable. But it can scarcely be doubted that a love of novelty and the strangeness of field-preaching were the magnets that attracted many others. Wherever curiosity was not kept alive by frequent changes of preachers, or wherever preaching in the open air was superseded by meeting-houses, the excitement flagged, and the society declined. The latter observation may be confirmed by the testimony of Wesley himself. He writes at Whitehaven, June 24, 1764: "The want of field-preaching has been one cause of deadness here; I do not find any great increase of the work of God without it. If ever this is laid aside, I expect the whole work will gradually die away." Thus also he writes from Cardiff: "I found the society in as ruinous a condition as the Castle (1)."

Love of novelty is a feeling that always acts most strongly on the least cultivated minds, and it was among these that Wesley found his first and most willing followers. During several years, the Methodists were almost entirely confined to the poorer classes; and this appears not merely from Wesley's own declaration, but still more, perhaps, from the bitterness with which the earlier portion of his Journal sometimes alludes to persons of education and affluence. Thus, for instance, he says, in 1738, "She with whom we were was so much of a gentlewoman, that for near an hour our labour seemed to be in vain." And again, next year, "A fine lady unexpectedly coming in, there was scarce room for me to speak (2)."

To every part of the kingdom were Wesley's labours extended. The bleakest summits of the Northumbrian moors, or the inmost depths of the Cornish mines, the most tumultuous city, or the most unfrequented hamlet, were equally the scenes of his pilgrimage and preaching. Danger he fearlessly braved, insult he patiently endured. On one occasion, at Wednesbury, his life was threatened with brutal violence, and he would hardly have escaped had not his gentleness turned some of his assailants into his defenders. In other places the rudeness of the mob took a less serious turn; preachers were plunged into the water, or daubed over with paint. Sometimes the Methodists were brought before a magistrate, but seldom could any legal offence be laid at their door (3). Charles

(1) Journal, August 28, 1763.

(2) Journal, March 18, 1738, and September 8, 1739. Whitefield seems to have had more success among the higher classes. He writes from Scotland, "I am intimate with three noblemen and several ladies of quality, who have a great liking for the things of God. I am now writing from an Earl's house," etc. Yet Horace Walpole says sarcastically, that, "Whitefield's largest crop of

"proselytes lay among servant-maids!" (*Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 232.)

(3) Wesley departs from his usual gravity, to relate how once a whole waggon-load of these new "heretics" were carried before Mr. S., a Justice of the peace, near Epworth. But when there, no accusation was made. At length an old man stood forward:—"An't please your Worship, they have converted my wife. Till she went

Wesley was once accused of treasonable words, and of abetting the Pretender, because he had prayed, in allusion to sinners, that the Lord would call home his banished ones. John was often hooted at as a Papist; while one man, more learned than the rest, called him a "Presbyterian Papist,"—a happy combination of terms! and an opinion which seemed so reasonable, that all the people present, as we are told, were brought round to it (1)! Charges such as these were not very difficult to answer. Yet it may be observed, that the Wesleys seem, in early life at least, to have had some leaning to the exiled family; for we find Charles writing home, in 1734, from Oxford, "My brother has been much mauled, and threatened more, for his Jacobite sermon on the 11th of June." It appears that another of the brothers was in correspondence with Atterbury during his exile (2).

A more solemn accusation might have been brought against Wesley for the presumption with which he sometimes ascribed immediate efficacy to his prayers. Some anecdotes which he exultingly relates, would seem better suited to a Romish legend than to a Protestant Journal. One night, when he was travelling on foot in heavy rain, and not well knowing the way, he prayed to God "that thou wouldst stay the bottles of Heaven! Or, at least, give me light or an honest guide!" and presently, he tells us, "the rain ceased, the moon broke out, and a friendly man overtook me, who set me upon his own horse and walked by my side (3). Another day he was thoroughly tired, and his horse exceedingly lame. "I then thought—cannot God heal either man or beast by any means or without any? Immediately my weariness and head-ache ceased, and my horse's lameness in the same instant. Nor did he halt any more either that day or the next. This is the naked fact: let every man account for it as he sees good (4)." But it was very plain what was Wesley's own opinion.

Where this enthusiasm could bewilder a man of so much genius and learning, it may easily be supposed that some of the illiterate rushed into far wilder extremes. One society was called the Jumpers, because they manifested their devotion by leaping as high as possible (5). One man, Mr. M., with a long white beard, came to Wesley at the close of one of his sermons, and told him with much concern, "You can have no place in heaven without a beard! Therefore, I beg, let yours grow immediately (6)!—thus going

"among them, she had such a tongue! And now she is as quiet as a lamb!"—"Carry them back, carry them back," said the Justice, "and let them convert all the scolds in the town." (Journal, June 9. 1742.) Yet Wesley's own married life, some years afterwards, may prove, that the Methodists had not always a specific in these cases.

(1) Journal, October 30. 1743.

(2) Atterbury's Correspond, vol. II. p. 419, etc.

(3) Journal, September 17. 1741.

(4) Journal, March 17. 1746.

(5) Wesley's Journal, August 27. 1763, and August 25. 1774.

(6) Wesley's Journal, August 29. 1766. In another place (August 3. 1749) he writes, "A gentleman here (Rathcormuck) in conversation with Colonel B., said he had heard there was a people risen up that placed all religion in wearing long

beyond even the wild notions on this subject of Tertullian (1), and the Montanists. Such fooleries are mentioned by Wesley with just aversion and contempt, nor do I mean for one moment to imply that he was answerable for them; but I quote them as showing to what lengths ignorant enthusiasm, when once excited, will run. And even among those of Wesley's own flock we may often observe even the best principles carried to a strange and blameable excess. Thus a little society of Methodists had sprung up in the British army; and we find that, at the battle of Fontenoy, some of these encountered death and wounds, not merely with the courage of a soldier, or the resignation of a Christian, but with rapture and delight! A letter from one of them to Wesley is inserted in his *Journal* of December 2, 1745. "I received," says the pious soldier, "a ball through the left arm, and I rejoiced so much the more. Soon after, I received another into my right, which obliged me to quit the field. But I scarce knew whether I was on earth or in heaven. It was one of the sweetest days I ever enjoyed!" Of a similar kind was the enthusiasm of the first Moravians. When Wesley told their bishop, Nitschman, that one of their sick friends had become much worse, the other, instead of expressing concern, smiled, and said "He will soon be well; he is ready for the bridegroom (2)!"

To welcome death so eagerly was, perhaps, less surprising or unnatural in men who practised so many austerities. It is, certainly one of the ill effects of Methodism, that it has tended to narrow the circle of innocent enjoyments. Plays, cards, and dances in whatever moderation, or in whatever form, were strictly denounced. We find one man highly commended for having broken and burnt his violin (3). Whitefield boasts that during one Lent he lived almost entirely on sage tea without sugar, and coarse bread (4). Of one clergyman, Mr. Grimshaw, who joined the Methodists, and is much extolled by them, it is related by his panegyrist: "He endeavoured to suppress the generally prevailing custom in country places during the summer, of walking in the fields on a Lord's-day between the services, or in the evening, in companies. He not only bore his testimony against it from the pulpit, but reconnoitred the fields in person to detect and reprove the delinquents (5)."—How different was the saying of good old Bishop Hacket, "Serve God and be cheerful!"

Wesley's domestic life was not happy. When about fifty years old he contracted a marriage with Mrs. Vizelle, a widow of inde-

"whiskers, and seriously asked, whether these were not the same who were called Methodists?"

(1) "An Deo placebit ille qui vultus suos novacula mutat, infidelis erga faciem suam?" (Tertull. De Spectaculis, ch. 28.)

(2) *Journal*, March 14. 1736.

(3) Myles, Chron. Hist. p. 53.

(4) *First Journal*, p. 16.

(5) *Life of the Rev. William Grimshaw*, p. 43. The writer quaintly adds, in the next page, "Religion was to him, as water is to fish, the very element in which he lived."

pendent fortune; having first agreed with her, that he should not preach one sermon or travel one mile the less on that account. His constant journeys were, no doubt, a heavy sacrifice to duty; but the lady kindly made it as light as possible, by allowing him no peace at home. Her temper was insufferable, and her jealousy equally positive and groundless. She is said to have frequently searched his pockets and opened his letters, and sometimes even struck him and torn his hair! Wesley himself, in writing to her, complains that she has tried him numberless ways, laid to his charge things that he knew not, robbed him, betrayed his confidence, revealed his secrets, given him a thousand treacherous wounds, purposely aspersed and murdered his character, and made it her business so to do! At length, without assigning any cause, she left his house, and declared her intention never to return. Wesley, whose *Journal* had previously been silent on her conduct, shortly mentions her departure, and adds these remarkable words, *NON EAM RELIQUI, NON DIMISI, NON REVOCABO* (1). Their union—if so it can be called—had lasted twenty years, and Wesley survived their separation for twenty more.

Wesley's life was extended far beyond the limits of this History: he survived till the year 1791, and the age of eighty-eight. He has left behind him a *Journal*, giving a full account of his unwearied travelling and preaching, during more than half a century, together with occasional remarks on the towns he visited, or the books he read. The style is plain and powerful, and the language well-chosen, though sometimes peculiar. For example, he uses the word "lively," where we should use the word "serious;" and thus, meaning to praise the devotion of Camelford, he calls it "one of the liveliest places in Cornwall (2)." Thus, also, when he speaks of "a lovely woman," or a "lovely congregation (3)," it is quite clear from the context that he does not mean beauty. The same buoyant spirit, the same fervent zeal, glow in every page of this *Journal*, but it is gratifying to observe how the overstrained enthusiasm which appears in the earlier portion, gradually softens and mellows as the writer advances in years. To give only one instance: when in 1740 some of his congregation laughed, we have seen how strangely he endeavours to account for it; but when the same thing befalls him in later life, he is willing to assign a very natural cause.—"One young gentlewoman, I heard, "laughed much. Poor thing! doubtless she thought, 'I laugh prettily (4)!'" But even in the earlier and least favourable portion of the *Journal* it is impossible not to acknowledge and respect the honest fervour of the writer, and we may say of him what he says of the Monks of La Trappe: "Notwithstanding the mixture

(1) *Journal*, February 23. 1771.

(2) *Ibid.* September 26. 1762.

(3) *Ibid.* May 14. 1777; October 12. 1777, etc.

(4) *Ibid.* July 16. 1764. Saunderson, the blind

Professor of Mathematics, is said, once in company, to have rightly guessed that a lady present had beautiful teeth; else, he remarked, she would not laugh so often!

"of superstition, yet what a strong vein of piety runs through all (1)!"

Another extract—it shall be my last from Wesley's Journal—is very remarkable, as showing how far time and experience had modified his views as to the benefit of preaching extempore. "Last Monday, I began reading that excellent book 'The Gospel Glass,' to the morning congregation; a method which I find more profitable for instruction in righteousness than any other manner of preaching (2)."

At the time of Wesley's death, his flock in England exceeded 71,000, in America 48,000; and there were under his direction five hundred travelling preachers in both (3). It is worthy of note what sovereign authority he had established and maintained, and how implicit was the obedience required by one who, even in his earliest ministry, had never yielded any. At the conference of 1766, he was accused of "arbitrary power, of making himself a Pope." That his power was arbitrary, Wesley did not deny. "If, by arbitrary power, you mean a power which I exercise singly, without any colleagues therein, this is certainly true; but 'I see no hurt in it.'" He maintains however, that his power was not unreasonable or capricious; that it was forced upon him by circumstances; that it was necessary for the good of all; and, above all, that it was voluntary on their part, since "every preacher and every member may leave me when he pleases." His defence removed dissatisfaction, or, at least, silenced complaint.

The labours of Whitefield were not less strenuous than Wesley's. He had, in some measure, become reconciled with his former colleague, although their tenets on predestination still continued entirely opposed. Whitefield found, however, a powerful patroness and coadjutor in Selina Shirley, Countess of Huntingdon, who devoted her long life and ample income to the promotion of Calvinistic Methodism. The laymen educated at her college, and sent forth at her expense, and called, after her, "My Lady's preachers," vied with the followers of Wesley in activity and enthusiasm, though not in organisation and numbers. Whitefield himself was certainly no common man. His published works would give a very mean idea of his capacity; but in this they resembled the written compositions of the Italian improvisatori, which are always so far beneath their sudden flow of verse; and his admirable eloquence and effect in preaching are recorded on the highest testimony. None, perhaps, is stronger than that of a cool reasoner, seldom stirred by eloquence, and still more rarely swerving from his purpose—Benjamin Franklin. The philosopher

(1) Journal, December 21. 1747. See also his remarks on the Life of Loyola, July 16. 1742.

(2) Wesley's Journal, October 26. 1766. See some remarks on this point in Knox's Remains, vol. i. p. 172.

(3) Minutes of Conference, July, 1780. Mr. Myles tells us, that, "till 1768, all the travelling preachers were called *Helpers*, that is, Mr. Wesley's *Helpers*." (Chron. Hist. p. 94.)

and the preacher had had a discussion respecting an orphan-house at Savannah, to which Franklin refused to subscribe. "I happened soon after," says he, "to attend one of Mr. Whitefield's sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded, I began to soften, and concluded to give the copper; another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that, and determined me to give the silver; and he finished so admirably, that I emptied my pocket wholly into the collection, gold and all." It appears, however, that in general his manner was theatrical and his language indiscreet. It was his custom to stretch out his arm and bid the people "look yonder," and then refer to our Lord's Passion as if actually present before them: "Hark! hark! do you not hear!" Whenever he related how St. Peter went out and wept bitterly, he had ready a fold of his gown to hide his own face. Such little arts are seldom found with sincerity, yet no preacher was ever more zealous and fervent than Whitefield. Even the pressure of deadly illness could not check his activity. When, in 1770, having passed over to America, and suffering from asthma, he was entreated by his friends to spare himself, his answer was, "I had rather wear out than rust out;" accordingly he persevered in his exertions, and expired in the course of the same year.

I have now concluded my short sketch of this remarkable society. It is not easy to avoid offence, where offence is so hastily taken; but it has been my anxious desire to say nothing that should wound the feelings or insult the doctrines of others. I have endeavoured to advance no assertion without adding some proof or instance of it, and I have selected these proofs in the manner most favourable to the Methodists—not from the charges of their opponents—not from the publications of their unauthorized or less eminent ministers—but from the writings of their own respected founder.—If next we look to the practical effect of Methodism, we shall find much to praise, but also something to condemn. We shall find a salutary impulse given to the Church—a new barrier raised against unbelief at a time when unbelief was most rife—a society training up thousands in the paths of religion and virtue. On the other hand, we should not deny that a dangerous enthusiasm was reared and fostered—that many innocent sources of enjoyment have been dried up—that very many persons have been tormented with dreadful agonies and pangs—that the Church has been weakened by so large a separation. Yet it is cheering to reflect, that while the good seems lasting and secure, the ill effects have much diminished, and we may hope will wholly disappear.

Thus, then, stands the case. A hundred years ago the churchman was slack in his duty, and slumbering at his post. It was the

voice of an enthusiast that roused the sleeper. Truth must condemn alike the overstrained excitement of the one, and the untimely supineness of the other. But the progress of time, and, still more, of mutual emulation, has corrected the defects of each. Sleep has never again fallen on the churchman; enthusiasm has, in a great degree, departed from the Methodist. So closely have the two persuasions drawn to each other, that they are now separated on no essential points, and by little more than the shadowy lines of prejudice and habit. It might be well for the followers of Wesley seriously to ponder whether, in still continuing apart from the Church, they do not keep up a distinction without a difference,—whether, by joining the Church, they would not best serve the cause of true religion, and disappoint the machinations of their common enemies. Sure I am, at least, that if Wesley himself were now alive, he would feel and act in this manner; had the Church been in his time what it is in ours, he would never have left it; and were he to behold these times, he would acknowledge, that the establishment which once wanted efficiency, now stands in need of nothing but support.

Were Wesley himself alive in these later times, he would surely exclaim, though in words more impressive than mine—Happy they who have grown up in the creed of their fathers, and who join in communion with the great body of their countrymen! To them the church bells are music, to them the church path is a way of pleasantness and peace! Long may they look with veneration and attachment to that time-worn spire where their infancy was blessed in baptism, where their manhood has drawn in the words of consolation, and where their remains will finally repose!

CHAPTER XX.

1738. The death of Queen Caroline, like that of George the First, produced no such effect as the Opposition had expected: each of those events had been hailed as the sure forerunner of disgrace to Walpole, yet each left him unshaken and secure. After the loss of his Royal patroness he continued to enjoy the same place as before in the King's confidence, while that in his Majesty's affections was speedily filled up by Sophia de Walmoden. George had known her at Hanover in his latter journeys during the Queen's life, now however she was brought to England, and created Countess of Yarmouth—the last instance in our annals of a British peerage bestowed upon a Royal Mistress. Her character

was quiet and inoffensive; and though she did not at first possess, she gradually gained considerable political influence over the King. "The new northern actress," writes Lady Mary Wortley, "has very good sense; she hardly appears at all, and by that conduct almost wears out the disapprobation of the public (1)."

At nearly the same period the gossips at Court were gratified with another topic for their comments; the marriage of Sir Robert to his mistress, Miss Skerrit, who had already borne him a daughter. This marriage appears to have taken place immediately on the death of the first Lady Walpole, but was at first kept secret (2); nor did Miss Skerrit survive her new honours above a few months. For her daughter Walpole afterwards obtained from the Crown a patent of the same rank and precedence as though a legitimate child; a favour it is said that had never yet been granted to any person but a Prince (3).—It is remarkable that Mr. Coxe, while devoting three volumes to the memoirs of Walpole, refrains, in his partiality to his hero, from any allusion whatever to this second marriage.

On the meeting of Parliament in January 1738, the "Patriots," bereft of their expectations from the Court, could only turn their efforts to reduce the army, or to inflame the national quarrel with Spain. Their clamours, at the same time, for a diminution of troops, and for a renewal of war, might have appeared a little inconsistent to any men less maddened by their party zeal. Nevertheless, a motion to substitute the number of 12,000 for 17,000 soldiers was made by Shippen, and seconded by another ardent Tory, Lord Noel Somerset. The reply of Walpole was amongst the ablest he ever delivered: piercing through the subterfuges of his opponents he avowed his fear of the Pretender, and expressed his regret that so many Members should affect to turn that fear into ridicule. "No man of common prudence," added he, "will now profess himself openly a Jacobite; by so doing he not only may injure his private fortune, but must render himself less able to do any effectual service to the cause he has embraced; therefore there are but few such men in the kingdom. Your right Jacobite, sir, disguises his true sentiments, he roars out for revolutionary principles; he pretends to be a great friend to liberty, and a great admirer of our ancient Constitution; and under this pretence there are numbers who every day endeavour to sow discontent among the people. These men know that discontent and disaffection are like wit and madness, separated by thin par-

(1) To Lady Pomfret, 1739. Letters, vol. II. p. 213. ed. 1837. It appears, however, that the grief of the King for his consort continued a considerable time. One day, on playing at cards, some queens were dealt to him, "which," as we are told, "renewed his trouble so much, and put him into so great a disorder, that the Princess

"Amelia immediately ordered all the queens to be taken out of the pack." Opinions of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 40.

(2) Mr. Ford to Swift, Nov. 22. 1737. Swift's Works, vol. xix. p. 192.

(3) Lady Louisa Stuart, Introductory Anecdotes to the Wortley Correspondence, p. 35.

"titions, and therefore they hope that if they can once render the people thoroughly discontented, it will be easy for them to render them disaffected. By the accession of these new allies, as I may justly call them, the real but concealed Jacobites have succeeded even beyond their own expectation (1)." So crushing was this retort, that the Patriots prudently refrained from dividing. But in a subsequent debate they derived great advantage from the folly of Colonel Mordaunt, who, speaking on the ministerial side, narrowed the question to a party one, by declaring that he thought "the keeping up an army absolutely necessary for supporting the Whig interest against the Tory." Lord Polwarth immediately rose, and, in a speech impressive both from its eloquence, and as coming from the heir of one of the first Whig families in Scotland, exclaimed that this argument could mean only that because the people were discontented, therefore they must be oppressed. "For my part," said he, "I think no interest nor any party of men ought to be supported if a standing army becomes necessary for their support (2)." The division which ensued gave 164 votes to the Opposition, but 249 to the Minister.

In their second object, to embroil their country with Spain, the mock-Patriots were more successful. For many years had the traders to South America complained of grievances; for many years had the desire of Walpole to adjust them amicably been branded as tameness and timidity. Imperious as he seems at home, cried the Opposition, he is no less abject and crouching abroad. Some powerful lines, ascribed to Bishop Atterbury, and therefore written before 1732, sum up Sir Robert's character by calling him "the cur dog of Britain and spaniel of Spain (3)!" This cry was now revived as the commercial complaints increased. Yet a careful and dispassionate inquiry may convince us, that this case of the merchants was mainly founded on error and exaggeration; that no allowance was made for the counter claims on the side of Spain; and that in many instances their alleged hardship, when stripped of its colouring, amounts only to this—that they were not permitted to smuggle with impunity.

The commercial relations between Spain and England had been regulated by treaties in 1667 and 1670. In neither were the expressions sufficiently clear and well defined; the jealousy of the Spaniards inducing them rather to connive at than to authorise the commerce of strangers, and to withhold a plain acknowledgment even where they could no longer refuse the practical right. The second treaty, however, distinctly recognises the British dominions in America, but provides that our ships shall not approach the coasts of the Spanish colonies, unless driven thither by stress of weather, or provided with a special license for trade. The first

(1) *Parl. Hist.* vol. x. p. 400.(2) *Ibid.* p. 460.(3) *Atterbury's Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 414.

treaty as distinctly admits the liberty of seizing contraband goods, and of searching merchant vessels sailing near the ports or in the seas of the respective nations. It was afterwards contended that this right applied only to the mother countries, and not to the colonies of either (1); nevertheless, it is certain that this right was constantly exercised by the Spanish Guarda Costas (or Guard Ships), in the West Indies, with greater or less severity, according to the fluctuations of Spanish policy, or the changes of Spanish governors. Sometimes the right of search dwindled into a mere form, sometimes it swelled into a vexatious and oppressive grievance.

The treaty of Seville, in 1729, professed to replace the trade to America on its former footing. But the development of British commerce and the ingenuity of British merchants were always overleaping the narrow bounds prescribed to them, and whenever they received a short indulgence, next claimed it as a constant right. Every artifice was employed to elude the Spanish regulations, and a vehement clamour raised whenever those regulations were enforced. It is admitted that the annual ship which the South Sea Company had been empowered to send, was always attended by other vessels which moored at a distance, and as it disposed of its cargo supplied it with fresh goods; thus fulfilling the letter whilst violating the spirit of the treaty. It is admitted that other vessels, and even squadrons, frequently put into the Spanish harbours, under pretence of refitting and refreshing, but with the real object of selling English merchandise (2). In some cases, again, the vessels did not enter the harbours, but hovered off the coasts; where the long-boats of smugglers repaired to them, and unshipped their cargoes. By such means was English merchandise largely poured into the Spanish Colonies: their revenue consequently suffered; and the annual fair of Panama, intended as the mart of South America, and once the richest in the world, became shorn of its splendour, and deserted by its crowds.

That the Spaniards should strive to prevent this illegal traffic was just; that they should do so with occasional violence and outrage, was natural and perhaps unavoidable. The Guarda Costas would sometimes exercise the right of search beyond their coasts, or in the open seas; in several cases men were severely treated, in several others ships were unjustly detained. "Upon the whole," writes Mr. Keene from Madrid, "the state of our dispute seems to be, that the commanders of our vessels always think that they are unjustly taken if they are not taken in actual

(1) The Opposition in 1738 were by no means "every other part of the world." However, both unanimous on this point. Lord Carteret, in his speakers took care to come to the same conclusion. speech of May 2., maintains, that the stipulations of 1687 are only for Europe, while Pulteney, on the 16th of March, had contended, in the other House, that "this treaty of 1687 is a general

"treaty, which comprehended America as well as (2) Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain, vol. II. p. 300. On this whole subject Macpherson's History of Commerce is very meagre and unsatisfactory. Compare vol. II. p. 342. vol. III. p. 215.

“illicit commerce, even though proof of their having loaded in that manner be found on board of them; and the Spaniards, on the other hand, presume that they have a right of seizing, not only the ships that are continually trading in their ports, but likewise of examining and visiting them on the high seas, in order to search for proofs of fraud which they may have committed; and, till a medium be found out between these two notions the Government will always be embarrassed with complaints, and we shall be continually negotiating in this country for redress without ever being able to procure it (1).”

There is no doubt that though the English were most frequently to blame in these transactions, several cases of injustice and violence might be imputed to the Spaniards. These cases were carefully culled out, and highly coloured by the British merchants. These were held out to the British public as fair samples of the rest, while a veil was thrown over the general practice of illicit traffic in America. The usual slowness of forms at Madrid and the difficulty of obtaining redress, even in the clearest cases, added to the national indignation in England: it was also inflamed by a denial of the right to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and disputes on the limits of the new settlements which the English had lately formed in North America, and which, in honour to the King and Queen, had received the names of Georgia and Carolina.

These grievances of the British merchants, embodied in angry yet artful petitions, were urged by the Opposition in repeated attacks and with combined exertions. First came a motion for papers, next the examination of witnesses, next a string of resolutions, then a Bill for securing and encouraging our trade to America. The tried ability of Pulteney led the van on these occasions, and under him were marshalled the practical knowledge of Barnard, the stately of eloquence Wyndham, and the rising genius of Pitt. William Murray, the future Earl of Mansfield, also appeared at the bar as counsel for the petitioners, and thus commenced his brilliant public career. Every resource of oratory was applied to exaggerate the insults and cruelties of the Spaniards, and to brand as cowardice the Minister's wise and honourable love of peace. It was asserted that the prisoners taken from English merchant-vessels had been not merely plundered of their property, but tortured in their persons, immured in dungeons, or compelled to work in the Spanish dock-yards, with scanty and loathsome food, their legs cramped with irons, and their bodies overrun with vermin. Some captives and seamen who were brought to the bar gave testimony to these outrages, and were then implicitly believed. Yet our calmer judgment may remember that they were not examined upon oath, and had every tempta-

(1) To the Duke of Newcastle, December 13. 1737.

tion to exaggerate, which interest, party zeal, or resentment can afford; that to inveigh against the Spaniards was then considered a sure test of public spirit; and that they were told to expect, upon the fall of Walpole, a large and lucrative indemnity for their pretended wrongs.

But the tale that produced the most effect upon the house, and found the loudest echo in the country, was what Burke has since ventured to call "the fable of Jenkins's ears (1)." This Jenkins had been master of a trading sloop from Jamaica, which was boarded and searched by a Spanish Guarda Costa, and though no proofs of smuggling were discovered, yet, according to his own statement, he underwent the most barbarous usage. The Spanish Captain, he said, had torn off one of his ears, bidding him carry it to his King, and tell His Majesty that were he present he should be treated in the same manner. This story, which had lain dormant for seven years, was now seasonably revived at the bar of the House of Commons. It is certain that Jenkins had lost an ear, or part of an ear, which he always carried about with him wrapped in cotton to display to his audience; but I find it alleged by no mean authority, that he had lost it on another occasion, and perhaps, as seems to be insinuated, in the pillory (2). His tale, however, as always happens in moments of great excitement, was readily admitted without proof; and a spirited answer which he gave enhanced the popular effect. Being asked by a Member what were his feelings when he found himself in the hands of such barbarians, "I recommended," said he, "my soul to God, and my cause to my country." These words rapidly flew from mouth to mouth, adding fuel to the general flame, and it is almost incredible how strong an impulse was imparted both to Parliament and to the public. "We have no need of allies to enable us to command justice," cried Pulteney; "the story of Jenkins will raise volunteers (3)."

On his part, Walpole did not deny that great outrages and injuries had been wrought by the Spaniards, but he expressed his hope that they might still admit of full and friendly compensation; he promised his strenuous exertions with the Court of Madrid, and he besought the House not to close the avenue to peace by any intemperate proceedings, and especially by denouncing altogether the right of search, which the Spaniards had so long exercised, and would hardly be persuaded to relinquish. The charge, that his love of peace was merely a selfish zeal for his own administration, he repelled with disdain: "I have always," said he, "disregarded a popularity that

(1) *Thoughts on a Regicidal Peace*, p. 75.

(2) *Tindal's Hist.* vol. viii. p. 372. Coxe expresses a doubt whether Jenkins was really examined at the bar of the House, because, as he states, "no traces of his evidence are to be found in the *Journals*." (*Memoirs of Walpole*, vol. i. p. 579.) Yet early in the *Journals* of March 16. 1738. appears the following entry: "Ordered, that Captain Robert Jenkins do attend this House imme-

diately." Later in the same day we find that the House went into committee on the Spanish grievances, with Alderman Perry in the chair, and that he reported to the House, "that they had heard counsel and examined several witnesses." Amongst these in all probability was Jenkins.

(3) *Speech*, May 15. 1738. *Parl. Hist.* vol. x. p. 880.

" was not acquired by a hearty zeal for the public interest, and I
 " have been long enough in this House to see that the most steady
 " opposers of popularity founded upon any other views, have lived
 " to receive the thanks of their country for that opposition. For
 " my part, I never could see any cause, either from reason or my
 " own experience, to imagine that a minister is not as safe in time
 " of war as in time of peace. Nay, if we are to judge by reason
 " alone, it is the interest of a minister, conscious of any misma-
 " nagement, that there should be a war, because by a war the eyes
 " of the public are diverted from examining into his conduct; nor
 " is he accountable for the bad success of a war, as he is for that
 " of an administration (1)." By the ascendancy of Walpole a large
 majority of the Commons continued to withstand the manifold pro-
 posals and attacks of Pulteney. But in the Lords, the eloquence
 of Carteret and Chesterfield, feebly stemmed by the ministerial
 speakers, carried some strong resolutions, which were presented
 as an Address to the Crown.

But these Parliamentary difficulties, however great, were not the
 only ones that beset the Minister. He had also to struggle against
 the waywardness and falsehood of the Spanish Envoy, Thomas
 Fitzgerald, or, as he was commonly called, Don Thomas Geraldino,
 who caballed with the Opposition in private, and held most in-
 temperate language in public. The whole progress of the negoti-
 ations, and several other state secrets were disclosed by this agent
 to the party out of power, while he openly declared in all compa-
 nies that the English Ministers were trifling with and imposing
 upon the people in pretending that the Court of Spain might yet be
 brought to any terms, or would recede in the slightest degree from
 its colonial rights and privileges. To such an extent did he carry
 this behaviour, that Walpole sent a formal complaint to the Mi-
 nisters at Madrid. Geraldino on his part assured them that the
 views of Walpole, though professedly pacific, were in truth incon-
 sistent with the security of the Spanish trade, and that they could
 not be more effectually served than by fomenting to the utmost
 the discontents and divisions in England; and by these representa-
 tions he continued to retain their confidence and his employment (2).

Another source of embarrassment to Walpole was the conduct of
 his own colleague, the Duke of Newcastle. Both of them loved
 power with their whole hearts, but with this difference; Walpole
 loved it so well that he would not bear a rival; Newcastle so well
 that he would bear any thing for it. Under Stanhope's govern-
 ment he had professed unbounded admiration and friendship for
 that minister (3). Immediately on the death of Stanhope he had

(1) Speech of Walpole, May 12. 1738.

(2) Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 368.

(3) Thus, for instance, he writes to Mr. Charles
 Stanhope from Claremont, July 29. 1720. "Pray

" send me what news there is, and particularly

" what comes from my dearest friend Stanhope.

" He is always doing good, and always success-
 " ful," etc. Coxe's MSS. British Museum.

transferred the same sentiment and submission to the Walpoles, and became Secretary of State in 1724, as their deputy and agent. But though willing to accept even the smallest morsel of authority, it was only till he could grasp at a larger. A favourable conjuncture of circumstances seemed now to open to him by the death of Queen Caroline, the growing unpopularity of Walpole, and the loud clamour for a Spanish war. Such a war, he found, was congenial to the military spirit of the King: it was also, as we have seen, eagerly pressed in Parliament; and of these wishes accordingly, Newcastle, though still with great caution, made himself the mouthpiece in the Cabinet. With the consent or connivance of His Majesty, he sent angry instructions and memorials to the British Minister in Spain, which it required all the skill of Walpole to modify and temper; and which greatly aggravated the difficulties of the negotiations. The same leaning to warlike measures was likewise shown, but, as I believe, on more public-spirited grounds, by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke and by Lord Harrington. The former, on one occasion, speaking in the House of Lords, inveighed with so much vehemence against the Spanish depredations, that Walpole, who was standing behind the throne, could not forbear exclaiming to those around him, "Bravo! Colonel Yorke, bravo!" Nor durst Walpole at this crisis, with the inclinations of both King and people against him, pursue his usual haughty course, and at once cashier his wavering colleagues.

Through these and many other obstacles derived from the pride of Spain, did Walpole prosecute his negotiation with the Government at Madrid (for the Court had now returned from Seville), and still endeavour to prevent an appeal to arms. He took care, however, to give weight to his pacific overtures by displaying his readiness for war. A squadron of ten ships of the line, under the command of Admiral Haddock, sailed for the Mediterranean; many single ships were despatched to the West Indies; letters of marque and reprisal were offered to the merchants; and the colony of Georgia was supplied with troops and stores to resist the Spaniards, who had threatened to invade it from St. Augustine. Directions were likewise sent to the British merchants in the several seaports of Spain, to register their goods with a notary public in case of a rupture. Such demonstrations were not lost upon the Spaniards, who, lowering their tone, gave orders that several prizes they had captured should be restored, and that seventy-one English sailors taken by Guarda Costas, and confined at Cadiz, should be sent home. New instructions likewise came out to Geraldino, and he delivered a message purporting that his master was inclined to enter into terms for conciliating past differences, and for preventing them in future. The negotiations that ensued were carried on first between Geraldino and Walpole in London, and afterwards between Mr. Keene and the Spanish Minister, Don Sebastian de la Quadra,

at Madrid. The mutual demands for damages sustained in commerce were compared and balanced, and those of England upon Spain, after the deduction, were fixed at 200,000*l.* On the other hand, the Spaniards urged a claim of 60,000*l.* for the ships taken by Admiral Byng in 1718, a claim which had been left doubtful during Stanhope's administration, but which was, at least in its principle, acknowledged in the treaty of Seville. The remaining balance in favour of England was therefore 140,000*l.* which the Court of Madrid proposed to pay by assignments upon the American revenues. But the English Ministers, knowing the tediousness and uncertainty of that fund, preferred to make an allowance for prompt payment at home; and the allowance agreed upon was 45,000*l.* thus reducing the sum due from Spain to 95,000 (1).

1739.

The sum being thus determined, a Convention was founded upon it, and finally signed by Keene and La Quadra on the 14th of January 1739. It stipulated that this money should be paid within four months from the date of the ratification; that this mutual discharge of claims should not however extend to any differences between the Crown of Spain and the South Sea Company, as holders of the Asiento contract; that within six weeks two plenipotentiaries from each side should meet at Madrid, to regulate the pretensions of the two Crowns, as to rights of trade, and as to the limits of Carolina and Florida; that their conferences should finish within eight months; and that in the meantime no progress should be made in the fortifications of either province.

Such is the famous Convention. Omitting, as it did, all mention of the Right of Search, and reserving the most intricate matters for subsequent negotiation, it was rather a preliminary to a treaty than a treaty itself; but it had the merit of satisfying the most urgent claims, and of providing for the rest a just and speedy decision. In its progress, however, it became clogged and entangled with another claim. La Quadra had always maintained that 68,000*l.* was due to his master from the South Sea Company with respect to the Asiento contract, and declared that the Convention should not be ratified unless that money were paid. Mr. Keene, in answer observed that the Government of England and the South Sea Company were entirely distinct, and that the one had no control upon the other; but he added, that if 68,000*l.* should be proved as really owing, he would undertake that the debt should be discharged. This La Quadra affected to consider as a positive and unconditional promise; and, on the very point of signing the Convention, delivered to Keene and sent to Geraldino a formal protest; declaring that his Catholic Majesty reserved to himself the right of suspending the Asiento, unless the sum of 68,000*l.*

(1) See the statement of Horace Walpole in the House of Commons, March 8. 1739. *Parl. Hist.* vol. x. 1246—1258.

should be speedily paid by the South Sea Company. The British Envoy was much embarrassed; but at length, knowing the anxiety of Walpole to come to some conclusion before the meeting of Parliament, he consented to sign the Convention, notwithstanding the protest, and to receive the latter, not as admitting its demands, but merely as referring them to the future consideration of his Government.

The Convention being transmitted to London, was announced to Parliament, with "great satisfaction," in the King's opening speech. Yet, even before its terms were distinctly understood, a strong spirit of opposition appeared against it; and even Sir John Barnard condescended to such wretched cavils as the following: The King's speech had stated that plenipotentiaries would meet for regulating all the grievances and abuses which interrupted our commerce in the American seas; now to regulate abuses, said Barnard, implies a continuance of them, but only under another form! — "It requires no great art, no great abilities in a minister," exclaimed Walpole, "to pursue such measures as might make a war unavoidable. That is a very easy matter; but, Sir, how many ministers have you had, who knew the art of avoiding war, by making a safe and honourable peace? . . . Suppose that the administration had joined last session in the popular outcry for war, and that a vigorous war was actually entered into, can any gentleman say that this would have stopped the mouths of those who are resolved to find fault at any rate? In such an event, may we not easily imagine to ourselves that we hear a violent opposition man declaiming on the benefits of peace; telling the world that a trading people ought, by all manner of means, to avoid war; that nothing is so destructive to their interests, and that any peace is preferable, even to a successful war (1)?"

When however the articles of the Convention were made known, there arose a general ferment, not only in Parliament, but amongst the people. Loud and fierce was the cry. The Right of Search not renounced! The limits of Georgia not defined! The Spanish Captains in the West Indies, after all their cruelties and depredations, to escape without condign punishment! Our victory, in 1718, to be taxed and paid for at the rate of 60,000*l*.! Such were the complaints of the public, heightened and inflamed by the opposition writers; while those of the Minister defended his Convention so unskilfully, that, as a contemporary assures us, the injury which he suffered from the press was even greater when it was employed in vindicating than in impeaching his conduct (2). According to Horace Walpole the elder, "ambition, avarice, distress, disappointment, and all the complicated vices that tend to render the minds

(1) *Parl. Hist.* vol. x. p. 982.(2) *Tindal's Hist.* vol. viii. p. 387.

“ of men uneasy, are got out of Pandora’s box, and fill all places
 “ and all hearts in the nation (1). ”

In Parliament, the friends of the Minister, though diminished in numbers, were not daunted in spirit. Earl Cholmondeley in the Lords moved an Address, drawn up with great skill and judgment, to thank His Majesty for concluding the Convention; to express reliance that, in the further negotiations, effectual care would be taken for securing the British navigation in the American seas; and to promise that, should his Majesty’s just expectations not be answered, the House would support him in vindicating the honour of his Crown and the rights of his people. Notwithstanding the two last clauses, this Address provoked a sharp resistance, and called forth several able speeches, amongst which those of Chesterfield and Carteret were especially admired (2). The Duke of Argyle not only forsook the ministerial ranks, but appeared amongst the Opposition orators; and the Prince of Wales gave his first vote in Parliament in favour of the latter. On a division, 71 of the Peers present voted for and 58 against the Address—a large increase in the usual strength of the minority.

In the House of Commons the same Address was moved by Horace Walpole, in an elaborate speech of above two hours, beginning at half past eleven in the morning (3). His statement, however clear and convincing, was immediately met by a burst of angry eloquence. First, Sir Thomas Saunderson complained that no revenge had been taken on the Spanish Captain who cut off Jenkins’s ear. “ Even this fellow,” said he, “ is suffered to live
 “ to enjoy the fruits of his rapine, and remain a living testimony
 “ of the cowardly tameness and mean submission of Great Britain ! ” Lord Gage inveighed against the insufficiency of the payments; Lyttleton against the Right of Search. But by far the ablest speech was that of Pitt, who on this occasion seems first to have acquired the ascendancy which he ever afterwards retained in the House of Commons. “ Is this,” he cried, “ any longer a nation, or what is
 “ an English Parliament if, with more ships in your harbours
 “ than in all the navies of Europe, with above two millions of
 “ people in your American colonics, you will bear to hear of the
 “ expediency of receiving from Spain an insecure, unsatisfactory,
 “ and dishonourable Convention? Sir, I call it no more than it
 “ has been proved in this debate. It carries fallacy or down right
 “ subjection in almost every line; it has been laid open or exposed
 “ in so many strong and glaring lights, that I cannot pretend to add
 “ any thing to the conviction and indignation it has raised. ”

He thus concluded, “ I will not attempt to enter into the detail
 “ of a dark, confused, and scarcely intelligible account. But Spain

(1) To Mr. Trevor, March 16. 1739. Coxe’s Life of Horace Lord Walpole. Orlebar to the Rev. H. Etough, March 8. 1739. See also Maty’s Life, p. 168.

(2) “ Lord Chesterfield’s speech is prodigiously applauded as very fine and very artful.” Mr. Selwyn to Mr. T. Townshend, March 10. 1739.

“ stipulates to pay to the Crown of England 95,000*l*. By a preliminary protest of the King of Spain, the South Sea Company is at once to pay 68,000*l*. of it; if they refuse, Spain, I admit, is still to pay the 95,000*l*. : but how does it stand then? The Asiento contract is to be suspended; you are to purchase this sum at the price of an exclusive trade, pursuant to a national treaty, and an immense debt of God knows how many thousand pounds, due from Spain to the South Sea Company. Here, Sir, is the submission of Spain by the payment of a stipulated sum; a tax laid upon subjects of England, under the severest penalties, with the reciprocal accord of an English Minister, as a preliminary that the Convention may be signed; a condition imposed by Spain in the most absolute, imperious manner, and received by the Ministers of England in the most tame and abject. Can any verbal distinctions, any evasions whatever, possibly explain away this public infamy? To whom would we disguise it? To ourselves and to the nation; I wish we could hide it from the eyes of every Court in Europe. They see Spain has talked to you like your master, they see this arbitrary fundamental condition, and it must stand with distinction, with a pre-eminence of shame, as a part even of this Convention. This Convention, Sir, I think from my soul is nothing but a stipulation for national ignominy; an illusory expedient to baffle the resentment of the nation; a truce without a suspension of hostilities on the part of Spain; on the part of England a suspension, as to Georgia, of the first law of nature, self-preservation and self-defence; a surrender of the rights and trade of England to the mercy of plenipotentiaries; and in this infinitely highest and sacred point, future security, not only inadequate, but directly repugnant to the resolutions of Parliament and the gracious promise of the throne. The complaints of your despairing merchants,—the voice of England has condemned it. Be the guilt of it upon the head of the adviser: God forbid that this Committee should share the guilt by approving it (1)!”

The debate was closed by a speech from the Minister, with his usual skill, but not with his usual success, for he found his majority dwindled to only 28; the numbers being 270 against 232. This appeared to the Opposition leaders a favourable opportunity to execute a project which they had for some time brooded over, and which was recommended to them by no less an authority than Bolingbroke: to withdraw or secede in a body from the House of Commons. By this means they hoped to heighten the national ferment, to represent the cause of corruption as all-pow-

(1) *Parl. Hist.* vol. x. p. 1290-83. Mr. Selwyn, a strong Ministerialist, writes the next day to Mr. Townshend, “Mr. Pitt spoke very well, but very abjectly.” See Coxe’s *Walpole*, vol. iii. p. 319. Mr. Orlebar, another placeman, likewise alludes to some “young gentlemen, who took great personal liberties.” March 10. 1739.

erful, and yet, at the same time, to withhold the Minister, by popular odium, from pursuing his measures in their absence. Accordingly, on the day after the Resolution of Horace Walpole was carried in Committee, and on the Report of it being brought up to the House, Pulteney who had reserved himself for this occasion, opened another attack on the Convention, in which he was ably followed by Wyndham. A second division which ensued having only confirmed the last, Wyndham immediately rose, and with much solemnity, speaking both for himself and for his friends, took leave of that House, as he declared, for ever. "In a future *"Parliament,"* he said, "he might perhaps still be at liberty to serve his country as before, but not being unable to discern the least appearance of reason in any one argument offered on the Ministerial side, he must conclude either that the majority was swayed by other or secret arguments, or that he himself wanted common sense to comprehend the force of those which he had heard. In the first case," he continued, "he could not with honour sit in an Assembly determined by such influences; in the latter case, he looked upon himself as a very unfit person to act as a senator: and in either case, therefore, he thought it his duty for the future to retire, and content himself with offering up his prayers for the preservation of his country."

So strong and unmeasured were some of the expressions of this speech, that, as the Ministers believed, it was the wish of the speaker to be sent to the Tower, and thus to stir the minds of the people as a martyr in their cause. At the moment Mr. Pelham fell into the snare, and was actually rising to move his commitment, when Walpole with more sagacity prevented him, by rising himself and thanking his opponents, as he said, for throwing off the mask (1). We can be on our guard, added he, against open rebels, but not against secret traitors. He reminded Wyndham how twenty-five years before he had been seized by the vigilance of Government, and pardoned by its clemency; he upbraided him for the ill use of that clemency, and only feared that the seceders would not be as good as their word, and would come back. "For I remember," said he, "that in the case of their favourite Bishop (of Rochester) who was impeached of High Treason, the same gentleman and his faction made the same resolution. They then went off as traitors as they were, but their retreat had not the detestable effect they expected and wished, and therefore they returned (2)."

A Secession is a measure that has been several times attempted in the House of Commons, but always with such signal failure that the experiment will probably never be repeated. An

(1) Mr. Selwyn to T. Townshend, March 10. 1739. and Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 408.

(2) Parl. Hist. vol. x. p. 1323. I cannot find,

however, this secession of 1733 recorded in any of the publications of that time.

individual may sometimes be justified for withdrawing; a party never. In such cases the public have uniformly asked whether spleen and disappointment might not have some share in the decision—whether the country is best served by inactivity and silence—whether, if the Constitution really be in danger from a corrupt majority there is no surer remedy than to leave that majority unresisted and increased. This it soon appeared was the general and prevailing sentiment. Even at the outset three eminent members of the Opposition, Sir John Barnard, Lord Polwarth, and Mr. Plumer, of Hertfordshire, with a more far-sighted policy than their friends, refused to join him in their retreat, and continued to attend their duty as before (1). As to the others (about sixty in number), scarcely had they embarked upon their new course before they perceived its ill effects, and regretted their decision. They hoped to avail themselves of a call of the House, fixed for the next Monday, either as a pretext for returning to their posts, or as an occasion for being taken into custody, and becoming objects of popular compassion. But Walpole perceiving their drift, baffled them altogether, and eluded the call by moving an adjournment of the House till the Tuesday. So far from his career being checked by the Secession, as his enemies expected, he declared that no event in his whole administration had relieved him from more embarrassment. The Government measures now passed easily and smoothly, with seldom a speech, and never a division to arrest them. Bills were introduced and carried in behalf of the woollen manufacture and of the sugar Colonies; and though the repeal of the Test Act was again proposed by a section of Walpole's friends, the others rallied round him so effectually that the motion was rejected by a larger majority than on the last occasion.

But the question on which the Secession was most advantageous to the Minister was undoubtedly the Danish Subsidy, by which we stipulated to pay annually 250,000 dollars for three years, in return for a promise of the King of Denmark to hold ready 6000 men for our service, if required. It is alleged that the French Government had endeavoured to draw Denmark into a separate alliance with itself and Sweden against England, and had made other and more considerable offers which it was our interest and duty to forestall (2). But as it appears to me, there is no proof nor probability of such endeavours, beyond the assertion of a Danish Minister who wished to enhance his terms, and the belief of an English Envoy who wanted an excuse for his employers. The secret motive of this treaty, as of too many others, was not English but Hanoverian, and

(1) Opinions of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 78. The Duchess predicts, amongst the ill consequences of the Secession, that "Sir Robert Walpole may now keep all the money raised from the public for himself and his brother."

—Was this the very best topic for her Grace to choose?

(2) See Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 609., and his MS. Collections, Brit. Museum.

regarded the possession of a petty castle and lordship called Steinhorst. This castle had been bought from Holstein by George the Second, as Elector of Hanover, but the Danes claiming the sovereignty had sent a detachment of troops against it; a skirmish ensued, and the Danes were driven from the place. The Court of Copenhagen, much incensed, had made preparations to avenge the insult; and it was precisely at this period that the well-timed treaty of subsidy calmed their resentment, and obtained the cession of their claim. It is, according to my judgment, a mere evasion to assert in apology for Walpole, that the two transactions, though identical in point of time, were not connected in any other manner. The Opposition leaders, from their country retreats, exclaimed, and not without much truth, that Steinhorst was bought with British money; and Bolingbroke, with his usual exaggeration, soon afterwards expresses his "fear that we shall throw the small remainder of our wealth where we have thrown so much already, into the German gulph, which cries Give, give, and is never satisfied (1)."

The Session having closed in such unusual tranquillity, Sir Robert redoubled his exertions to bring the differences with Spain to a pacific issue; but the invectives of the pseudo-patriots had unfortunately served not merely to rouse animosity in England, but to awaken a corresponding spirit in Spain. Like all subjects of despotic monarchies, the Spaniards ascribed the insults of the British Opposition to the fault of the British Ministry; and, in order to resent the first, determined to assail the latter. When the plenipotentiaries met, in pursuance of the Convention, loud complaints were heard that the required sum of 68,000*l.* was withheld by the South Sea Company; and it was declared that the King of Spain thought himself at liberty, in consequence, to seize their effects, and to suspend their Asiento for negroes. The continuance of the British squadron in the Mediterranean gave scarcely less offence; while it remained there, said La Quadra, no "grace or facilities" were to be expected, as the honour of the King his master would not admit any condescension with such a scourge hung over him. But, above all, the Court of Madrid, galled at the denial of their Right of Search in the English Parliament, assumed a far higher tone respecting it, and intimated that unless it were admitted as the basis of negotiation there would be no need of any further conferences.

Notwithstanding this haughty tone, all hopes of peace had not yet vanished. Cardinal Fleury, with his usual conciliatory temper, offered the mediation of France; and undertook to guarantee the immediate payment of the 95,000*l.* demanded from Spain under the Convention, provided only the English squadron were withdrawn

(1) To Lord Marchmont, June 9. 1742. Marchmont Papers, vol. II.

from the Mediterranean (1). Walpole however well knew that the English nation was now too highly irritated to admit of any compromise, however just and reasonable. There are humours in the body politic as in the human frame, that can only be cured by their own excess and festering, and must be worse before they can be better. Such a spirit had at length been raised by the Opposition in England. The King also was impatient for vigorous measures, being quick in anger, fond of the army, and, like most Princes, thinking himself a great military chieftain. Thus urged, both from above and from below, Walpole perceived that the time for palliatives had passed, and that he was reduced to this plain alternative—to engage in war, or to retire from office. He decided for the former. The most active preparations now began; the squadron of Haddock, so far from being withdrawn, was reinforced; Sir Chaloner Ogle was ordered to the West Indies with another; and Sir John Norris hoisted his flag on board the *Namur*, at Chatham. Diplomatsists were likewise set in movement: Horace Walpole embarked for Holland to require the auxiliary troops stipulated in case of hostilities; and Mr. Keene received his final instructions, with a view no longer of preserving peace, but of justifying war. He was directed to declare, in most peremptory terms, that the King his master insisted on an absolute renunciation of the Right of Search—on the immediate payment of the sum fixed by the Convention—on an express acknowledgment of the British claims in North America. These demands being, as was foreseen, refused, or rather evaded, a Declaration of War against Spain was issued in London on the 19th of October.

To those who consider the unavoidable miseries of war, not only to the vanquished, but even to the victors—the lives lost and the bodies maimed in battle—and worse than loss of limb or of life, the sad bereavements and broken hearts at home—to those who recollect how long England had enjoyed, and how highly thriven by, the blessing of peace—to them there must be some matter of surprise in the universal and rapturous joy with which this Declaration was received. Exultation spread from man to man like a contagious illness; and depending as little on reason or reflection. Each felt as though he had attained some special and personal advantage. The Spanish colonies it was thought would prove an easy prey, and amply reimburse all the expences of an armament against them. Already were the treasures of Potosi grasped in anticipation; and again did the golden dreams of the South Sea Company float before the public eyes. The stocks which had been latterly declining rose immediately. The bells pealed from every steeple in London. Still louder were the shouts and acclamations resounding from the large and delighted multitude which followed

(1) Earl Waldegrave to the Duke of Newcastle, Paris, Aug. 18. 1739.

the heralds of the Declaration, and poured after them into the City. Several chiefs of the Opposition (for they and they alone were in truth the gainers) joined the joyful procession. The Prince of Wales himself was present ; nor did His Royal Highness disdain to stop before the Rose Tavern at Temple Bar, and drink success to the war.

On reviewing the whole of the transactions that prepared and produced the Spanish quarrel, we shall find ample reason for condemning, though on different grounds, both the Opposition and the Minister. To inflame a headstrong resentment—to kindle an unjust and unprofitable war—to serve their party at the expense of principle—and to wound their antagonist through the sides of their country—such was the conduct of those who arrogated the name, but forsook the duty, of PATRIOTS! These noisy bawlers with NO SEARCH as their favourite cry, who exclaimed that unless that right were explicitly renounced by the Spaniards, there should be no alternative but hostilities ;—these very men, only ten years afterwards, cheerfully concurred in a peace that left the Right of Search altogether unnoticed and secured! But why enlarge upon the accusation, when Walpole's opponents have themselves pleaded Guilty. "Some years after," says Mr. Burke, "it was my fortune to converse with many of the principal actors against that minister, and with those who principally excited that clamour. None of them, no, not one, did in the least defend the measure, or attempt to justify their conduct. They condemned it as freely as they would have done in commenting upon any proceeding in history in which they were totally unconcerned (1)."

But was the Minister more free from blame in yielding to this clamour?—Was it not beyond all doubt his duty to stand firm against it so long as it could be resisted, or to retire if it became irresistible? Yet at this the critical, the turning point of his political character, Walpole still unworthily clung to his darling office, thus proving that a love of power, and not a love of peace, as has been pretended, was his ruling principle. It was a sin against light. No man had a clearer view of the impending mischief and misery of the Spanish war. On the very day of the Declaration, when joyful peals were heard from every steeple of the City, the Minister muttered, "They may ring the bells now ; before long they will be wringing their hands (2)." Yet of this mischief and misery he would stoop to be the instrument!

It is alleged, indeed, that Sir Robert did actually tender his resignation to his Sovereign, and recalled it only at the Royal request ; but this, were it true, would not suffice for his justification, and it seems moreover to rest merely on some loose and

(1) *Thoughts on a Regicide Peace*, p. 74.

(2) *Coxe's Walpole*, vol. I. p. 618.

apologetic expressions of his brother Horace many years afterwards. Yet how shortsighted is personal ambition! Like avarice, in its baser stages, it cannot part with present possession, even for the largest future return. Had Walpole withdrawn upon this question, its subsequent unpopularity would have retrieved his own, and the revulsion of national feeling would speedily have borne him back to office, more uncontrolled and mighty than before. By remaining at the helm, on the contrary, Sir Robert secured but a brief respite; and, as we shall find, was ere long overwhelmed by that tremendous tempest, which, though aimed only at the steersman, endangered the vessel itself.

CHAPTER XXI.

The year 1740 opened under no favourable auspices for Walpole, whether as regarding the peace of Europe or the stability of his administration in England. 1740. Abroad, the war with Spain, however unwillingly begun, must now be vigorously urged; and there was this further evil attending it, that a rupture with France would almost inevitably follow. This was a consequence that Sir Robert had always foreseen and feared; it had been one of his main motives for peace, although of too delicate a nature for him to allege in debate. The monarchs of Spain and of France, bound together by close ties of kindred, always thought themselves natural allies, and the "Family Compact" existed in their minds long before it was concluded as a treaty or called by that name. Under the Regency of Orleans, indeed, different maxims prevailed, the Regent having good reason to consider the King of Spain not as a kinsman but as a rival. But under Fleury the old system returned in full force: he had used every endeavour to avert a war between the Courts of London and Madrid; when, however, that war actually ensued, he became more and more estranged from his English allies. The despatches of that period display the growing coldness, and point to the probable result. In the event, as I shall hereafter show, the war between England and Spain became grafted into that which arose throughout Europe on the death of the Emperor Charles the Sixth; but had even that event not occurred, there seems every reason to believe that France would ere long have sided with Spain. This was the very evil which had been apprehended from the enthronement of the House of Bourbon in Spain: such was the very system against which Somers had negotiated and Marlborough fought; and it is

remarkable, that the same events should fully justify at once both the warlike counsels of Godolphin and the pacific policy of Walpole.

At home the unpopularity of the Minister was gathering in the distance like a dark cloud on the horizon, ere long to burst in thunder on his head. He soon found that he had not bettered his condition by yielding to the foolish cry for war. Unjust clamours are not to be silenced by weak or wicked compliance; instead of appeasing their violence it only alters their direction. All the alleged misdeeds of Walpole—the Gin Act—the Play House Bill—the Excise Scheme—the corruption of Parliament,—the “unparalleled ruin” of the country, (for present distress is always called “unparalleled”) were now urged against him in combined array. He was held forth as the sole cause of national grievances, or rather as the greatest grievance in himself. Nay, more, it is certain that had Sir Robert even declared war against all Europe at this time, he could not have freed himself from the disgraceful imputation of being a friend of peace; it would still have been thought that he was forced forward against his will, and that he would seize the first opportunity of indulging his base love of public quiet and prosperity. Such was the injustice of the moment; and there had been for some time petty riots and risings, none of importance in itself, but in their aggregate denoting and augmenting the ferment of the people (1).

This ferment of the people gave of course strength and spirit to the Opposition in Parliament. The Seceders having felt the error of their course, eagerly seized the declaration of war as a pretext to change it. On the meeting of Parliament in November 1739, no sooner had the Address been moved and seconded, than Pulteney rose, in the name of the rest, to explain their altered views. He began by defending them for their Secession. “This step,” he said, “however it has been hitherto censured, will, I hope, for the future be treated in a different manner, for it is fully justified by the declaration of war, so universally approved, that any further vindication will be superfluous. There is not an assertion maintained in it, that was not almost in the same words insisted upon by those who opposed the Convention. Since that time there has not one event happened that was not then foreseen and foretold. But give me leave to say, Sir, that though the treatment which we have since received from the Court of Spain may have swelled the account, yet it has furnished us with no new reasons for declaring war; the same provocations have only been repeated, and nothing but longer patience has added to the justice of our cause. The same violation of treaties, the same

(1) See for example Boyer's *Polit. State*, vol. iv. “legs and arms that only want a head to make a p. 506. Lady Mary Wortley observes, “Our mobs “very formidable body.” (*Letters*, vol. II. p. 212. “grow very horrible: here are a vast number of ed. 1837.)

“ instances of injustice and barbarity, the same disregard to the
 “ Law of Nations, which are laid down in this declaration, were
 “ then too flagrant to be denied and too contemptuous to be
 “ borne. . . . It is therefore evident that if the war be necessary
 “ now, it was necessary before the Convention. Of this necessity,
 “ the gentlemen known, however improperly, by the name of
 “ Seceders, were then fully convinced. They saw instead of that
 “ ardour of resentment and zeal for the honour of Britain, which
 “ such indignities ought to have produced, nothing but meanness,
 “ tameness, and submission, . . . , to such conduct they could give
 “ no sanction ; they saw that all opposition was ineffectual, and
 “ that their presence was only made use of, that what was already
 “ determined might be ratified by the appearance of a fair debate.
 “ They therefore seceded . . . The state of affairs is now changed ;
 “ the measures of the Ministry are altered ; and the same regard
 “ for the honour and welfare of their country that determined
 “ these gentlemen to withdraw, has now brought them hither once
 “ more, to give their advice and assistance in those measures
 “ which they then pointed out as the only means of asserting and
 “ retrieving them. ”

Sir Robert Walpole replied with great spirit. “ After what passed
 “ last Session, and after the repeated declarations of the honourable
 “ gentleman who spoke last, and his friends, I little expected that
 “ this Session we should have been again favoured with their com-
 “ pany. I am always pleased, Sir, when I see gentlemen in the way
 “ of their duty, and glad that these gentlemen have returned to theirs ;
 “ though, to say the truth, I was in no great concern, lest the ser-
 “ vice, either of His Majesty or the nation should suffer by their
 “ absence. I believe the nation is generally sensible that the many
 “ useful and popular acts which passed towards the end of last
 “ Session, were greatly forwarded and favoured by the secession
 “ of these gentlemen ; and if they are returned only to oppose and
 “ perplex, I shall not at all be sorry if they secede again (1). ”

The debate on the King's speech was not confined to this remark-
 able incident ; a warning it contained against “ heats and animosities,”
 being construed by the Opposition as an insult to themselves, was
 warmly resented. In the Commons, however, the Address passed
 unanimously ; but the Lords, stirred by eloquent speeches from Ches-
 terfield and Carteret, divided, 68 for, and 41 against, the motion.

During the whole of this Session it is easy to observe the Mi-
 nister's diminished strength. His supplies indeed passed without
 difficulty ; the Land Tax was raised again to four shillings in the
 pound ; and four millions were granted for the war (2). But on

(1) Parl. Hist. vol. 11. p. 89. Coxe's Walpole, it. To Sir William Wyndham, Nov. 1. and Nov. 18.
 vol. 1. p. 626. Bolingbroke is remarkably cautious in forbearing to give any opinion as to the policy of the Seceders returning, but seems against 1739.

(2) “ Four millions of money have been raised
 “ on the people this year, yet in all probability

most other questions, finding that he could not stand his ground, he prudently preferred concession to defeat. When Wyndham moved a violent Address to the Crown that no peace with Spain might be admitted unless the Right of Search were renounced, the Opposition expected a great triumph, but were disappointed by Walpole declaring that he was the best to agree to the motion. When Pulteney brought in a bill "for the encouragement of seamen," by which the public would be deprived of all share in prize-money; Walpole opposed it only in its first stage, but then sullenly and silently acquiesced. He agreed to an Address "that "a sufficient number of ships may be appointed to cruize in proper stations for the effectual protection of trade;" though the motion implied that the number of cruisers had hitherto been insufficient, and that the Ministers therefore had been neglectful of their duty. Still more evident was his sense of weakness when a bill was introduced by himself for registering all seamen capable of service, and rendering them liable to summons on emergencies—a measure which he thought absolutely needful for the speedy equipment of the fleet. According to official returns, only 21,000 seamen could be mustered in the Royal Navy during the year 1739(1); while impressment from merchant shipping was an uncertain and invidious resource. Under these circumstances the Minister consulted Sir Charles Wager and Sir John Norris, the heads of the Admiralty, who declared that they could devise no other remedy but a general registry of seamen, according to the system which prevailed in France. But when the measure thus framed was laid before the House it was received with general disapprobation, and even horror, as an introduction of French measures and French despotism; it was certainly open to very grave objections, and after a faint defence was speedily dropped by the Minister. A general embargo upon shipping, to which he had recourse, was encountered with scarcely less clamour by the merchants; they called it an intolerable oppression upon commerce, and petitioned the House of Commons to be heard by counsel against it. Their request was supported by the Opposition, but withstood by the Government, and rejected by a large majority; however, the latter soon afterwards yielded to a compromise, by which the merchants agreed to carry one third of their crew of landsmen, and to furnish one man in four to the King's ships; while on the other hand, about the 14th of April, the embargo was removed (2).—Who in this cautious and conceding Session could recognize the imperious and all-powerful Prime Minister?

"nothing will be done.... Our situation is very extraordinary. Sir Robert will have an army, will not have a war, and cannot have a peace!" Pulteney to Swift, June 3. 1740. (Swift's Works, vol. xix. p. 333.)

(1) See the Accounts presented to the House of

Commons (Journals, January 28. 1740). This calculation of 21,316 is the average of the months, the number being less in the first months, but more in the later.

(2) Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 487.

The Opposition which at this time had gathered against Walpole might well indeed dismay him, supported as it was by so much popular favour, and comprising as it did almost every statesman of lofty talents or brilliant reputation. In each House he saw arrayed before him the accumulated resentments of twenty years. In the Lords, Chesterfield had become the most graceful and admired debater of the day. With more depth of knowledge and more force of application, Carteret was equally powerful as a speaker: he was marked out by the public voice for office, and, like Galba, would ever have been deemed most worthy of power unless he had attained it (1). The lively sallies of Bathurst, and the solemn invectives of Gower, continued to support the same cause; and within the last year it gained a most important accession in the Duke of Argyle. He had very many times before turned round from one party to the other, and each of his former changes may be clearly traced to some personal and selfish motive. For this last change, however, no adequate cause is assigned. His enemies whispered that Argyle could always foresee and forsake the losing side (2); yet in so long a life it is not impossible that for once he might deviate into disinterestedness. Thus much only we know, that after being a zealous supporter of Walpole's administration during many years, he, in the session of 1739, stood forth as one of its most bitter, most frequent, and most formidable assailants in debate. Yet Sir Robert, still wishing to keep measures with a man of such princely possessions, shining talents, and eminent services, left him in possession of every place, pension, office, or emolument, that had been lavishly heaped upon him as the price of his support. This forbearance was ere long taunted as timidity. Once in 1739, the Duke being present under the gallery of the House of Commons to hear the debate, Pulteney turned his speech to some officers who had voted against the Convention, and had in consequence been arbitrarily dismissed. "They who had the courage," cried Pulteney, "to follow the dictates of their own breasts were disabled from farther serving their country in a military capacity. One exception, Sir, I know there is, and I need not tell gentlemen that I have in my eye one military person, great in his character, great in his capacity, great in the important offices he has discharged, who wants nothing to make him still greater but to be stripped of all the posts, of all the places, he now enjoys.—But that, Sir, they dare not do (3)."

Want of daring, however, was seldom the fault of Walpole where his own colleagues were concerned. Next year, finding that his moderation had but emboldened instead of conciliating

(1) *Major privato visus dum privatus fuit, et omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset.* (Tacit. Hist. lib. i. c. 49.)

"tremely angry. It is a common saying that "when a house is to fall the rats go away." 1738. (Opinions of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 7.)

(2) "It is said that the Duke of Argyle is ex-

(3) Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 404.

his enemy, he prevailed upon the King, by one order, to dismiss the Duke from all his employments. The news roused the Highland blood of Argyle. General Keith, brother of the Earl Marischal, and a zealous Jacobite, was with his Grace when he received his dismissal. "Mr. Keith," exclaimed the Duke, "fall flat, fall edge, we must get rid of these people!"—"which," says Keith, "might imply both man and master, or only the man (1)!"

In the Lower House, at nearly the same moment, Sir Robert Walpole was freed from one of his most powerful antagonists, Sir William Wyndham, who died at Wells after a few days' illness. His frame had always been delicate (2), and he was only fifty-three years old; for nearly half that period had he been a leading member of the House of Commons. "In my opinion," says Speaker Onslow, "Sir William Wyndham was the most made for a great man of any one that I have known in this age. Every thing about him seemed great. There was no inconsistency in his composition; all the parts of his character suited and helped one another (3)." The same authority, however, admits him to have been haughty and arrogant in temper, and without any acquirements of learning (4). Pope extols him as "the master of our passions and his own;" yet the latter praise, at all events, does not apply to his private life, since it appears that, though twice married (5), he resembled his friends Bolingbroke and Bathurst as a man of pleasure (6). As a statesman, he wanted only a better cause, a longer life, and the lustre of official station (one more year would have brought it) for perfect fame. Born of an ancient lineage and inheriting a large estate, he dignified both his family and his fortune. The allurements which beguiled his lighter hours may have sometimes relaxed his public application; but the dangers which crossed his career and tried his firmness, left him unshaken and unchanged. His eloquence, more solemn and stately than Pulteney's, and perhaps less ready, was not less effective; and I cannot praise it more highly than by saying that he deserved to be the rival of Walpole and the friend of St. John.

In early life Wyndham was guilty of a failing which reason and reflection afterwards corrected: he thought and spoke with levity on sacred subjects. One instance of the kind, I am inclined to mention, on account of the admirable answer which he received from Bishop Atterbury; an answer not easily to be matched, as a most

(1) Letter of the Earl Marischal, June 15. 1750. Stuart Papers. I owe this extract to the kindness of the Right Hon. C. W. Wynn, who copied it at Carlton House. The original seems to have fallen from its right order, and I could not find it among the Stuart Papers of that year, at Cumberland Lodge.

(2) "When I was last amongst you, Sir William Wyndham was in a bad state of health: I always loved him, and rejoice to hear from you the figure he makes." Swift to Erasmus Lewis, July 23. 1737.

(3) Speaker Onslow's Remarks (Coxe's Walpole, vol. II. p. 582.)

(4) This is confirmed by the Rev. Dr. King: "He was not eminent in any branch of literature." (Anecdotes, p. 179.)

(5) The first wife of Sir William was daughter of the Duke of Somerset, surnamed the Proud; and the influence of that family in 1719 obtained for Sir Charles Wyndham, son and heir of Sir William, the title of Earl of Egremont.

(6) See for example the Duke of Wharton's letter of February 3. 1725, in the Appendix.

ready and forcible, yet mild and polished reproof. In 1715 they were dining with a party at the Duke of Ormond's, at Richmond. The conversation turning on prayers, Wyndham said, that the shortest prayer he had ever heard of was the prayer of a common soldier just before the battle of Blenheim. "Oh God, if there be a God, 'save my soul, if I have a soul!'" This story was followed by a general laugh. But the Bishop of Rochester, then first joining in the conversation, and addressing himself to Wyndham, said with his usual grace and gentleness of manner, "Your prayer, Sir William, 'is indeed very short; but I remember another as short, but a much 'better, offered up likewise by a poor soldier in the same circumstances: 'Oh God, if in the day of battle I forget thee, do 'not thou forget me!'"—The whole company sat silent and abashed (1).

To Bolingbroke, the loss of Wyndham was, both on public and private grounds, a deep and grievous blow. He deplores it in his letters, conjointly with another loss the Opposition had just sustained through the decease of the Earl of Marchmont, whose son and successor, Lord Polwarth, of course lost his seat in the House of Commons, and yet (for it was a Scotch title) gained none in the House of Lords. Polwarth was a young man of distinguished abilities, of rising influence in the Commons, of great—perhaps too great party warmth (2). "What a star has our Minister!" writes Bolingbroke, "Wyndham dead, Marchmont disabled! The loss 'of Marchmont and Wyndham to our country! . . . I can contribute nothing, my dear Marchmont—thus I used to speak to 'Wyndham, thus let me speak to you—I can contribute nothing 'to alleviate your grief unless mingling my tears with yours can 'contribute to it. I feel the whole weight of it; I am pleased to 'feel it; I should despise myself if I felt it less. . . . How impertinent is it to combat grief with syllogism! . . . We lament our 'own loss, but we lament that of our country too (3)!"

But whatever void the death of Wyndham may have left in the ranks of Opposition, there had—even before that shining orb was quenched—arisen in more happy augury, a still brighter star over the political horizon. What British heart does not thrill at the title of CHATHAM, OR—loftier still—the name of WILLIAM PITT?

William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, was born in November 1708, of an old gentleman's family, first raised to wealth and eminence by his grandfather Thomas, Governor of Madras. It

(1) Dr. King's Anecdotes, p. 7. Dr. King, then a very young man, was himself one of the party.

(2) "I have heard some say that Lord Polwarth 'and his brother are too warm; but I own I love 'those that are so, and never saw much good in 'those that are not." (Opinions of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 72.) According to Horace Walpole, Sir Robert used to say to his sons, "when I 'have answered Sir John Barnard and Lord Polwarth, I think I have concluded the debate."

But we may distrust the truth of this story, which seems intended as a side blow against Pitt and Pulteney.

(3) To Lord Marchmont, August 8. 1740, and an extract from a letter to Pope, of the same or nearly the same date. Marchmont Papers, vol. II. p. 224. et seq. Bolingbroke adds, "Multis fortunæ 'vulneribus percussus huic uni me imparem 'sensit."

was he who brought over from India the celebrated diamond which still bears his name, and which weighing 127 carats, was the largest yet discovered. He had given 20,000*l.* for it on the spot, and afterwards sold it to the Regent Orleans for 125,000*l.* During the interval, we are told, that he used upon his journeys to conceal it in the cavity of one of the high-heeled shoes, which he wore according to the fashion of that day. Governor Pitt acquired political importance by purchasing the burgage tenures of Old Sarum, and political connection by the marriage of his daughter with General Stanhope in 1713. His grandson, William, was a younger brother, and intended for the army, but received his education at Eton, and Trinity College, Oxford. Scarce any thing is recorded of his life at either, except that even at school he was already attacked by the great bane and curse of his future life—an hereditary gout. He was much noticed as a boy by his uncle Earl Stanhope, who discerned his rising talents, and according to a family tradition used to call him “the young Marshal.” His complaint increasing at Oxford, he was compelled to leave the University without taking a degree and to go abroad for his health. His tour was extended through both France and Italy, and it was his visit to Lyons that afforded the material (what does not afford it to genius)? for one of his most splendid and celebrated bursts of oratory. When in 1755 Pitt thundered against the unworthy coalition of Fox and Newcastle, he compared it to the junction of the Rhone and Saone: “At Lyons,” said he, “I remember I was taken to see “the place where the two rivers meet; the one a gentle, feeble, “languid stream, and though languid, of no depth; the other a “boisterous and impetuous torrent; but different as they are they “meet at last (1).”

On Pitt's return to England he obtained a Cornetcy in the Blues, and in 1786 entered Parliament as Member for Old Sarum. But his hopes of promotion in the former could never sway his conduct in the latter; so far from it, that he immediately plunged into strong opposition against the all-powerful Minister. For such opposition had the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham been tyrannically deprived of their commissions, and the Cornet soon shared the fate of the Colonels. After one or two able and ardent speeches he was dismissed the service, at a time when, as Lord Chesterfield assures us, his patrimony was only 100*l.* a year (2). His talents, however, had already attracted general notice: he was ere long appointed Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales, and continued to inveigh against the Minister with unabated energy and with expanding powers.

At this period the Opposition had been reinforced by so many able men, who gradually fell off from Walpole, and gathered against

(1) Thackeray's *Life*, vol. I. p. 229.

(2) Character, by Lord Chesterfield. *Works* vol. iv. ad fin.

him nearly all the talent of the country, that there seemed no longer any opening left for a youth of promise. But Pitt speedily showed, that even in the thickest crowd there is room enough for him who can reach it—over and upon their heads! He towered high above all his contemporaries, and if he still yielded to Pulteney or to Wyndham, it was to their weight and experience, and not to superior talent. His friend Lyttleton had, at first, been esteemed his equal, but the difference was soon displayed between a lofty genius, and merely a cultivated mind,—between the rising oak of the forests, and the graceful and pleasing but propped and feeble creeping plant.

Let us now endeavour closely to view and calmly to judge that extraordinary man, who at his outset was pitied for losing a Cornetcy of Horse, and who within twenty years, had made himself the first man in England, and England the first country in the world. He had received from nature a tall and striking figure, aquiline and noble features, and a glance of fire. Lord Waldegrave, after eulogising the clearness of his style, observes that his eye was as significant as his words(1). In debates, his single look could sometimes disconcert an orator opposed to him. His voice most happily combined sweetness and strength. It had all the silvery clearness, which at the present day delights us in Sir William Follett's, and even when it sank to a whisper it was distinctly heard; while its higher tones, like the swell of some majestic organ, could peal and thrill above every other earthly sound. Such were his outward endowments; in these, as in mind, how far superior to Lyttleton, who is described to us, as having "the figure of a spectre and the gesticulations of a puppet(2)!" Even the gout, that hereditary foe, which so grievously marred and depressed the energies of Chatham in his later life, may probably have quickened them in his earlier. In fact, it will be found that illness with all its pains and privations, has both enjoyments and advantages unknown to stronger health. Who that has for weeks together been bound to the narrow and stifling confinement of a sick-room, can forget the rapture with which he first again stepped forth to inhale the balmy breath of summer, and behold the whole expanse of an azure sky? Thus also the distemper of Chatham, while it shut out the usual dissipations of youth, either allowed or enforced the leisure for patient study, and might induce him to exclaim: Such are the compensations afforded in the all-wise scheme of Providence!

Of this leisure for study Lord Chatham had availed himself with assiduous and incessant care. Again and again had he read over the classics; not as pedants use, but in the spirit of a poet and philosopher; not nibbling at their accents and metres, but partaking

(1) *Memoirs*, p. 18.(2) *Walpole's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 178.

in their glorious aspirations; warmed by the flame, not raking in the cinders. As to style, Demosthenes was his favourite study amongst the ancients; amongst the English Bolingbroke and Barrow (1). But perhaps our best clue to Lord Chatham's own mental tasks, more especially in the field of oratory, is afforded by those which he afterwards so successfully enjoined to his favourite son. It may be stated on the authority of the present Lord Stanhope, that Mr. Pitt being asked to what he principally ascribed the two qualities for which his eloquence was most conspicuous—namely, the lucid order of his reasonings, and the ready choice of his words—answered that he believed he owed the former to an early study of the Aristotelian logic, and the latter to his father's practice in making him every day after reading over to himself some passage in the classics, translate it aloud and continuously into English prose.

Nor was Lord Chatham less solicitous as to his own action and manner, which, according to Horace Walpole, was as studied and as successful as Garrick's (2): but his care of it extended not only to speeches, but even in society. It is observed by himself, in one of his letters, that "behaviour, though an external thing, which "seems rather to belong to the body than to the mind, is certainly "founded in considerable virtues (3); " and he evidently thought very highly of the effect of both dress and address upon mankind. He was never seen on business without a full dress coat, and a tie wig, nor ever permitted his Under Secretaries of State to be seated in his presence (4). His very infirmities were managed to the best advantage; and it has been said of him that in his hands even his crutch could become a weapon of oratory. This striving for effect had however, in some respects, an unfavourable influence upon his talents, and, as it appears to me, greatly injured all his written compositions. His private letters bear in general a forced and unnatural appearance; the style of homely texture, but here and there pieced with pompous epithets and swelling phrases. Thus also in his oratory his most elaborate speeches were his worst; and that speech which he delivered on the death of Wolfe, and probably intended as a master-piece, was universally lamented as a failure.

But when without forethought, or any other preparation than those talents which nature had supplied and education cultivated, Chatham rose—stirred to anger by some sudden subterfuge of corruption or device of tyranny—then was heard an eloquence never surpassed either in ancient or in modern times. It was the highest power of expression ministering to the highest power of

(1) His admiration of Bolingbroke's style in his political works I have already had occasion to mention (vol. i. p. 19.). We are told that he had read some of Barrow's Sermons so often as to know them by heart. (Thackeray's Life, vol. ii. p. 399.)

(2) Memoirs, vol. i. p. 470. etc.

(3) To Thomas Pitt, afterwards Lord Camelford, January 24. 1754. Letters published by Lord Grenville.

(4) Seward's Anecdotes, vol. ii. p. 362.

thought. Dr. Franklin declares that in the course of his life he had seen sometimes eloquence without wisdom, and wisdom without eloquence; in Lord Chatham only had he seen both united (1). Yet so vivid and impetuous were his bursts of oratory, that they seemed even beyond his own control; instead of his ruling them, they often ruled him, and flashed forth unbidden, and smiting all before them. As in the oracles of old, it appeared not he that spake, but the spirit of Deity within. In one debate, after he had just been apprised of an important secret of state, "I must not speak to-night," he whispered to Lord Shelburne, "for when once I am up, every thing that is in my mind comes out." No man could grapple more powerfully with an argument: but he wisely remembered that a taunt is in general of far higher popular effect, nor did he therefore disdain (and in these he stood unrivalled) the keenest personal invectives. His ablest adversaries shrunk before him crouching and silenced. Neither the skilful and polished Murray, nor the bold and reckless Fox, durst encounter the thunderbolts which he knew how to launch against them; and if these failed who else could hope to succeed?

But that which gave the brightest lustre, not only to the eloquence of Chatham, but to his character, was his loftiness and nobleness of soul. If ever there has lived a man in modern times to whom the praise of a Roman spirit might be truly applied, that man beyond all doubt was William Pitt. He loved power—but only as a patriot should—because he knew and felt his own energies, and felt also that his country needed them—because he saw the public spirit languishing, and the national glory declined—because his whole heart was burning to revive the one, and to wreath the fresh laurels round the other. He loved fame—but it was the fame that follows, not the fame that is run after—not the fame that is gained by elbowing and thrusting, and all the little arts that bring forward little men—but the fame that a Minister at length will and must wring from the very people whose prejudices he despises, and whose passions he controls. The ends to which he employed both his power and his fame will best show his object in obtaining them. Bred amidst too frequent examples of corruption; entering public life at a low tone of public morals; standing between the mock-Patriots and the sneerers at patriotism—between Bolingbroke and Walpole—he manifested the most scrupulous disinterestedness, and the most lofty and generous purposes: he shunned the taint himself, and in time removed it from his country. He taught British statesmen to look again for their support to their own force of character, instead of Court cabals or Parliamentary corruption. He told his fellow-citizens, not as agitators tell them, that they were wretched and oppressed, but

(1) Dr. Franklin to Earl Stanhope, Jan. 23. 1775.—Franklin's Memoirs.

that they were the first nation in the world—and under his guidance they became so! And moreover (I quote the words of Colonel Barré, in the House of Commons), “he was possessed of the “happy talent of transfusing his own zeal into the souls of all those “who were to have a share in carrying his projects into execution; “and it is a matter well known to many officers now in the House, “that no man ever entered the Earl’s closet who did not feel “himself, if possible, braver at his return than when he went “in (1).” Thus he stamped his own greatness on every mind that came in contact with it, and always successfully appealed to the higher and better parts of human nature. And though his influence was not exempt from the usual gusts and veerings of popularity—though for some short periods he was misrepresented, and at others forgotten—though Wilkes might conclude a libel against him with the words, “He is said to be still living at Hayes in Kent;” yet, during the greater part of his career, the nation looked up to its “Great Commoner,” (for so they termed him), as to their best and truest friend, and when he was promoted to an Earldom they still felt that his elevation over them, was like that of Rochester Castle over his own shores of Chatham—raised above them only for their own protection and defence!

Such was the great genius, that in office smote at once both branches of the House of Bourbon, and armed his countrymen to conquest in every clime; while at home (a still harder task!) he dissolved the old enmities of party prejudices, quenched the last lingering sparks of Jacobitism, and united Whigs and Tories in an emulous support of his administration. The two parties thus intermingled and assuaged at the death of George the Second, ere long burst forth again, but soon with a counter-change of names, so that the Whigs now stand on the old footing of the Tories, and the Tories on that of the Whigs. Were any further proof required of a fact which I have elsewhere fully, and I believe, clearly unfolded, I could find it in the instance of Lord Chatham and of Mr. Pitt. It has never been pretended that the son entered public life with a different party, or on other principles than his father. Yet Lord Chatham was called a Whig, and Mr. Pitt a Tory.

I am far, however, from maintaining that Chatham’s views were always wise, or his actions always praiseworthy. In several transactions of his life, I look in vain for a steady and consistent compass of his course, and the horizon is too often clouded over with party spirit or personal resentments. But his principal defect, as I conceive, was a certain impracticability and waywardness of temper, that on some occasions overmastered his judgment and hurried him along. To give one instance of it; when not in the hey-day of youth, not in the exasperations of office—but so late as 1772,

(1) Speech of Colonel Barré, May 13, 1778. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xix.

and in the midst of his honoured retirement, he was replying to the speech of a Prelate, and to the opinion of a College of Divinity, he could so far fall in with the worst rants of the Dissenters, as to exclaim that “there is another College of much greater antiquity as well as veracity, which I am surprised I have never heard so much as mentioned by any of his Lordship’s fraternity, and that is the College of the poor, humble, despised fishermen who pressed hard upon no man’s conscience, yet supported the doctrines of Christianity both by their lives and conversations. . . . But, my Lords, I may probably affront your rank and learning by applying to such simple antiquated authorities, for I must confess that there is a wide difference between the Bishops of those and the present times (1) !” Yet who was the Prelate against whom these sneers were aimed? Was it any Bishop of narrow views, of sordid and of selfish mind? No, it was the irreproachable, the mild, the good, warm-hearted and the open-handed Bishop Barrington !

Yet, as I think, these frailties of temper should in justice be mainly ascribed to his broken health, and to the consequence of broken health—his secluded habits. When in society, Lord Chesterfield assures us, that he was “a most agreeable and lively companion, and had such a versatility of wit, that he could adapt it to all sorts of conversations.” But to such exertion his health and spirits were seldom equal, and he, therefore, usually confined himself to the intercourse of his family, by whom he was most tenderly beloved, and of a few obsequious friends, who put him under no constraint, who assented to every word he spoke, and never presumed to have an opinion of their own. Such seclusion is the worst of any in its effects upon the temper ; but seclusion of all kinds is probably far less favourable to virtue than it is commonly believed. When Whitefield questioned Conrade Mathew, who had been a hermit for forty years amidst the forests of America, as to his inward trials and temptations, the old man quaintly but impressively replied : “Be assured, that a single tree which stands alone is more exposed to storms than one that grows among the rest (2) !”

I have lingered too long, perhaps, on the character of Chatham ; yet, what part of an historian’s duty is more advantageous to his readers, or more delightful to himself, than to portray the departed great—to hold forth their eminent qualities to imitation, yet not shrink from declaring their defects? And in spite of such defects, I must maintain that there are some incidents in Chatham’s life, not to be surpassed in either ancient or modern story. Was it not he who devised that lofty and generous scheme for removing the disaffection of the Highlanders, by enlisting them in regiments

(1) Thackeray’s Life, vol. ii. p. 247.

(2) See Whitefield’s Journal, Nov. 27, 1739.

for the service of the Crown? Those minds which Culloden could not subdue, at once yielded to his confidence : by trusting, he reclaimed them ; by putting arms into their hands, he converted mutinous subjects into loyal soldiers! Let Rome or Sparta, if they can, boast a nobler thought!

But the most splendid passage in Lord Chatham's public life was certainly the closing one : when on the 7th of April 1778, wasted by his dire disease, but impelled by an overruling sense of duty, he repaired for the last time to the House of Lords, tottering from weakness, and supported on one side by his son-in-law Lord Mahon, on the other by his second son William, ere long to become like himself the saviour of his country. Of such a scene even the slightest details have interest, and happily they are recorded in the words of an eye-witness. Lord Chatham, we are told, was dressed in black velvet, but swathed up to the knees in flannel. From within his large wig little more was to be seen than his aquiline nose and his penetrating eye. He looked, as he was, a dying man ; "yet never," adds the narrator, "was seen a figure of more dignity ; he appeared like a being of a superior species." He rose from his seat with slowness and difficulty, leaning on his crutches and supported by his two relations. He took his hand from his crutch and raised it, lifting his eyes towards Heaven and said, "I thank God that I have been enabled to come here this day"—to perform my duty and to speak on a subject which has so deeply impressed my mind. I am old and infirm—have one foot, more than one foot in the grave—I am risen from my bed "to stand up in the cause of my country—perhaps never again to speak in this House." The reverence, the attention, the stillness of the House were here most affecting ; had any one dropped a handkerchief the noise would have been heard. At first he spoke in the low and feeble tone of sickness, but as he grew warm, his voice rose in peals as high and harmonious as ever. He gave the whole history of the American war, detailing the measures to which he had objected, and the evil consequences which he had foretold, adding at the close of each period, "and so it proved." He then expressed his indignation at the idea, which he heard had gone forth, of yielding up the sovereignty of America : he called for vigorous and prompt exertion ; he rejoiced that he was still alive to lift up his voice against the first dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy. After him the Duke of Richmond attempted to show the impossibility of still maintaining the dependence of the colonies. Lord Chatham heard him with attention, and when His Grace had concluded, eagerly rose to reply ; but this last exertion overcame him, and after repeated attempts to stand firm, he suddenly pressed his hand to his heart and fell back in convulsions. The Duke of Cumberland, Lord Temple, and other Peers caught him in their arms, and bore him to a neighbouring apartment,

while the Lords, left in the House, immediately adjourned in the utmost confusion and concern. He was removed to Hayes, and lingered till the 11th of May, when the mighty spirit was finally released from its shattered frame (1).—Who that reads of this soul stirring scene—who that has seen it portrayed by that painter, whose son has since raised himself by his genius to be a principal light and ornament of the same assembly—who does not feel, that were the choice before him, he would rather live that one triumphant hour of pain and suffering than through the longest career of thriving and successful selfishness?

My theme has borne me onwards, far beyond the period I had chosen, or the length I had designed; but let me now return to 1740.—Against the rising talents of Pitt, against the practised skill of the other Opposition chiefs, especially Pulteney, Barnard, and Polwarth, what had Walpole to oppose?—himself alone. His extreme jealousy of power had driven from his counsels any other member of the House of Commons, who could, even in the remotest degree, enter into competition with him. His colleagues and supporters were, therefore, only of two classes; in the first place, men of respectable character and plodding industry, but no aspiring abilities, such as Henry Pelham; secondly, men of superior talents, but for some cause or other, not clear in reputation, and looked upon as political adventurers. Of this class was Sir William Yonge, a man whose fluency and readiness of speech amounted to a fault, and were often urged as a reproach, and of whom Sir Robert himself always said, that nothing but Yonge's character could keep down his parts, and nothing but his parts support his character (2). Of this class also were Mr. Winnington, and in the other House, Lord Hervey.

Amongst the Peers, it is true that the Duke of Newcastle was ready, and Lord Hardwicke most able, in debate; but these, as I have already shown, were by no means cordially joined with Walpole upon the Spanish question. Indeed, in precise proportion as the Minister's unpopularity increased, Newcastle grew less and less friendly in his sentiments, or submissive in his tone. Numerous bickerings and altercations now arose between them. Lord Godolphin having announced his intention to resign the Privy seal, it was the intention of Walpole to appoint Lord Hervey in his place; this, however, was warmly resisted by Newcastle, who declares in one of his letters: "Sir Robert Walpole and Pulteney are not more opposite in the House of Commons, than Lord Hervey and I are with regard to our mutual inclinations to each

(1) See Seward's Anecdotes, vol. II. (Art. Lord Chatham) and Thackeray's Life, vol. II. p. 376-381.

(2) Horace Walpole's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 20. The old Duchess of Marlborough observes, with her usual coarse shrewdness, "If it were possible to have all done that I wish, nobody should go un-

"rewarded that deserves... But Sir Robert seems quite of another opinion, and never likes any but fools, and such as have lost all credit." To the Earl of Marchmont, August 29. 1740. Marchmont Papers, vol. II. p. 228.

"other in our House (1)." Notwithstanding his murmurs, and even a threat of resignation (which Walpole well knew that Newcastle, under any circumstances; could never find it in his heart to fulfill,) Sir Robert persevered, and the appointment of Lord Hervey took place in April 1740. Another time, in conversation, the Duke, wishing to reflect upon Walpole as sole Minister, muttered that, "not to have the liberty of giving one's opinion before measures are agreed upon, is very wrong." "What do you mean?" Walpole angrily replied, The war is yours—you have "had the conduct of it—I wish you joy of it (2)!" On another occasion again, the expeditions to America being discussed in Council, and it being proposed by Newcastle to send another ship of 60 guns (the Salisbury), the Prime Minister objected, and cried with much asperity, "What, may not one poor ship be left at home? Must every accident be risked for the West Indies, and no consideration paid to this country?" Newcastle recapitulated his reasons, but Walpole replied with still more heat, "I oppose nothing; I give into every thing; am said to do every thing; am to answer for every thing, and yet, God knows, I dare not do what I think right. I am of opinion for having more ships of the squadron left behind; but I dare not, I will not make any alteration. Let them go! Let them go (3)!" These petty altercations, each carefully detailed by Newcastle to his "dearest friend" Lord Hardwicke, strongly manifest the declining ascendancy of Walpole, and prove that his Cabinet was threatened with internal dissolution, not less than by outward pressure.

The health and high spirits of Walpole began to fail before this array of difficulties. His son Horace writes to a friend in 1741, "He who always was asleep as soon as his head touched the pillow, now never dozes above an hour without waking; and he, who at dinner always forgot he was Minister, and was more gay and thoughtless than all his company, now sits without speaking, and with his eyes fixed for an hour together. Judge if this is the Sir Robert you knew (4)!" Yet in public life his energy and courage were wholly unabated, and he thought only of schemes to recover his lost ground. The expeditions to America, if crowned with success might, he hoped, go far to retrieve his popularity. Another scheme more extraordinary, and at the moment unsuspected, was to prevail upon the King to consent to a bill, that at his death the Electorate of Hanover might be dis severed from the Crown of England. This project is recorded by the unimpeachable authority of Speaker Onslow. "A little before Sir Robert Walpole's fall, and as a popular act to save himself, he took me one day aside and said, 'What will you say, Speaker,

(1) To Lord Hardwicke, October 14. 1739. Hardwicke Papers, and Coxe's Copies.

(2) Duke of Newcastle to Lord Hardwicke, October 25. 1740.

(3) Ibid. October 1. 1740.

(4) To Sir Horace Mann, October 19. 1741.

“ ‘if this hand of mine shall bring a Message from the King to
 “ ‘the House of Commons, declaring his consent to having any
 “ ‘of his family after his own death, made by Act of Parliament
 “ ‘incapable of inheriting and enjoying the Crown and the Elec-
 “ ‘toral dominions at the same time?’ My answer was, ‘Sir, it
 “ ‘will be as a Message from Heaven.’ He replied, ‘It will be
 “ ‘done (1).’” By this project Walpole undoubtedly expected
 to gratify, not only the people’s distaste to Hanover, but also the
 King’s aversion to the Prince of Wales. Yet, whether the dif-
 ficulties at Court proved greater than he had foreseen, or whe-
 ther he was diverted by other and more pressing affairs, it does
 not appear that any further progress was made in the design.

But the most surprising measure to which Walpole was driven
 by his difficulties, was an application to the Pretender at Rome,
 with the view of obtaining the support of the Jacobites in England.
 It appears that in the summer of 1739, Thomas Carte the historian,
 being then about to undertake a journey to Rome, was entrusted
 with a message from Walpole to the Pretender, declaring his se-
 cret attachment, and promising his zealous services, but desiring to
 have some assurances of James’s intentions as to the church of
 England, and as to the Princes of the House of Hanover. In reply
 James wrote and put into the hands of Carte a very judicious letter
 in which he expresses great doubts as to the sincerity of Walpole’s
 good wishes, but promises that if they shall be real and effective
 they shall be duly rewarded at his restoration. “ I have no diffi-
 “ culty,” he adds, “ in putting it in your power to satisfy him au-
 “ thentically on the two articles about which he is solicitous, since,
 “ independent of his desires, I am fully resolved to protect and
 “ secure the Church of England, according to my reiterated pro-
 “ mises. As for the Princes of the House of Hanover,
 “ I thank God I have no resentment against them, nor against any
 “ one living. I shall never repine at their living happily in their
 “ own country after I am in possession of my kingdoms; and
 “ should they fall into my power, upon any attempt for my resto-
 “ ration, I shall certainly not touch a hair of their heads (2).”
 This letter was delivered to Walpole by Carte on his return, and it
 is still to be found amongst Sir Robert’s papers, endorsed with his
 own hand. No one, I presume, will here do Walpole the injustice
 to suspect him of sincerity. His zeal for the House of Hanover had
 been proved by most eminent services; and there seems little doubt
 that his object was only, as Sunderland’s had been eighteen years
 before, to catch the votes of the Jacobites at the next elections.
 Nay more, it is not improbable that like Sunderland he may have

(1) Speaker Onslow’s Remarks, Coxe’s Walpole, vol. ii. p. 571.

(2) James to Mr. T. Carte, July 10. 1739. See Appendix. Mr. Coxe had a copy of this letter, and

of the endorsement, amongst his MSS., and ought not, I think, to have suppressed all mention of it in his Life of Walpole.

communicated the correspondence to the King. I am only astonished how this wily statesman could expect that, after his past career, the Pretender would be satisfied with words, or fail to insist upon deeds.

We find, also, that Walpole in like manner tried his skill with Colonel Cecil, who, since the death of Lord Orrery, August in 1737, had become one of the principal Jacobite agents; and that, by professing his devotion to the same principles, he often drew from Cecil several important secrets (1). Even in the beginning of 1741, we may observe Carte, in a letter to the Pretender, still expressing some hope of Sir Robert's good intentions (2).

Of all the reasons to be alleged in justification of Sir Robert Walpole's pacific policy, there is none perhaps of greater weight than the new life and spirit which the Pretender and his party derived from the war. For several years had they been dwindling into insignificance; their hopes and projects, though sufficiently numerous, never followed by results nor claiming the notice of history. But as soon as foreign states became hostile to England, and had therefore an interest in overthrowing the government, or at least disturbing the tranquillity, of England, from that very moment the Jacobite conspiracy assumed a more regular and settled form, and presented a lowering and formidable aspect. I must now, then, again advert to the machinations of the exiled Prince, his adherents and allies; and trace the progress of that smouldering flame which ere long burst forth in another civil war.

James was still residing at Rome. In 1735 his consort, the titular Queen Clementina, had died of asthma (3), and this event, though they had lived far from happily together, seems to have greatly increased his usual dejection both of mind and manner. An interesting account of his appearance and habits in 1740, may be drawn from the lively letters of President des Brosses; letters which formerly appeared in a mutilated shape, but of late have been published correctly:—"the King of England is treated here "with as much respect as though he were a real reigning Sovereign. He lives in the Piazza di Sant' Apostoli, in a large palace not remarkable for beauty (4). The Pope's soldiers mount guard there as at Monte Cavallo, and accompany him whenever he goes out, which does not happen often. It is easy to know him for a Stuart; he has quite the air of that family; tall and thin, and in his face very like the portraits we have in France of his father James the Second. He is also very like Marshal Berwick,

(1) Dr. King's Anecdotes, p. 37.

(2) Letter from Mr. Carte to James (received April 17. 1741). See Appendix.

(3) Boyer's Polit. State, vol. xlix. p. 288. A splendid monument was raised to her memory by Pope Benedict XIV., and a medal struck on the

occasion. See Stuart Medals, No. 55., in Sir Henry Ellis's Catalogue.

(4) This was the Palazzo Muti. James died there in 1766. See Melchiorri, Guida di Roma, part. II. p. 666.

“ his illegitimate brother, except that the Marshal's countenance
 “ was sad and severe, while that of the Pretender is sad and silly.
 “ His dignity of manners is remarkable. I never saw any Prince
 “ hold a great assembly so gracefully and so nobly. Yet, his life
 “ in general, is very retired, and he only comes for an hour to take
 “ part in the festivals which he gives from time to time, through his
 “ sons to the ladies of Rome. His devotion is excessive; he passes his
 “ whole morning in prayers at the Church of the Holy Apostles,
 “ near the tomb of his wife. Of his talents I cannot venture to
 “ speak positively, for want of sufficient information; they seem
 “ but moderate, yet all his conduct is reasonable and befitting his
 “ condition. Although I have often the honour of seeing him, he
 “ appears but for a moment on returning from church; he then
 “ goes into his closet and remains there till dinner. He speaks lit-
 “ tle at table, but with much courtesy and good nature, and with-
 “ draws soon after the meal is concluded. He never sups at night.
 “ His table for dinner is always equally laid with eleven covers
 “ for the ten persons of his family, who in general dine with him;
 “ but whenever any foreign or Roman gentlemen wait upon him
 “ in the morning, he most commonly asks them to stay dinner,
 “ and in that case a corresponding number of his attendants go and
 “ dine at another table, so that at his own the number is always
 “ the same. When he sits down to dinner, his two sons, before
 “ they take their places, go to kneel before him and ask his blessing.
 “ To them he usually speaks in English, to others in Italian or in
 “ French.

“ Of these two sons, the elder is called the Prince of Wales, the
 “ younger the Duke of York. Both have a family look; but the face
 “ of the latter is still that of a handsome child. They are amiable
 “ and graceful in their manners; both showing but a moderate
 “ understanding, and less cultivated than Princes should have at
 “ their age. They are both passionately fond of music, and un-
 “ derstand it well: the eldest plays the violoncello with much
 “ skill; the youngest sings Italian airs in very good taste: once a
 “ week they give an excellent concert, which is the best music at
 “ Rome. The English, who always swarm in this city, are most
 “ eager to have an opportunity of seeing these Princes. The young-
 “ est, especially, is much liked in the town, on account of his hand-
 “ some face and pretty manners. Yet I hear from those who know
 “ them both thoroughly, that the eldest has far higher worth, and
 “ is much more beloved by his friends; that he has a kind heart and
 “ a high courage; that he feels warmly for his family misfortunes;
 “ and that if some day he does not retrieve them, it will not be
 “ for want of intrepidity. They tell me, that having been taken,
 “ when quite a stripling, to the siege of Gaeta by the Spaniards,
 “ one day during the voyage his hat blew off into the sea. The
 “ people round him wished to recover it. ‘No,’ cried he, ‘do not

“ ‘take that trouble; I will some day go the same way my hat
 “ ‘has gone, if things remain as they are (1).’ ”

The chief Minister of James, and by far the ablest man at his little Court, was James Murray, the titular Earl of Dunbar; his unworthy brother-in-law, Lord Inverness, had died this very year at Avignon. Soon afterwards one Mr. Edgar, who is mentioned in 1728, in some letters from Italy (2), having become James's private Secretary, also obtained considerable influence over him. As to hopes of foreign succour, the Duke of Ormond and the Earl Marischal had hastened to Madrid upon the rupture with England, but did not find or make any very favourable opening in that quarter. “Nothing,” writes the Earl, “has been intended here against the English Government, which they know was forced into the war, and which they count on as ready to forward peace as soon as they dare (3).” But in France, the Jacobite prospects were of brighter hue. When Cardinal Fleury perceived that France must probably follow Spain in a breach with England, he began to lend a ready ear to the malcontents and exiles, and entered into their designs, with secrecy indeed and caution, but still considerable warmth. In the first place, however, he paused to ascertain what the Jacobites could effect for themselves at home, declaring that if they would fulfil their assurances, he would be no niggard of his aid.

The Jacobite party in Britain, so long as peace continued, was well described by Bolingbroke as “an unorganized lump of inert matter, without a principle of life or action in it; capable of mobility, perhaps, but more capable of divisibility, and utterly void of all power of spontaneous motion (4).” But war was the Promethean spark that kindled the sluggish mass. In Scotland an association in favour of the exiled family undertaking to risk life and fortune, whenever a body of foreign troops should land as auxiliaries, was signed in 1740 by seven principal persons, namely, the Earl of Traquair, a Roman Catholic nobleman; his brother Mr. John Stuart; the titular Duke of Perth; his uncle Lord John Drummond; Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck; Lord Lovat; and young Lochiel. The name of Lovat may excite some surprise in those who remember his activity against the insurgents of 1715 (5); but this crafty and selfish old man had been offended at some attempts of the Government to introduce law and order in the Highlands: he thought also his former service ill rewarded, and de-

(1) The title of this work is *l'Italie il y a Cent Ans*, and the passage I have translated is taken from vol. II. p. 98—100., ed. 1836. I have found this work, in other parts, both acute and impartial.

(2) See Atterbury's Correspondence, vol. I. p. 208.

(3) Earl Marischal to James, June 21. 1740. Stuart Papers, Appendix. Among other points in this letter it is interesting to observe the Lord Marischal's love of Plutarch, which afterwards be-

came one of the ties of his intimate friendship with Rousseau. Rousseau himself says of Plutarch, not long before his death, “Dans le petit nombre de livres que je lis quelquefois encore, Plutarque est celui qui m'attache et me profite le plus. Ce fut la première lecture de mon enfance, ce sera la dernière de ma vieillesse.” (Quatrième Réverie, Œuvres, vol. III. p. 272. ed. 1822.)

(4) To Sir William Wyndham, January 28. 1740.

(5) See Vol. I. p. 129.

clared, that he had not received enough—a word which, with him, always meant a little more than he had! What, then, were his feelings, when in 1736, having excited the suspicions of the Government, he was stripped of the place and pension which he already enjoyed! Incensed, but with caution mastering even his most violent resentments, he plunged, eager, yet still dissembling, into the Jacobite designs.

The mind of Donald Cameron, young Lochiel, was cast in a far different mould: full of courage, hospitality, and honour; a true model of that chivalrous character which poets have feigned, oftener than found, in feudal chiefs. For the cause of the Stuarts had the father fought and bled, and was now living attainted and in exile; for that cause, even when buoyed up by no visions of victory, the son was as ready to devote the last drop of his blood, the last acre of his lands. An erring principle, but surely a most noble fidelity! His energy in war, his courtesy and charity in peace, are recorded even by his political (he could have no private) enemies. One of these, a courtly poet, unable to comprehend either how so excellent a man should be shut out from Paradise, or how any person of Jacobite principles could possibly enter in, ingeniously solves the difficulty by presuming that Lochiel will become “a Whig in Heaven (1).” Nowhere, I think, do our annals display a more striking contrast than this between Lovat and Lochiel. The one, hoary with age, and standing on the very brink of the grave, yet trembling with eagerness for none but worldly and evanescent objects; willing to sacrifice honour, conscience, country, nay, even, as we shall find hereafter, his own son, victims at the shrine of his unprincipled ambition! The other in the prime of manhood, with aims as pernicious for the public, but in him most pure and lofty; swayed not by places or pensions, by coronets and ribands, but by his own inward and impelling sense of right: faithful to James, only because he believed, however erroneously, that James was his rightful King—only because he felt that his duty and devotion to the King were a part of his duty and devotion to the Almighty King of Kings!

Having formed their plot, the seven leaders next determined to impart it to their Prince, through a confidential agent, and for this purpose they pitched upon Mac Gregor, otherwise called Drummond, of Bohaldie. He was directed, on his return from Rome, to make some stay at Paris, and was entrusted with a memorial to Cardinal Fleury, giving an account of the design, and containing a list of the Highland Chiefs well affected to the Stuart cause, such as Sir Alexander Macdonald and Mac Leod. To Rome accordingly Bohaldie repaired, and afterwards to Paris, where he was favourably received by the Cardinal, and where he urged his

(1) Scots' Magazine; 1748.

negotiation, conjointly with one Sempill, calling himself Lord Sempill, at this time James's principal manager at the Court of Versailles.

With respect to England, Colonel Brett was, early in 1740, despatched from Paris to confer with the Jacobite leaders in that country. Amongst the foremost of these appears to have been the Duke of Beaufort; a young man of delicate health and retired habits, who indeed survived only till the spring of 1745 — but his brother, and afterwards his heir, Lord Noel Somerset, directed the powerful influence of that family in the Western counties. Sir Watkin Wynn answered for North Wales; in London, Lord Barrymore and Colonel Cecil, at Oxford, Dr. William King, Principal of St. Mary's Hall, were stirring agents. But, perhaps, the most active of the party was Sir John Hinde Cotton, member for the county of Cambridge, a gentleman of old family and large estate: he had sat in Parliament ever since the time of Queen Anne, was not undistinguished as a speaker, and so zealous a Jacobite that he used to make an annual progress throughout England, to maintain the spirit of his friends (1). On the 28th of March Lord Sempill writes, that Colonel Brett has returned from England, and reports "Shippen timid; Sir John Hinde Cotton doubtful of others, but answers clearly for himself; Sir Watkin Wynn hearty, and may certainly be depended on (2)."

In little more than two months after Colonel Brett's return, Lord Barrymore undertook a Jacobite mission from London to Paris, and was admitted, together with Lord Sempill, to an audience of Cardinal Fleury. The Minister gave them a gracious reception, listened with pleasure to their account of affairs at home, and promised to send a friend of his own to England, in order to obtain still fuller and more authentic information for his Court (3). In a few days more we find Lord Barrymore about to return, and the Marquis de Clermont the person selected by the Cardinal for the secret English mission. It also appears that Sir John Hinde Cotton was to remain in London throughout the summer, as the channel of communication with James's friends; and that Shippen, whom the public voice still proclaimed as the great leader of the Jacobites, was thought by them so weak as to be left out of all their consultations (4). Shippen, at this time, was sixty-eight, and his energy, perhaps, much impaired. But, as it seems to me, even his earlier reputation grew much more from his courage, his incorruptibility, his good humoured frankness of purpose, than from any superior eloquence or talent. Horace Walpole, the younger,

(1) See Coxe's *Life of Lord Walpole*, p. 278.

(2) Letter of Lord Sempill, March 28. 1740. *Stuart Papers*. The Right Hon. C. W. Wynn has kindly communicated to me this, and the following extracts or summaries, which he made at Carlton House from Sempill's Letters of 1740. I

could find none of these in their place at Windsor.

(3) Letter of Lord Sempill, June 6. 1740. *Stuart Papers*.

(4) Letter of Lord Sempill, June 13. 1740. *Stuart Papers*.

describes his speeches as spirited in sentiment, but generally uttered in a low tone of voice, with too great rapidity, and with his glo held before his mouth (1) — certainly not the portrait of a great orator! It is said that he had some skill in poetry, yet it does not seem that he was known or prized by any eminent men without the House of Commons. His father was rector of Stockport, and his paternal inheritance had been small; he acquired, however, an ample fortune by marriage. His wife was extremely penurious, and as a relation gently expressed it, “with a peculiarity in temper (2),” and unwilling to mix in society; she was much noticed by Queen Caroline, but steadily declined all connection with the Court. Shippen, himself, like Pulteney, was not free from the odious taint of avarice: when not attending Parliament, he lived chiefly in a hired house on Richmond Hill; and it is remarkable that neither of these distinguished politicians, though each wealthy, possessed that chief pride and delight of an English gentleman—a country seat (3).

In September, this year, it appears that the Marquis de Clermont had returned from his secret mission, and that his reports were favourable to the Jacobite designs (4); and in December, after the Emperor's death had given new ground and probability of war, Cardinal Fleury was so far wrought upon as to promise positively that if Bohaldie could bring full assurances from those who managed the Clans, the Irish brigade in France should be forthwith transported to Scotland, with the arms and ammunition required. In that case he also undertook to use endeavours with the Government of Spain, to send another body of troops from thence, with the Earl Marischal (5). Such a project was indeed already entertained by the Spanish, or at least apprehended by the British, Court (6).

Even from this outline it will be perceived how unwearied, how extensive, and how formidable was the Jacobite conspiracy. Yet, at that moment, and for years before, the existence of any such conspiracy was stubbornly denied by the “Patriots,” in Opposition; they maintaining that it was a mere chimera and device of ministers to justify military preparations, a standing army, and the final establishment of despotic power. Daniel Pulteney—a brother of William, of the same principles, and prevented only by his early death from attaining similar political distinction—used to

(1) Communicated to Archdeacon Cox. *Memoirs of Walpole*, vol. i. p. 672.

(2) From her grand-nephew, Judge Willes. Cox's *Walpole*, vol. i. p. 673. Shippen survived her several years in full possession of her fortune.

(3) This fact, as regards Shippen, is stated in Cox's *Walpole*, *ut supra*. As regards Pulteney, I find it in a letter from Pope to Swift, of May 17, 1739. (*Swift's Works*, vol. xix. p. 281.)

(4) Letter of Lord Sempill, Sept. 8. 1740. *Stuart Papers*.

(5) Letter of Lord Sempill, December 19. 1740. *Stuart Papers*.

(6) “The troops in Galicia publicly declared ‘they were to be employed under the Duke of Ormond, who was then in Spain, in a descent upon England.’” (*Tindal's Hist.* vol. viii. p. 459.) Sir John Norris was sent out with a squadron to defeat this design, and the Duke of Cumberland sailed with him as a volunteer: however, the Spaniards found ample employment for their force in South America.

say that the Pretender would never subdue us, but his name would (1)! These mock-patriots, so jealous, as they seemed, of British liberties, were undoubtedly in effect—perhaps sometimes in intention—the best allies and patrons of the Jacobites.

For the Jacobites themselves, their course, though far more direct and manly, was still less reasonable. Considering the mildness and moderation of the reigning family, we may wonder at their irreconcilable resentment; and our surprise will augment, if we reflect on the feeble and bigot character of the Prince whom they were so eager to enthrone. To place at the head of the Church of England one of its most bitter and unchanging adversaries—such was the aim of men who believed or boasted themselves the best, nay, the only real, friends of that Church! Every successive year, as it increased the difficulty of a Revolution—as it heightened the necessity to wade at this object through torrents of blood, and that blood our fellow countrymen's—added, as I conceive, to the responsibility and moral guilt of the attempt. And while I revere and wish to do justice to the high motives of many Jacobites, I cannot but strongly condemn the false political idolatry of all.

CHAPTER XXII.

As the South American Colonies had given the first impulse to the war with Spain, so was it against them that its chief exertions were directed. Their weakness, it was thought, would afford an easy conquest, and their wealth a rich booty. Two squadrons were accordingly equipped: the one under Commodore Anson, to sail round Cape Horn and rifle the shores of Peru; the other under Admiral Vernon, to attack Porto Bello and the Eastern coast. Each of these expeditions will demand and reward a particular detail.

George Anson, commander of the first, and afterwards Lord Anson, deserves to be held forth as a model to British seamen of what may be accomplished by industry, by courage, by love of their profession. He was born of a family at that period new and obscure, nor had he the advantage of distinguished talents. After his expedition, it used to be said of him that he had been round the world but never in it: he was dull and unready on land; slow in business, and sparing of speech. But he had undaunted bravery, steady application, and cool judgment; he punctually followed his

(1) Lord Bollingbroke to Sir William Wyndham, November 18. 1739.

instructions, and zealously discharged his duty; and by these qualities—qualities within the attainment of all—did he rise to well-earned honours and bequeath an unsullied renown (1).

It is from Lord Anson's papers, but by the pen of Mr. Walker, his Chaplain, that an accurate and interesting narrative of the expedition has been transmitted to posterity. The ships assigned for this service were the *Centurion* of 60 guns and 400 men, the *Gloucester* and *Severn*, each of 50 guns and 300 men, the *Pearl* of 40 guns, the *Wager* of 28, and the *Trial* sloop of 8. Great difficulty and delay, however, took place in the manning of this squadron, for want of the fuller powers, which Walpole had in vain solicited from the House of Commons. Thus far, therefore, no blame can attach to the Minister; but, on another point within his own control, he may be justly charged with want of knowledge or consideration. Instead of embarking a regiment of foot as at first designed, it was declared that 500 out-pensioners of Chelsea should be collected instead of it, though these men were utterly disabled by age or wounds from even a common or less laborious service. The First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir Charles Wager, concurred in the representations made by Anson on this subject; but the opinion of both was overruled, as it seems, by the Prime Minister (2). But, further still, when the poor invalids came on board they were found to be only 259 instead of 500, for all those who had limbs and strength to walk out of Portsmouth had deserted! "Indeed," says an eye-witness, "it is difficult to conceive a more moving scene than the embarkation of these unhappy veterans. They were themselves extremely averse to the service they were engaged in, and fully apprised of all the disasters they were afterwards exposed to; the apprehensions of which were strongly marked by the concern that appeared in their countenances, which was mixed with no small degree of indignation, to be thus hurried from their repose into a fatiguing employ, to which neither the strength of their bodies, nor the vigour of their minds, were anyways proportioned, and when, without seeing the face of an enemy, or in the least promoting the success of the enterprise they were engaged in, they would, in all probability, uselessly perish by lingering and painful diseases; and this, too, after they had spent the activity and strength of their youth in their country's service."

From this first deficiency, from contradictory orders, and from various other circumstances of mismanagement, above half a year had been wasted, and it was not till the 18th of September, 1740, that the squadron weighed anchor from St. Helen's. They touched

(1) See Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs, p. 88. In Rousseau's fiction, Lord Anson expands to "un capitaine, un soldat, un pilote, un sage, un grand homme!" (*Nouvelle Héloïse*, partie iv. lettre 3.)

(2) Walter's Narrative of Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 9. ed. 1748. 8vo.

at Madeira, refreshed themselves at St. Catherine's, on the coast of Brazil, and in March, 1741, safely crossed the straits of Le Maire. "As these straits," observes the Chaplain, "are often considered as the boundary between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, we could not help flattering ourselves that the greatest difficulties of our passage were now at an end, and hence we indulged our imaginations in those romantic schemes, which the fancied possession of the Chilian gold and Peruvian silver might be conceived to inspire. These joyous ideas were heightened by the brightness and serenity of the sky. . . . Thus we traversed these memorable straits, ignorant of the dreadful calamities that were then impending and just ready to break upon us; ignorant that the time drew near when the squadron would be separated, never to unite again, and that this day of our passage was the last cheerful day that the greatest part of us would ever live to enjoy (1)." It appears that the delays in England had brought them to the most stormy and perilous season for doubling Cape Horn. On leaving Straits Le Maire they were immediately assailed by a tremendous tempest; the sea ran mountain high; and the oldest sailors on board were forced to confess that what they had hitherto called storms were mere gentle breezes compared to the violence of these winds. What added to their danger was their inequality, and the deceitful lulls they afforded, suddenly interrupted by such quick and violent motions, that the men were in perpetual peril of being dashed to pieces against the decks or sides of the ships. Thus were several men killed and others greatly injured: one, for example, breaking his thigh, and another his collar bone twice. Moreover, these blasts generally brought with them a great quantity of snow and sleet, which cased the rigging and froze the sails, thus rendering them and the cordage apt to snap upon the slightest strain, and which also benumbed and disabled many of the people, even to the mortifying of their toes and fingers. The ships also, by labouring in these high seas, had grown loose in their upper works, so that they let in the water at every seam, and scarcely any of the officers ever slept in dry beds.

For many days did the squadron struggle against these dangers and hardships, in the meanwhile striking to the southward, and having then advanced, as they believed, near ten degrees to the westward of Tierra del Fuego, so as to compensate the drift of the eastern current. Thus, then, on once more steering north, they fully expected, within a few days, to enter a new scene, and experience the proverbial tranquillity of the Pacific Ocean. But the case proved far otherwise. They unexpectedly discovered land, which they found to be Cape Noir, a point of Tierra del

(1) Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 106.

Fuego ; the surprising strength of the currents having thus borne them back to the eastward nearly seven hundred miles more than they had reckoned. Instead, therefore, of enjoying a summer climate and more tranquil sea, their prows were again turned to the antarctic pole, again to contend with those fearful storms they had so lately encountered ; and in this second cruise they underwent a new calamity in the total separation of the squadron, which had hitherto been kept together, though with difficulty, by guns fired almost every half hour from the commodore's ship, the *Centurion*. It only remained for each vessel to shift for itself, and endeavour to reach the island of Juan Fernandez, which Anson, with prudent forethought, had previously assigned as a point of rendezvous.

The *Centurion*, now left alone, was beset with renewed hurricanes, especially upon the 22d of May : " at which time," says Mr. Walter, " the fury of all the storms which we had hitherto encountered seemed to have combined for our destruction (1)." They escaped these dangers, but had still no cause for self-congratulation, for, even when the ship shot along the more quiet waves of the Pacific, it bore within it an active principle of destruction—that sea plague, the scurvy. In our days, when medical science has done so much to tame and subdue that dreadful disease, we may feel surprise at the violence of its former fury. We read amongst its symptoms on this occasion, of putrid fevers, pleurisies, the jaundice, and extreme rheumatic pains ; a difficulty of breathing, ulcers of the worst kind, attended with rotten bones, and yielding to no remedies ; a re-opening of the scars of old wounds ; nay, strangest of all in British sailors, " a disposition to be seized with " dreadful terrors on the slightest accidents." We are told that the patients, though confined to their hammocks, sometimes continued to bear the appearance of health ; for they ate and drank heartily, were cheerful, and talked in a loud strong tone of voice ; and yet, on their being the least moved, though it was only from one part of the ship to the other, and that in their hammocks, they immediately expired ; and that others, who confided in their seeming strength, and attempted to rise, died before they could well reach the deck. If any reader should suspect exaggeration in these details, he will find them mournfully confirmed by the list of deaths. In the first month that the disease appeared the *Centurion* lost 43 men, in the second month nearly double that number ; and before they reached the land above two hundred had died, and so many were ill, that no more than six fore-mast men in a watch could be mustered capable of duty. Ere long, too, there was a deficiency of fresh water ; and the island which they sought—a small speck in a boundless sea—for some time eluded

(1) Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 148.

their research : once, when seen, it was mistaken for a cloud on the horizon, and passed by. At last, on the 10th of June, they approached and anchored at the much desired port, being then so feeble and exhausted that a few days longer at sea would probably have destroyed them altogether.

The island of Juan Fernandez (so called from a Spaniard who had formerly obtained a grant of it) was then uninhabited, though abounding in all the gifts of nature that could tempt the residence of man. Aromatic woods clothe its sides, crystal springs gush from its valleys ; it produces many kinds of excellent herbs, and the sea around it teems with the greatest variety of fish. In extent it is about five leagues long and two broad. It had once been dwelt in by Alexander Selkirk, a Scottish sailor, who had been left behind by his ship, and lived alone, until taken up by another some years afterwards. This real Crusoe had published a most curious account of his hermit's life ; and the accuracy of his statements was verified by a little incident that afforded great pleasure—as a countryman's token in a far distant and solitary land—to the Centurion's crew. He says that, as he often caught more goats than he wanted, he sometimes marked their ears and let them go ; this being about thirty-two years before the Centurion arrived at the island. Now it so happened, that the very first goat killed by the sailors,—a patriarch of “ an exceeding majestic beard, and “ most venerable aspect, ” had his ears slit, from whence they rightly concluded that he must have been one of the hermit's little flock. These goats were, indeed, no small resource to the hungry seamen : they also ate seal's flesh, which they did not relish at first, but afterwards calling it lamb among themselves—such is the power of names upon the multitude !—thought it very palatable (1). Of still more service were the wild herbs to the sick, who were carried to land and placed under tents ; yet the healthy were so few that, though the officers worked alike with the men, it was with the utmost difficulty that this removal was effected. Above a dozen died in the boats, on being exposed to the fresh air. Now, however, the disease rapidly abated, and a few weeks sufficed to restore the survivors to their wonted strength and vigour.

But where was the rest of the squadron ? A few days after the Centurion arrived the Trial Sloop : it had been in like manner afflicted with the scurvy, and so severely, that at last only the Captain, the Lieutenant, and three men were able to stand by the sails. But even these sufferings were light when compared with those of the Gloucester, which came in view shortly afterwards : they had been for some time at the small allowance of one pint of water to each man for twenty-four hours ; they had already thrown overboard two thirds of their crew ; and of those that remained

(1) Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 172.

alive scarce any were capable of duty, except the officers and their servants. The poor Chelsea pensioners were of course among the earliest victims : every one of them had perished (1). In fact there was no longer strength sufficient to navigate the ship ; and, though some of the Centurion's men were sent out to it in boats, it was twice driven off the island by winds or currents ; and above a month elapsed before it could be brought to anchor, or the survivors be lauded to recover and refresh themselves.

Some weeks later they were also joined by their victualler, th Anna Pink. Of the remaining ships the Pearl and Severn had suffered so severely in the storms, that, as afterwards appeared, they had put back to the Brazils, and took no further part in the expedition. The fate of the last ship, the Wager, was most disastrous of all : it was wrecked on a small desert island to the southward of Chiloe. The crew (140 in number) were saved from the waves, but instantly exposed to still more dire distress ; many of them perishing miserably from want of food. Moreover, the men conceived that by the loss of the ship the authority of the Captain had ended : the Captain, on his part, was of no kind or conciliatory temper ; and thus mutiny soon came in to embitter the anguish of famine. The sailors, at length seizing the long boat, steered away with the view of passing the streights of Magellan ; and, nearly impossible as it was deemed, yet, after a most surprising navigation, some of them, to the number of thirty, did actually reach Rio Grande, in Brazil. But afraid of being tried for mutiny in England, should their Captain ever be present to confront them, they had insisted on leaving him on shore when they began their voyage, and with him the Lieutenant, the Surgeon, and the two Midshipmen. One of these last, the Honourable John Byron, has left a well-written narrative of his sufferings and adventures on this occasion : he afterwards rose to the rank of Admiral in the British navy, commanded in the West Indies, and survived till 1798, but is best known as the grandfather of the celebrated poet (2). The same frankness the same energy, the same love of enterprise and of distinction, appear both in the sire and the son ; but while the spirit of the former was restrained by the rules, and yet quickened by the impulse, of the public service, the latter was assailed by the temptations of early wealth, and the opportunities of unlimited indulgence. Thus did that great genius sink into errors and failings which his grandsire never knew ; thus his life, if more glorious, was far less long, less happy, less truly honourable. Well and wisely was it said, by a true practical philosopher, that next to religion the most important principle in life is to have a pursuit (3) ! Yet the contrast of the

(1) See Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 223. In the Centurion there had survived only four!

(2) Lord Byron has made great use of the real incidents of the Wager's shipwreck for that in

his Don Juan, as, indeed, is observed by himself (canto II. stanza 187.).

(3) Sir Humphry Davy's Salmonia, p. 270.

Byrons may show that a profession, where the duties are fixed and indispensable, is better still than a pursuit which may be taken up or laid aside at pleasure.

The four officers of the *Wager* left behind (for the fifth had sunk beneath his sufferings) contrived, by the assistance of some Indians, after surmounting many perils and enduring extraordinary hardships, to make their way towards the Spanish settlements. The country they passed is described by Byron as most dismal: "a deep swamp, in which the woods may be rather said to float than grow; so that, except a range of deformed broken rocks which form the sea coast, the traveller cannot find sound footing anywhere (4)." On reaching the island of Chiloe they surrendered themselves to the Spaniards, who treated them at first with much pomp and affectation of military prowess. Thus, on being carried to the town of Castro, "the boats all lay upon their oars, and there was a great deal of ceremony used in hailing and asking for the keys, as if it had been a regular fortification. After some time we landed, but could see neither gates nor walls, nor any thing that had the appearance of a garrison. As we walked up a steep hill into the town, the way was lined with men, who had broomsticks upon their shoulders instead of muskets, and a lighted match in their hands. When we came to the Corregidor's house, we found it full of people. He was an old man, very tall, with a long cloak on, a tie-wig, and a SPADA of immense length by his side, and received us in great state and form (2)." The same evening they were transferred, in the hope, as was alleged, of their religious conversion, to the Jesuits' College, where they passed eight days, with at least the benefit of regular meals after their long famine. "We used to keep close to our cells till the bell rang for dinner, when we were conducted into a hall, where there was one table for the fathers and another for us. After a very long Latin prayer we sat down and ate what was put before us, without a single word passing on either side, and as soon as we had finished there was another long prayer, which, however, did not appear so tedious as the first, and then we retired to our cells again." These Latin prayers, and a strict search for any valuables they might have left, (no doubt with the kind view to detach their minds from worldly things), were the only steps taken towards the great object of reclaiming them from heresy. On being sent, however, to the main land of Chili, they experienced much courtesy and generosity from the Spaniards, and were allowed to reside at large upon their parole, until the

(1) Byron's Narrative, p. 96. ed. 1832.

(2) Byron's Narrative, p. 154. On another occasion there was an alarm of an English landing, upon which, says Byron, "the Governor of Chaco mounted his horse and rode backwards and forwards, saying that he would give the English

"a warm reception, meaning, I suppose, that he would have left them a good fire in his house; for I am certain he would soon have been in the woods, if he had seen any thing like an English ship coming in." (P. 173.)

conclusion of a cartel gave them liberty to return to England.

The tempests which had wrecked the Wager and scattered the other ships were, however, so far serviceable to them that they produced still more effect upon a squadron fitted out from Spain to pursue and attack them. This squadron, commanded by Don Joseph Pizarro, and consisting of five ships of the line with a regiment of infantry on board, had arrived at St. Catherine's only four days after Anson had left it. Beyond Cape Horn they were, like him, buffeted by the winds and waves : two ships perished ; and the others, though escaping shipwreck, and exempt from scurvy, suffered most grievously from famine, having, through the negligence of the purveyors, left Spain with very scanty supplies. Such was their distress, that rats, when they could be caught on board, were sold for four dollars each ; and, on one occasion, the death of a sailor was concealed for some days by his brother, who during that time lay in the same hammock with the corpse, only to receive the dead man's allowance of provisions (1). In this miserable plight, Pizarro, so far from pursuing his enemy, was glad to retrace his steps and seek relief in the Rio de la Plata.

At Juan Fernandez, meanwhile, Anson continued employed in refreshing his men and refitting his ships. Having taken out the stores and broken up the *Anna Pink*, he had three vessels left, but found the survivors amount only in all to 335 ; a number greatly insufficient for the manning the *Centurion* alone. Nothing daunted, however, his thoughts and those of his men turned rather to the hope of triumph than to the remembrance of disasters. It was the beginning of September before their preparations were completed. On the 8th they espied a sail to the north-east, which they hoped might prove another of their squadron ; but finding it steer away from the island, and concluding it to be a Spaniard, they forthwith sent all hands on board the *Centurion*, heaved anchor, and gave chase. At night they lost of their object, nor could they discern it again the next day, so that, giving up the pursuit, they prepared to return to Juan Fernandez. Now, however, they were agreeably surprised by the appearance of a ship, different from the one they had at first perceived : upon this they immediately bore down ; it was overtaken without difficulty and seized without resistance ; and it proved to be the *Nuestra Señora del Monte Carmelo*, a merchantman, bound from Callao to Valparaiso. Her cargo was of sugar and broad cloth, but comprised several chests of wrought silver and dollars, while the news obtained from the prisoners was scarcely less acceptable. Now first were the English informed that Pizarro had been forced back into the Rio de la Plata, with the loss of two of his largest ships ; that an embargo had been laid upon all the shipping by the Viceroy of Peru, in the month of May pre-

(1) Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 31.

ceding, from an apprehension that Anson might arrive about that period; but that on the account sent overland by Pizarro of his own distresses, part of which they knew that the English squadron must also have experienced, and on their having no news of it for eight months after it was reported to have sailed from St. Catherine's, they were convinced that it must either have perished or put back, and, therefore, on the earnest application of the merchants, the embargo had been lately taken off.

With this prize, and with the prospect thus afforded of making more, did Anson steer back to Juan Fernandez. It is remarkable that, when the Spaniards in the Carmelo saw the Trial sloop at anchor, they expressed their astonishment that the Commodore, after all his fatigues and hardships, should have had the industry, besides refitting his other ships, to build this new one; and it was with great difficulty they could be prevailed on to believe that it had come from England with the rest of the squadron; they insisting that it was impossible such a bauble could pass round Cape Horn, while the best ships of Spain were compelled to put back.

Anson now determined, from the information he had received, to separate his ships and employ them in distinct cruises, so as to increase the chance of captures. According to this resolution, the Trial, ere long, fell in with a Spanish merchant vessel, so large that it had often been manned and fitted out by the Viceroy of Peru as a man-of-war. The Trial, on the contrary, was so small and so low in the water, that the Spaniards were at first superstitiously alarmed at seeing nothing but a cloud of sail without any ship in pursuit of them; however, they soon recovered their spirits; for, altering their course in the night, and shutting up their windows to prevent any of their lights from being seen, they thought themselves secure. But a small crevice in one of the shutters baffled their precaution: through this the Captain of the Trial perceived a light which he chased, until, coming within gunshot, he alarmed them with a broadside and compelled them to surrender. This capture proved of great advantage to the expedition; for, the Trial having become dismasted and leaky, it was judged necessary to scuttle and sink her, transferring her crew and stores to her prize, and commissioning the latter as a new frigate in His Majesty's service. The Centurion was no less fortunate, taking two merchant ships with cargoes of considerable value.

Among the prisoners made in this last capture was one John Williams, an Irish vagrant of indifferent character, calling himself a pedlar, and being probably a thief: he was in rags, and had just been released from the prison of Paita. Yet this man, by a singular turn of fortune, now decided the destiny of the town which had so lately held him in its dungeons. For it was he who informed the Commodore that a Spanish vessel, having seen the Gloucester, had by this time given the alarm to the whole coast—that an express

had been sent to Lima—that the entire English squadron was supposed to be at hand—that the Royal Intendant at Paita, apprehending an attack, was busily employed in removing the King's treasure and his own to an inland town. Anson, perceiving from this news that no further prizes would be found at sea, and allured by the accounts which Williams also gave of the great wealth of Paita, and of its defenceless condition, resolved to land his men and assail that place. He was so near it, that the execution ensued the very night after the design.

The town of Paita is built in a most barren soil, consisting only of sand and slate; the houses are but ground-floors, the walls constructed of split cane and mud, and the roofs thatched with leaves; an architecture, which, however slight, is sufficient for a climate where showers are considered a prodigy; so that we are told some rain falling in 1728 had ruined a great number of buildings, which mouldered away, and, as it were, melted before it. The town itself was open, and had only a small fort for its defence. Such being the weakness of the place, Anson conceived that his boats would be sufficient to attack it, and accordingly he manned them with 58 picked men, and entrusted them to Lieutenant Brett. Had he appeared in sight with his ships, they might, as he apprehended, have given the inhabitants the alarm from a considerable distance, and allowed them leisure to remove their most valuable effects. Brett and his boats, on the contrary, approaching in the night, had already entered the mouth of the bay before they were discovered;—then first they heard a cry *LOS PERROS INGLESSES!* “the English dogs are coming;”—then first they saw several lights hurrying to and fro in the fort, and other marks of general commotion. The Spaniards had time to load several of their cannon, and to point them towards the landing place; and the first shot passed close to one of the boats, whistling just over the heads of the crew: the English, however, only plied their oars with redoubled ardour, and had disembarked before the second gun was fired. Having entered one of the streets which protected them from further fire, and formed themselves into a body, they rushed forward with drums beating and loud shouts to the Plaza, or principal square, of which the fort formed one side, and the Governor's house (1) another. On entering the Plaza the sailors received a volley from the merchants, who owned the treasure then in the town, and who, with a few others, had ranged themselves in a gallery that surrounded the Governor's house; but no sooner was their fire returned than they fled in confusion. The English then divided into two parties, the one to attack the fort, which the garrison (only

(1) The word *House* seems more appropriate in these towns than their favourite term of *Palace*. At Castro Mr. Byron observes, “The soldiers upon our journey had given us a pompous account of *El Palacio del Rey*, as they styled the Go-

vernor's House, and therefore we expected to see something very magnificent, but it was nothing better than a huge thatched barn partitioned off into several rooms.” Narrative, p. 159.

one weak company) forsook at their approach without resistance; the other to seize the Governor. This dignitary had however already fled, displaying but little of the true Spanish gallantry, in either sense of that word; for he had sprung from bed and escaped half naked without thought or care of his wife, whom he had married but three or four days before, and whom he now left behind him.

Sixty English sailors were now therefore the undisputed masters of this town. Meanwhile the Commodore, in expectation of the issue, had, after some delay, steered his ship toward the harbour, and had the joy as he approached to see the British colours flying from the flag-staff of the fort. A fresh band of British, all eager for booty, now poured on shore. Neither public nor private property was spared: even the churches were rifled of their plate; and it was a strange spectacle, says an eye-witness, to behold the sailors decked forth in all the finery which the Spaniards had left behind them in their flight, laced and embroidered coats above their own tarred jackets, not forgetting tie or bag wigs; nay, the latest comers, finding no other, in women's gowns and petticoats! During this time the Spaniards were mustering their force from all parts of the country on an adjacent hill: there were amongst the rest about two hundred horsemen, seemingly well armed and mounted; nevertheless the English remained in possession of the town two whole days without molestation. The amount of public treasure which they found in wrought silver and coin was upwards of 30,000*l.*; the private plunder, though not exactly ascertained, must also have been considerable. But the chief wealth of Païta lay in stores and merchandise, which the Commodore could neither use nor remove; and these accordingly, before he re-embarked on the third morning, he fired, assisting the conflagration with tar-barrels and other combustibles, and reducing the whole town to a heap of ashes; an act which, as it appears to me, can scarcely be defended in civilized war, and which, striking not so much at the Spanish Government as at unoffending and industrious individuals, has imprinted a deep blot on the glory of Lord Anson's expedition (1).

A redeeming feature is, however, to be found, in Anson's treatment of the prisoners made in his prizes at sea, and amounting altogether to nearly ninety persons. Several had been passengers in the ships; amongst them some ladies of rank, and a son of the Vice President of the Council of Chili. All these when first taken were in the utmost alarm, having, from the former barbarity of the Buccaneers, imbibed the most terrible idea of the English, and expecting every aggravation of ill usage. It was the constant endeavour of Anson to assuage their apprehensions and deserve

(1) The Spaniard, Ulloa, who was on this coast at the same time, observes of the conflagration: "Personne ne pouvait se figurer qu'un procédé si barbare eût été permis par le Commandant de l'Escadre, et en effet on a su depuis que cette action lui avait fort déplu." (*Voyage d'Amérique*, vol. II. p. 9. ed. 1762.) But this is not confirmed by Anson's own narrative.

their gratitude; his courtesy and indulgence were conspicuous to all. The ladies especially were most carefully protected from insult, allowed to retain their own apartments, and treated with the same attention and respect as before their capture. Nay more, on leaving Païta, the prisoners of both sexes were restored to freedom, being sent on shore, and stationed for present security in the two churches, which by good fortune stood at some distance from the town, and were therefore exempted from its conflagration (1). Not a few of these Spaniards afterwards met in Chili the English captives of the Wager. "They all," says Mr. Byron, "spoke in the highest terms of the kind treatment they had received, and some of them told us they were so happy on board the Centurion, that they would not have been sorry if the Commodore had taken them with him to England (2)."

When Anson set sail for Païta, he directed his little squadron to spread, in order to look out for the Gloucester. Nor was it long before that ship appeared in sight. It had meanwhile made two prizes, one of them a small vessel, the other an open barge. The people on board the last had pretended to be very poor, and to have no other loading but cotton; yet some suspicion was raised, on observing that their dinner by no means tallied with their declaration, for they were found eating pigeon pie in silver dishes; and, on a closer search, it appeared that their jars were only covered over with cotton at top, and held beneath a considerable quantity of dollars and doubloons to the value of 12,000*l*. With this accession, the squadron continued to steer to the northward, which had been its general direction ever since it left Juan Fernandez. The design of the Commodore had been to touch near Panama, and from thence communicate across the Isthmus of Darien with Admiral Vernon, who he trusted might be already in possession of Porto Bello, and of the eastern coast. To obtain a reinforcement of men from the other side — to reduce the city of Panama itself — perhaps even to maintain the Isthmus, and there intercept all the treasures of Peru,—were the visions which his hopes suggested and his valour justified. But the report of the prisoners he had taken had already dispelled these gorgeous dreams, by relating what had befallen Vernon and the British armament at Carthagena; and he therefore limited his views to an enterprize, far less indeed, yet still, as it seemed, an overmatch for his scanty numbers—to seek out and attack the great Manilla galleon.

Manilla, one of the most splendid cities ever founded by Europeans out of Europe, and perhaps the richest gem in the regal

(1) Compare in Anson's Voyage, pp. 249. 277. and 284.

(2) Byron's Narrative, p. 199. Captain Basil Hall informs us that "Lord Anson's proceedings are still traditionally known at Païta; and it is curious to observe that the kindness with which that sagacious officer invariably treated

"his Spanish prisoners, is, at the distance of eighty years, better known and more dwelt upon by the inhabitants of Païta than the capture and wanton destruction of the town." (South America, vol. ii. p. 101.) A strong proof of Spanish generosity,

diadem of Spain, standing on the farthest confines of the immense Pacific, had costly merchandize to offer in exchange for Peruvian ore. The commerce between these two colonies had been guarded by the Council of the Indies with jealous care. Its station was at first assigned to Callao, the port of Lima, but afterwards, in consideration of the trade winds, transferred to Acapulco, on the coast of Mexico. This port was allowed to receive one, or at most two, annual ships, which sailed from Manilla about July, and arrived at Acapulco in the December or January following, and after disposing of their effects began their homeward voyage in March. These galleons (for such they were termed) were of enormous size, as may be judged both by their crew and by their cargo: the former in the largest ships sometimes amounted to no less than twelve hundred men (1); the latter seldom fell short in value of three millions of dollars. Of one article only—silk stockings—we are told that the number brought every year from Manilla in this ship was full fifty thousand pair (2).

One of the earliest of these annual ships had been captured by Sir Thomas Cavendish in 1586, an example which Anson and his men panted to follow. Being however only in the middle of November, they conceived that they should have sufficient time to water the squadron, of which it stood in great need, before the arrival of the galleon; and for this purpose they steered for the island of Quibo, a little beyond the bay of Panama. On leaving the coast of South America, they found the season greatly changed: the giant Cordilleras, which had hitherto afforded a cool and tempered clime, and whose snowy summits might often be discerned many leagues at sea apparently floating in air (3)—the only clouds in that azure sky—were now left behind, and no shield remained against the close and sultry heat of the tropics. Beyond Quibo also the winds proved unfavourable, and the progress made was so small that the month of January, 1742, had nearly elapsed before the squadron neared Acapulco. The next object being to obtain intelligence, a barge was sent out by the Commodore, and after some days, succeeded in seizing three negro slaves in a canoe. From these it appeared, to Anson's great disappointment, that the galleon had arrived a month before; but his hopes revived, on hearing that it had delivered its cargo, was taking in water and provisions for its return, and was appointed to sail on the 3d of March. During the whole of March, therefore, did Anson remain,

(1) Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 230.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 327.

(3) "The land, about twelve or thirteen leagues distant, made exceeding high and uneven, and appeared quite white, what we saw being doubtless a part of the Cordilleras, which are always covered with snow." (Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 181.) A later and abler writer says, "It was only when the ship was at a considerable distance from the shore that the higher Andes

"came in sight.... It sometimes even happened that the lower ranges appeared sunk below the horizon, when the distant ridges were still distinctly in sight, and more magnificent than ever.... We made observations on some which, though upwards of 130 miles off, were quite distinctly visible. The pleasure which this constant view of the Andes afforded is not to be described." Capt. Hall's South America, vol. i. p. 199.)

with his squadron spread at some distance before Acapulco, so that nothing could pass through undiscovered. Yet still no galleon appeared, and it then became suspected, as was indeed the case, that the barge sent out for news had been seen from shore, and that the Spaniards, taking the alarm, had laid an embargo on the galleon till next year.

Thus a second time baffled of his prize, and finding himself under the necessity of quitting the station to procure fresh supplies of water and provision, Anson proceeded to the harbour of Chequetan, about thirty leagues to the north-west of Acapulco. At that place he resolved, on full deliberation, to destroy the Trial's prize, the Carmelo and the Carmen, and to reinforce the Gloucester with their crews; his whole number of men at this time not exceeding the complement of a fourth rate ship of war. The Spaniards near Chequetan did not attempt to molest the Commodore during this or his other proceedings, nor indeed ever appeared in sight; yet the English could discern the smoke of their fires, and thence determine that they were posted in a circular line surrounding them at a distance. One prisoner whom the Spaniards made—the Commodore's French cook—being sent to Mexico, and from thence to Europe, but making his escape at Lisbon, was the first person that brought to England an authentic account of the proceedings of the expedition.

Chequetan was Anson's last station in America. Postponing but not relinquishing his hopes of the galleon, he began his voyage across the wide Pacific—a protracted and to him disastrous navigation. The scurvy broke forth afresh, and raged with great fury amongst his crews. His ships also had become crazy and unsound; in a violent tempest that ensued both of them sprung leaks, and the Gloucester lost the greater part of two masts. When the storm abated, and the two ships could again communicate with each other, the Captain of the Gloucester informed the Commodore that besides being dismasted, his ship had no less than seven feet of water in the hold, although the officers and men had been kept constantly at the pumps for the last twenty-four hours, and that this water covered their casks, so that they could come at neither fresh water nor provisions. A reinforcement of men was, therefore, indispensable; yet this the Centurion, with a leak of its own, and so many sailors sick of the scurvy, was wholly unable to afford. There remained, therefore, no other resource (nor, indeed, was there much time for deliberation) than to take on board, the Gloucester's crew, and as much of its stores as could be saved, and then suffer the hull to be destroyed. To execute this resolution employed the whole of two days. Yet so enfeebled were the men, that it was with the greatest difficulty that even the Gloucester's prize-money was secured; the prize goods were entirely lost; nor could any more provision be removed than five casks of flour, three

of them spoiled by the salt water. Several of the sick expired even with the slight fatigue of being gently hoisted into the Centurion. By this time the Gloucester's hold was nearly full of water; yet, as the carpenters were of opinion that she might still swim some time if the calm should continue, and as it was possible that she might be drifted to an island in possession of the Spaniards, she was set on fire. During the whole night the conflagration did not cease, her guns firing successively as the flames reached them, until early in the morning of the 16th of August she blew up, her fate announced by a large black pillar of smoke which shot high into the air.

The Centurion, now the single remnant both of the squadron and the prizes, pursued her solitary voyage, the scurvy still gaining ground amongst her men, and several dying each day. It was, therefore, with inexpressible joy that the survivors at length beheld the Ladrone Islands, to which their course was tending, and singled out that of Tinian as their station for repose. Such was then their debility that they were full five hours in furling the sails; and all the hands they could muster capable of standing at a gun, and many of these too unfit for duty, were no more than seventy-one, gathered from the united crews which, when they sailed from England, consisted all together of near a thousand men! But Tinian with its herds of wild cattle and its delicious fruits—above all, that rare and especial gift of Nature to these islands—the Bread Tree, ere long restored their exhausted strength. Their rapture at this favourite spot was probably heightened by the force of contrast; they describe it as “not resembling an uninhabited and “uncultivated place; but much more with the air of a magnificent plantation, where large lawns and stately woods had been “laid out together with great skill, and where the whole had been “so artfully combined, and so judiciously adapted to the slopes of “the hills and the inequalities of the ground, as to produce a most “striking effect, and to do honour to the invention of the contriver (1).” One of their first objects was now to repair the ship: every seam was caulked and leaded over, and the leak stopped, not indeed effectually, but as well as the circumstances would allow. But, meanwhile, the roads in which the Centurion lay at anchor were by no means secure, and ere long exposed her to a new and unexpected peril. A violent equinoctial gale drove her far out to sea, while the greater part of the crew, and Anson himself, were on shore: there were scarcely hands sufficient to man her, the vessel was unrigged, and thus there seemed but little probability of her weathering the storm and returning to the island.

What then were the prospects of the sailors on shore? In a

(1) Lord Anson's Voyage, p. 412.]

deserted island—six hundred leagues from their nearest port, Macao, on the coast of China ;—none of them acquainted with that voyage ;—not even a compass or a quadrant left amongst them,—with but ninety charges of powder, or less than one to every fire-lock ;—with no means of embarkation but a small Spanish vessel of about fifteen tons, which they had seized on their first arrival, and which could not hold a fourth part of their number :—such a situation might have daunted any ardent spirit, elated by success or quelled by reverses ; it scarcely ruffled the usual composure and steadiness of Anson. By concealing from the men his own apprehensions, he succeeded in allaying theirs. He assured them that, at the worst, the gale which had driven the Centurion out to sea, and which still continued, would only oblige her to bear away for Macao, and that the single thing needful was to rejoin her at that port. For this purpose he proposed to haul the Spanish bark on shore, to saw it asunder, and to lengthen it twelve feet, which would enlarge it to near forty tons burthen, and enable it to carry them all to China. “ Nothing is wanting to this plan,” added Anson, “ but the united resolution and industry of all ; for my own part I will share the labour with you, and expect no more from any man, than what I, your Commodore, am ready to submit to.” Confidence like fear is contagious. The sailors recovering by degrees from their first despondency, heartily engaged in the project, and set themselves with cheerfulness to the different tasks allotted them. Many materials were wanting, some tools were to be made ; still, however, the work advanced ; and one day in searching a chest belonging to the Spanish bark, they espied a small compass, which though little better than the toys usually made for children, to them appeared an invaluable treasure ; and some time afterwards, by a similar piece of good fortune, they found on the sea shore a quadrant, which had been thrown overboard amongst other lumber belonging to the dead. Already had they fixed a day to begin their voyage, when happily, on the 11th of October, one of the sailors being upon a hill in the middle of the island, descried the Centurion out at sea, and ran down loudly shouting “ The Ship ! the Ship ! ” to his comrades at their labour. At these joyful words the Commodore flung down the axe with which he was at work—then for the first time breaking through the even and unvaried demeanour he had hitherto maintained. The others, in a kind of frenzy, tumultuously rushed to the sea shore, eager to feast their eyes with a sight so long desired and scarcely yet believed.

It appeared that the Centurion, though driven a considerable distance, and exposed to imminent perils, had, yet, by good management and excessive labour, been enabled to return to her station. After her arrival, it was determined to make no longer stay in the island than was requisite to complete their stock of water. A

prosperous gale soon wafted them to Macao. This was, as now, a Portuguese settlement, and therefore a friendly port to Anson, where he might justly expect to supply his exhausted stores, and repair his leaky ship. Yet, when he waited upon the Governor to make known his wants, the other declared that he durst not furnish him with any of the things required unless an order were first obtained from the Viceroy of Canton; for that he himself received neither provisions for his garrison, nor other necessities, but through this permission, and that they were only doled out to him from day to day. A long and wearisome negotiation ensued between the Commodore and the Chinese. It was not till after much solicitation and delay on the part of this jealous people, that two Mandarins were even sent on board to examine the defects of the ship and the necessities of the crew. To them Anson pointed out that a permission to purchase, which was all he demanded, could not safely be denied him; that they must be convinced that the *Centurion* alone was capable of destroying the whole navigation of the port of Canton, without running the least risk from all the force the Chinese could collect; that his men had hitherto behaved with great moderation, but that their hunger would at last prove too strong for any restraint; and that it could not be expected that they would long continue to starve in the midst of that plenty which their eyes daily witnessed. Nay, he even added, that if by the delay in supplying them with provisions they should be reduced to the necessity of turning cannibals, it was easy to foresee, that, independent of their friendship to each other, they would in point of taste prefer the plump well fed Chinese to their own emaciated shipmates (1)! The Mandarins seemed struck with the force of these arguments, and immediately wrote a permit in the manner desired by the Commodore.

It was the beginning of April 1743 before the *Centurion* again put out to sea, new rigged, thoroughly repaired, and fit for fresh adventures. Anson had given out at Macao that he was bound to Batavia, and thence to England: nay, more, to confirm the delusion, he took on board letters for the former place; but no sooner was he clear of the coast, than summoning all his men on deck, he informed them that his real design was to cruise for the two annual ships (of last year and this) on their way from Acapulco. The sailors received this announcement with great joy and three hearty cheers. Although each of these annual ships was known to be much larger and better manned than the *Centurion*, yet no doubt seemed to exist amongst the English of mastering both together; and they spoke of the rich spoil as if already in their grasp. Their only fear was lest they might not find the enemy; none, that they should fail to subdue him (2).

(1) Anson's Voyage, p. 480.

(2) One instance of this confident spirit is given

by Mr. Waller. "The Commodore having taken some Chinese sheep to sea with him for his own

It was off Cape Espiritu Santo that the Commodore proceeded to cruise for the galleons; that being the first headland of the Philippine Islands to which they always steered, and where they usually arrived in the beginning of summer. He had already been a month on that station when, at length, early on the 20th of June the sailors with straining eyes and eager hearts beheld a sail rise on the horizon, and bearing closer to it, discovered it to be one of the long expected galleons. The Spaniards showed no intention to avoid an engagement: they were prepared to expect an enemy, and had resolved to fight; yet they had neglected clearing their ship till the last moment, when already within gunshot, being then observed to throw overboard their cattle and lumber. Anson, on the contrary, had made his dispositions with forethought and skill. Having learnt that it is common with the Spaniards to fall down upon the decks when they see a broadside preparing, and to continue in that posture till it is given, after which they rise again and maintain the battle as before; he wholly disconcerted this scheme by stationing two men at each gun, and dividing the rest into gangs of ten or twelve each—the latter always to move about and fire such guns as were ready, thus keeping up a constant fire, instead of broadsides with intervals between them. Some of the best marksmen, also, he placed on the tops, from whence they made prodigious havoc, killing or wounding every officer but one that appeared on the Spanish quarter-deck, while that deck was likewise swept by the grape-shot from below. The Spaniards fought with bravery, though not with skill; but when their General, who was the life of the action, had been disabled by a wound, they began to fall into disorder. The other officers were then seen attempting with great intrepidity to encourage their men, and prevent their desertion from their quarters, but all their endeavours were in vain; their fire slackened, and the proud standard of Spain was struck. They had 151 either killed or wounded, the Centurion only 19.

The name of the galleon was the *Nuestra Señora de Covadonga* (1): it was much larger than the *Centurion*, and had 550 men, above double the number of the English; so that some of the prisoners, when brought on board the *Centurion*, and observing how slenderly she was manned, and the large proportion which the striplings bore to the rest, could not restrain their grief and indignation to be thus beaten, as they said, by a handful of boys. They informed the Commodore that the other ship, which had been detained in the port of Acapulco the preceding year, instead of

"provision, and one day inquiring of his butcher
"why for some time past he had seen no mutton
"at his table, and whether all the sheep were
"killed; the butcher very seriously replied, that
"there were indeed two sheep left, but that if his
"Honour would give him leave he proposed to

"keep those for the entertainment of the General of the Galleons" (*Voyage*, p. 498.)

(1) Covadonga is the cave in Asturias where Pelayo sought shelter with his Goths (Mariana, *Hist. Hisp. lib. 7. c. 2.*); and a church has been built there by Charles the Third. (*Minano*, sub voce.

returning in company with the second galleon as was expected, had sailed alone before the usual period, and was already no doubt in the port of Manilla. The value of the present prize, however, was so large as to atone for any other disappointment : it had on board, in silver coin and ingots, a million and a half of dollars—a rich and well-earned recompense for the toils of the gallant British crew.

To secure the prisoners was a task of no small risk, considering their great superiority of numbers. Anson, however, brought them safely with his prize into Canton, where he set them at liberty ; and from thence he began his homeward voyage, passing round the Cape of Good Hope. He cast anchor at Spithead in June, 1744, after an absence of three years and nine months, thus concluding an expedition in which his happy combination of skill, intrepidity, and prudence, retrieved and rose superior to every disaster ; and which, though unconnected with the general march of public affairs, is so honourable to the courage, and so conducive to the fame of England, as ever to deserve a conspicuous place in her annals.

I now revert to the second squadron fitted out in 1739, against the Spanish West Indies. It was entrusted to Captain Edward Vernon, an officer, in most respects, the very opposite of Anson. As calmness and composure were the principal characteristics of the one, so were violence and passion of the other. His father, who had been Secretary of State under King William, had instilled a blind hatred of France, which the son, as a Member of Parliament, indulged by frequent sallies against the pacific policy of Walpole. So unmeasured were his invectives, that he was more than once in danger of the Tower (1). He became, however, a great favourite with the multitude, who were, like himself, impatient of peace, and prone, as usual, to consider the noisiest patriot the most sincere ; and on the breaking out of war he was appointed an Admiral and Commander of the West Indian squadron, by the very Minister whom he had assailed, from the same concession to popular clamour which had produced the war itself. He was undoubtedly a good officer, so far as courage, enterprize, and experience can constitute that character ; but he was harsh and haughty to his inferiors, untoward with his equals, mutinous and railing to all placed above him in authority.

Vernon having sailed from England in July, 1739, and being baffled in attempting to intercept the Azogue or quicksilver ships, appeared off Porto Bello on the 20th of November with six men-of-war. The Spanish garrison was only on the peace establishment, and not even complete at that number ; the ammunition scanty, and in part spoiled ; and many of the cannon, for want of mountings,

(1) Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 426.

lying useless on the ground (1). On the 21st, Vernon began operations against a fort which protected the entrance of the harbour, and which, as a bravado of its strength, bore the name of the Iron Castle. The fire of his musketry having driven the Spaniards from the lower batteries, his sailors scaled them, mounting on one another's shoulders, and gained the place with very slight resistance. The same evening the Admiral began to batter the Castillo de la Gloria, lying further down the bay, and defending the open town; and he was preparing next day to renew his cannonade, when he observed the castle hang out a white standard, and a boat push towards him with a flag of truce. He readily allowed the garrison to march out with military honours, and thus obtained possession both of castle and town. His own loss in killed was only seven men (2). From the several castles he took on board sixty pieces of cannon, spiking the remainder; and employed the gunpowder he captured in springing mines and destroying the fortifications. "It is remarkable," says a contemporary, "that they found more danger and difficulty in demolishing these works than in taking them (3)." This object being achieved, Vernon re-embarked his men and returned to Jamaica. The treasure seized in Porto Bello was very inconsiderable; only 10,000 dollars. The sailors might, perhaps, complain and wonder that the Admiral had restrained them from cutting off and bringing home the ears of the Spaniards (4), yet they must have deemed it some compensation that he generously resigned to them his own share of prize money.

Such was the capture of Porto Bello, which the reader will scarcely think either very glorious in achievement, or very important in results. But it had been gained by an enemy of Walpole!—and the whole Opposition, with one voice, hastened to proclaim it an heroic exploit! More especially was it urged that Vernon had taken Porto Bello with only six ships, while in 1726 Hosier had not attacked it with twenty; a cry utterly senseless, since it was not pretended that want of force or of courage had hindered Hosier from taking the place, but merely his instructions, that sought to avert and that did avert a war. Nay, so inconsistent is party rancour, that while Vernon was extolled for doing with six ships what Hosier could not do with twenty, Hosier, in the same breath, was pitied and declared to have died of a broken heart, from the inactivity which his orders prescribed. Both these sentiments may be seen—worthless themselves, but precious from the splendid verse that inshrines them—in Glover's ballad at that period,

(1) Juan et Ulloa, *Voyage d'Amérique*, vol. i. p. 80. ed. 1752. There is also given a plan of the town and harbour.

(2) Official Account, Whitehall, March 15. 1740. *London Gazette*.

(3) Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 445.

(4) "I have longed this four years past to cut

" off some of their ears, and was in hopes I
" should have sent you one for a sample now, but
" our good Admiral, God bless him, was too mer-
" ciful!" (Letter from a sailor on board the
squadron to his wife, printed in Boyer's *Political*
State, vol. lix. p. 195.)

"Hosier's Ghost"—the noblest song perhaps ever called forth by any British victory except Mr. Campbell's "Battle of the Baltic." In the same spirit did the Opposition within the House of Commons insist on inserting in their Address of congratulation the obnoxious words "with six ships of war only," and this amendment they carried in a thin House, by 36 against 31. By such insinuations and devices was a general enthusiasm raised amongst the people. We are assured that no Roman Consul, after reducing a province, ever received more lavish marks of public applause than were now showered upon Vernon (1). His name became proverbial for courage; his head was a favourite sign; his birthday was celebrated with bonfires and rejoicings (2). The Opposition which chaunted his praise in public were no less careful to keep up a private correspondence with him. They inflamed his natural vanity and arrogance, represented Walpole as envious of his fame, and prepared him to consider any future coadjutor as a secret enemy.

On the other hand the Ministers, anxious to pursue his success, had determined to send him a large reinforcement both of ships and soldiers. Their armament was nearly ready, when they received intelligence that a Spanish fleet was putting out to sea; and that a French one was about to sail from Brest, its destination believed to be the West Indies, and its design hostile. It became expedient, therefore, greatly to increase the expedition from England, so as to render it adequate to all emergencies; but this could not be effected without some delay. "I need not tell you," writes Sir Charles Wager to Admiral Vernon, "how much time it necessarily takes up to prepare and victual so large a squadron for a voyage to the West Indies, nor how difficult it very often is to get them out of the Channel, when they are ready to sail, as this year we have experienced; and I thought it would not be amiss for both French and Spaniards to be a month or two in the West Indies before us, provided the treasure was not ready to embark in that time; that they might be half dead and half roasted before our fleet arrived, as I doubt not but it has happened to them; and the Government here, laying an embargo upon all provisions in Ireland, where the French had 14 ships loading provisions for the West Indies, has no doubt been a great disappointment to them (3)." The Opposition, however, took care to exclaim against the delay, as though proceeding from the basest motives, and expressed strong doubts whether the expedition would ever really sail (4).

The expedition nevertheless did begin its voyage at the end of

(1) Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 456.

(2) "It is Admiral Vernon's birth-day, and the city shops are full of favours, the streets of marrowbones and cleavers, and the night will be full of mobbing, bonfires, and lights." Horace Walpole to Sir H. Mann, November 12. 1741.

(3) To Admiral Vernon, February 4. 1741.

(4) "I have not the least notion that our expedition under Lord Cathcart is intended to be sent any where." Pulteney to Swift, June 3. 1740. Swift's Works, vol. xix. p. 322.

October 1740, the troops commanded by Lord Cathcart, and the fleet by Sir Chaloner Ogle. When joined with Vernon at Jamaica, it formed by far the most powerful armament ever yet seen in those seas, amounting to no less than 115 ships, above 30 of these of the line, with 15,000 sailors, and 12,000 land forces on board. Vernon, who meanwhile had taken and demolished the small fort of Chagre, was acknowledged as chief Admiral, while the command of the troops (Lord Cathcart dying from the effects of the climate) devolved on General Wentworth. The precise object of these formidable preparations had not been fixed and prescribed in England; some had suggested the Havana, others Carthagena, and the decision was at length referred to a Council of War, to be held in the West Indies. In this, the impetuous wishes of Vernon, ever prone to dictate rather than consult, prevailed in favour of an attack on Carthagena. Nay, so thoroughly was he bent upon this enterprize, that he had already announced the intention in a letter to the French governor of St. Domingo (1)—a singular imprudence, which served to give the Spaniards timely notice, and stirred them to more active measures for defence.

Carthagena, then the best fortified and strongest place in Spanish America, stands upon a sandbank nearly surrounded by the sea or salt pools. A tongue of land, beginning at the city, and running out at some distance across a bay, incloses a harbour both spacious and secure. To this harbour there was then only one entrance, so narrow as to deserve the name of Boca Chica (Small Mouth): a boom had been drawn across it, and it was defended by several forts and batteries (2). Within the harbour, on a peninsula jutting out from the tongue of land, and thus covering the city, was built another large fort called Castillo Grande, and here the channel was almost impassable, being choked by ships sunk in order to prevent the approach of the British fleet. The ramparts of Carthagena itself had been newly repaired and mounted by no less than 300 pieces of cannon; its garrison could muster 4,000 good soldiers; and its Viceroy, Don Sebastian de Eslava, was an officer of skill and spirit, whose mind, nourished with Greek and Roman story, had long panting for some opportunity to emulate their heroic deeds (3), and who—if he needed any meaner motive for exertion—might reflect that the Governor of Porto Bello had been sent to Spain and brought to trial for the surrender of that place (4).

Such were the preparations for defence at Carthagena when the British squadron appeared before it on the 4th of March, 1741.

(1) Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 466. Campo Raso also says of the expedition, "de cuyo suceso estaba Inglaterra tan segura, que no se recelo de publicarla ocho meses antes de que se executase; lo que no dexo de contribuir en parte al malogro de ella." (Comentarios, vol. iv. p. 163.)

(2) See a description and two plans of Carthagena in Juan and Ulloa, Voyage d'Amérique, vol. I. p. 20—26. ed. 1752.

(3) Coxe's Bourbon Kings of Spain, vol. iii. p. 325.

(4) Boyer's Polit. State, vol. lix. p. 404. This useful compilation ends in 1740.

The first step of the officers on board was to hold a Council of War next day, in order to settle the distribution of their future booty (1); or, according to the fable, sell the skin of the living bear! Perceiving that the high surf made it impracticable to batter Carthagera from the sea, they determined to force the entrance of the harbour, and direct their attack from thence. Accordingly, they opened their fire upon the castle of Boca Chica, landing some troops and artillery, and raising batteries against it. They were met by a resolute resistance, and did not prevail till after the loss of fifteen days and 400 men. It is also certain that the engineers were utterly unskilled, the General far from able; and that Vernon was not wholly without reason for complaining, as he did, of "the soldiers' laziness." Having gained possession of the Boca Chica, and entered the harbour, the enemy immediately confined themselves to Carthagera, and relinquished Castillo Grande without a blow, while the Admiral, in great exultation, sent home a ship to announce his approaching victory. "The wonderful success," says he, "of this evening and night is so astonishing, that one 'cannot but cry out with the Psalmist, 'It is the Lord's doing, and 'seems marvellous in our eyes.' God make us truly thankful 'for it (2)!' So confident was his language, and so ready the belief it found in England, that, as is asserted, a medal was immediately struck in London to celebrate the taking of Carthagera, bearing on one side the head of Vernon, with an inscription as "The avenger of his country (3)."

The event did not quite confirm these golden dreams. The English sailors, indeed, by dint of labour, cleared a way through the sunk wrecks in front of Castillo Grande, and began to bombard the city from the inner harbour, while the soldiers and artillery, being set on shore, invested it from the land side. But at this period, an animosity that had long smouldered, between the Admiral and the General, burst forth into open flame. Vernon would bear no colleague, and Wentworth no master. The latter complained of the slowness in landing the tents, stores, and artillery of the troops, by which they were prevented from making an immediate attack, and exposed for three nights to all the inclemency of the climate. On the other hand, Vernon declared that the General had remained inactive longer than he should, and had committed an unpardonable error in not cutting off the communication

(1) Admiral Vernon to the Duke of Newcastle, April 1. 1741. His letters and despatches at this period were afterwards published by himself as a pamphlet. (London, 1744.)

(2) To the Duke of Newcastle, April 1. 1741.

(3) Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XV.* ch. viii. He adds, "Il y a beaucoup d'exemples de ces médailles prématurées qui tromperaient la postérité, si 'l'histoire plus fidèle et plus exacte ne prévenait pas de telles erreurs.'"—Perhaps the most remarkable of all these *médailles prématurées* is

that struck by Napoleon for his intended conquest of England; his head on one side, on the other Hercules struggling with a monster; the words *DESCENTE EN ANGLETERRE*, and beneath *FRAPPÉ A LONDRES, MDCCCLIV.* I am informed that the die having been broken, only two of the original medals are preserved, the one in the Royal Cabinet at Paris, the other purchased by an English gentleman for 50*l.*, but there is a *fas simile* made at Birmingham.

between the town and the adjacent country, by which the garrison was daily supplied with provisions. Each had some reason for his imputations ; but each overlooked in the other, while he loudly pleaded for himself, the difficulties of the situation and the service. In the midst of these untoward dissensions, Wentworth, with the advice of a council of officers, attempted to storm Fort San Lazaro, which served as an outwork to the city. Twelve hundred men, headed by General Guise, cheerfully marched to the attack. There was no breach in the wall ; the signal for the night attack (for such had been designed) was protracted till nearly broad day ; and the deserters who undertook to act as guides were afterwards found, either through ignorance or ill intention, to have led them to the very strongest part of the fortification. Nay, more, on reaching the works, it was discovered, that from the neglect of the officers, the scaling ladders were partly too short, and partly left behind. The Spaniards also, commanded by Eslava in person, were prepared for vigorous resistance. Yet in spite of all these shameful disadvantages, the soldiers fought with stubborn intrepidity ; whole ranks were mowed down by the enemy's cannon without dispiriting the rest ; and one party had actually attained the summit of a rampart, when their leader, Colonel Grant, received a death wound, and the men a repulse. Still, however, the survivors remained undaunted under the murderous fire of the fort, until half their number had fallen (1), and until their officers, perceiving valour to be useless, and success impossible, sullenly gave the signal to withdraw.

The conduct of Vernon in this affair has been severely—perhaps too severely, judged (2). Certain it is, however, that several parts of his behaviour seem not incompatible with a malicious pleasure in the defeat of any enterprize not directed by himself, and that it was not till he saw the attempt irretrievably ruined that he sent his boats, full of men, to the General's assistance. It may well be supposed that such suspicions, combined with the irritation of failure, still further widened the breach between the rival officers, and still more strongly displayed the evils of joint command. In many cases, as Napoleon acutely observes in his private correspondence, even a bad general is better than two good ones (3) !

An enemy still more dire than either discord or the Spaniards now began to assail the British ranks, a sickness, the effect of a tropical climate on European constitutions, and so rapid in its progress, that, as the General declares, he found, in less than two days, his effective force dwindle from 6600 to 3200 men. Under

(1) In the Spanish account this loss is increased to 1800—more than the original number of assailants : *Comentarios de Don Joseph del Campo Baso* (vol. iv. p. 162.).

(2) Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 508.

(3) Letter to Carnot, May 12. 1798. See also the *Mémoires d'un Homme d'Etat*, vol. iii. p. 349.

these combined disasters a council of officers, held on the 24th of April, decided to relinquish the enterprize and return to Jamaica, first, however, demolishing the fortifications they had taken. "I believe," writes Vernon, "even the Spaniards will give us a certificate, that we have effectually destroyed all their castles;" and this was the only fruit of an expedition that in England had cost such lavish sums and raised such high-wrought expectations; that had made Spain tremble for her Indies, that had drawn France in jealousy of our aggrandizement to the very brink of war (1).

Still less honourable was another expedition undertaken by Vernon and Wentworth in the ensuing July, partly in pursuance of orders from home, and partly in hope to retrieve their reputation. Their object was Santiago in the island of Cuba; their military force reduced to 3000 by sickness and disheartened by failure. A thousand negroes from Jamaica were their unpromising auxiliaries. They landed without opposition in the bay of Guantanamo, to which they gave the name of Cumberland, in honour of the Royal Duke. But this courtly compliment was their only exploit. On sending out parties to reconnoitre Santiago, they received such accounts of the difficulties of the ground and the strength of the place, that Wentworth and his officers judged it best to re-embark; the Admiral, after some angry remonstrances, was compelled to acquiesce, and the enterprize was thus abandoned before it had encountered any, even the slightest resistance. Vernon's own statement on the subject has, at least, the merit of extraordinary frankness:—"Though I pretend to very little experience in military affairs by land, yet it is my belief that if the sole command had been in me, both in the Carthagen expedition and the Cuba one, His Majesty's forces would have made themselves masters both of Carthagen and Santiago, and with the loss of much fewer men than have died (2)!"

(1) Some despatches intercepted near Carthagen prove that the Admiral of the French squadron had orders to attack, if he was strong enough. This is Vernon's account:—"One of our brave sailors, seeing a dead Spaniard lying upon an English ensign on shore, swore that Spanish dog should not lie upon English colours, and went ashore to remove his quarters and fetch the colours, when he fortunately disco-

vered wrapped up in those colours the packets of letters from the Spanish Admiral Rodrigo de Torres, ... and the French Secretary of State's orders to the Marquis d'Antin (the French Admiral), by which your Grace will see they had both orders jointly or separately to fall on us." To the Duke of Newcastle, May 30. 1741.

(2) To the Duke of Newcastle, October 2. 1742.;

CHAPTER XXIII.

When Parliament met in November 1740, the Opposition, mindful of the approaching elections, under the Septennial Act, strained every nerve to aggravate the difficulties and blacken the character of Walpole. No sooner had the King's Speech been read by the Lord Chancellor, than the Duke of Argyle suddenly started up, anticipating Lord Holderness, the intended mover of the Ministerial Address, and proposed an Address of his own; he arraigned the whole conduct of the war, and, instead of following the various topics of the Royal Speech, suggested merely a general assurance of support. On the same side Lord Carteret bitterly inveighed against "a Minister who has for almost twenty years been demonstrating to the world that he has neither wisdom nor conduct. He may have a little low cunning, such as those have that buy cattle in Smithfield market, or such as a French valet makes use of for managing an indulgent master, but the whole tenour of his conduct has shown that he has no true wisdom: this our allies know and bemoan; this our enemies know and rejoice in!" Still more invidiously did Chesterfield represent the Government, as "begging hard for a little incense, and endeavouring to have a motion rejected with which even they themselves can find no fault, in order to make room for encumbrances which themselves have prepared!" However, the motion of Lord Holderness, being brought forward as an amendment, was carried by 66 votes against 38; and in the Commons as decisive a majority declared in favour of the original Address (1).

In pursuance of this opening, the Opposition proceeded night after night to heap imputations on the Minister, and to harass him with incessant motions for the production of papers and letters, such as might tend either to criminate him if disclosed, or afford a handle for invective if refused. The Upper House especially was the chosen scene of this warfare. First came an Address for the Instructions to Vernon in taking Porto Bello, intended to show that the whole merit belonged to the Admiral, and none to the Minister. "Can we expect," cried Chesterfield, "that he who gave Admiral Hosier orders to persuade the enemy's ships to surrender, and to lie with his squadron till it rotted before a sea port which

(1) Mr. Orlebar to the Rev. H. Elough, Nov. 22. 1740. *Parl. Hist.* vol. xi. p. 613—636. The account of the Commons' debate is extremely meagre, and no mention made of either Pitt or Lyttleton's speeches, except that Mr. Orlebar says they were "very warm, which occasioned Sir Robert to be so too."

"Mr. Vernon has taken with a fourth part of the force,—I say can we expect that he will give proper orders to any Admiral?" Next appeared a motion for the letters from and to Vernon; after this another for the Instructions to Haddock, who, having been sent with a large squadron to the Mediterranean, had, it was alleged, remained shamefully inactive. In vain did Newcastle urge that Haddock had guarded Gibraltar and Port Mahon, blockaded Cadiz, and protected the British trade; such considerations it was answered were but mean and mercantile. "My Lords," began Bathurst, with his usual caustic wit, "the two noble young Lords who opened this debate" (Sandwich and Halifax) "spoke with such dignity, such strength of argument, and such propriety of expression, that I began to imagine myself in an old Roman or Lacedæmonian Senate, and therefore I must return thanks to the Noble Duke who spoke last, for he has brought me back to a British House of Peers (1)!"

These motions, and another strangely inconsistent with them, against any augmentation of the army, were, indeed, rejected by the Ministerial majority, but served, as was intended, to agitate and inflame the public mind, and prepare the way for the main attack, designed in both Houses to be aimed personally and directly against the Prime Minister. The cry of "Down with Walpole!" was almost the only one on which the Tories and Whigs in Opposition could heartily join, especially since the death of Wyndham, which had greatly loosened the bonds of their alliance. All of them concurred in hatred of the Minister; but few, as to the men or the measures that should follow his dismissal. That cry was also well adapted for effect upon the people, who, it may be observed, are far more easily excited by personal than by political questions, although they have never any interest in the first, and are often deeply concerned in the latter. On that cry, therefore, did Argyle and the other Whigs in Opposition determine to concentrate their whole strength; but it appears that, satisfied with having found a subject well adapted for concert, they neglected to secure that concert by previous communications with their Tory friends, and reckoned on probabilities instead of obtaining promises.

Thus resolved upon, the great attack was fixed in both Houses for the same day, the 13th of February; to be brought forward in the Peers by Lord Carteret, in the Commons by Mr. Samuel Sandys. It is difficult to understand why so important a motion should have been entrusted to a member hitherto of no great note in the ranks of Opposition (2), unless either Mr. Sandys had the merit of first suggesting

(1) *Parl. Hist.* vol. xi. p. 787. Lord Sandwich afterwards filled many high offices in the State, but was never again compared to a Roman Senator.

(2) The abilities of Sandys are spoken of with

much contempt by his enemies. Sir Charles Hanbury Williams satirically laments that he could not spell (*Sir G. H. Williams' Works*, vol. i. p. 151. ed. 1822); and Horace Walpole calls him, in 1755, "the outcast of a former silly administration."

it, or that the principal leaders wished to reserve themselves for reply. Two days previously, Sandys, crossing over the floor in the House of Commons, accosted the Minister, saying that he thought himself bound in common courtesy to inform him that he intended to bring an accusation of several articles against him; and soon afterwards, rising in his place, he gave public notice that he should on the ensuing Friday open a matter of great importance, which personally concerned the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who he therefore hoped would be present. Walpole received the intimation with great composure and dignity; he rose to thank his opponent for his notice; said that he desired no favour, but only fair play, and would not fail to attend the accusation as not conscious of any crime, and he concluded with an appropriate line from his favourite Horace (1).

On the appointed day the public expectation rose to the highest pitch; the gallery was thronged with eager spectators; several members had secured their seats at six in the morning, and at one time there were nearly 500 in the House. The debate began at one o'clock. The speech of Sandys, probably concerted with the principal Opposition leaders, was elaborate and able. Having first lamented the dreadful calamities of the nation, and urged an inquiry into the causes of them, he declared that he should divide his accusation into three branches,—foreign negotiations, domestic government, and the conduct of the war. As to the former, he inveighed, especially, against the Treaty of Hanover, the Act of the Pardo, the acquisition of Lorraine by France, and the Spanish Convention. With respect to affairs at home, he charged Sir Robert with fraudulent views in adjusting the South Sea Scheme; he computed the produce of the Sinking Fund in 1727, and asserted that the national debt was not diminished, although the Sinking Fund had, since that period, produced no less than 15,000,000*l*. —“all spent in Spithead expeditions and Hyde Park reviews!” He next enumerated many instances of unconstitutional conduct. A larger standing army than was necessary—squadrons fitted out at an enormous expense, and never employed against an enemy—all methods to secure the Constitution against corruption rejected—many penal laws passed of an arbitrary tendency—votes of credit frequent—expenses of the Civil List increased—the abolition of burthensome taxes opposed merely because their collection re-

(Memoirs, vol. i. p. 484.) He had been M. P. for Worcester ever since 1717.

(1) A remarkable incident then occurred between Walpole and Pulteney. According to the custom of that period, these leaders of adverse parties used to sit together on the Treasury Bench as Privy Councillors. Walpole had quoted

“*Nili conscire alibi, nulli pallescere culpa.*”

When he sat down Pulteney drily observed to him that it was false Latin; Sir Robert betted him a guinea it was not; and they agreed to refer

the dispute to Mr. Nicholas Hardinge, clerk of the House, who was known as an excellent scholar. Hardinge decided for Pulteney, the right word being *nulla* instead of *nulli*. The guinea was immediately tossed to Pulteney, who caught it, and held it up to the House, exclaiming, “It is the ‘only public money I have received for many years, and it shall be the last!’”—This anecdote, with a few slight variations, is recorded in nearly all the histories of that time. Mr. Nicholas Hardinge was the grandfather of my gallant and distinguished friend Sir Henry.

quired a great number of placemen—officers dismissed for voting against the Excise Scheme, one of the weakest yet most violent projects ever set on foot by any Minister. Entering next upon the conduct of the war, Sandys complained that no sufficient reinforcements had been sent to Vernon in the West Indies, and that Haddock in the Mediterranean had been almost equally neglected. “Things being thus,” said he, “I shall now name the author of all these public calamities. I believe no one can mistake the person to whom I allude; every one must be convinced that I mean the Right Honourable Gentleman opposite. . . . If it should be asked why I impute all these evils to one person, I reply, because that one person has grasped in his own hands every branch of government; that one person has attained the sole direction of affairs, monopolized all the favours of the Crown, compassed the disposal of all places, pensions, titles, ribands, as well as all preferments, civil, military, and ecclesiastical; that one person has made a blind submission to his will, both in Elections and Parliament, the only terms of present favour and future expectation. . . . I therefore move, That an humble Address be presented to His Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to remove the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole from His Majesty’s presence and counsels for ever.”

Lord Limerick having seconded this motion, it was next suggested that Sir Robert should be directed to retire from the House during the debate—a course supported by several ancient precedents, where specific charges or points of evidence were in question, but in this case most unjust, as enabling any enemies to heap vague imputations upon the Minister, without allowing him any opportunity for explanation or reply. The mover of this last proposal, Mr. Wortley Montagu, was a gentleman of immense property and consequent weight amongst his contemporaries, but only known or deserving to be known to posterity as the husband of the British Sévigné. He appears to have combined very moderate talents with most overweening vanity. From several of Lady Mary’s letters to him [we may gather that no flatteries were too gross for his taste. Thus, “I never knew any man capable of such a strength of resolution as yourself.”—“I have always told you it is in your power to make the first figure in the House of Commons.”—“You have a stronger judgment than any (1)!” No man of real sense would have endured such fulsome praises of it.

The motion of Wortley Montagu was seconded by Mr. Gibbon; but, so general seemed the feeling in the House of its unfairness,

(1) To Mr. Wortley, January 25. 1742, June 1. 1740, and March 23. 1744. It is asserted that there still exists in MS. a speech of this “first figure in the House of Commons,” which he intended to read from his hat; it has certain notable hints for the delivery carefully arranged

along the margin, such as “here pause for a minute” —“look round”—“slow”—“loud”—“cough.” I hope his hearers never applied the latter hint to themselves! See Quarterly Review, No. xlv. p. 416.

and of the inapplicability of the precedents, that the proposal was withdrawn, and it was agreed that Walpole should be permitted to hear every accusation and to speak the last. The debate then reverting to the main question was long and acrimonious. The Minister was defended by Pelham and Stephen Fox, perhaps with more zeal than talent: the ablest speeches against him were Pitt's and Pulteney's. Edward Harley, brother of the Lord Treasurer Oxford, and who a few months afterwards, on the death of his nephew, succeeded to the earldom, gave a rare and most praiseworthy example of moderation. "I do not," said he, "stand up at this time of night either to accuse or flatter any man. Since I have had the honour to sit in Parliament, I have opposed the measures of administration because I thought them wrong, and as long as they are I shall continue to give as constant an opposition to them. The state of the nation by the conduct of our Ministers is deplorable; a war is destroying us abroad, and poverty and corruption are devouring us at home. But whatever I may think of men, God forbid that my private opinion should be the only rule of my judgment! I should desire to have an exterior conviction from facts and evidences. . . . A Noble Lord to whom I had the honour to be related has been often mentioned in this debate. He was impeached and imprisoned; by that imprisonment his years were shortened; and the prosecution was carried on by the Right Honourable Gentleman who is now the subject of your question, though he knew at that very time that there was no evidence to support it. I am now, Sir, glad of this opportunity to return good for evil, and to do that Right Honourable Gentleman and his family that justice which he denied to mine."—So saying he left the house, and was followed by his kinsman Mr. Robert Harley.

As remarkable, though on very different grounds, was the conduct of Shippen. He observed that he looked upon this motion as only a scheme for turning out one Minister and bringing in another; that it was quite indifferent to him who was in or who was out; and that therefore he would give himself no concern in the question. With these words he withdrew, and was followed by thirty-four of his friends. Nay, Lord Cornbury even went further; and, declaring that no man whose ardour for vengeance had not extinguished every other motive of action could resolve to sanction a method of prosecution by which the good and bad are equally endangered, announced that he should vote against the motion. The course of these Jacobite Members excited much surprise, and called forth many conjectures. So far as Shippen himself is concerned, it is explained by a fact which one of his relatives communicated to Mr. Coxe. Some time before, Sir Robert Walpole having discovered a correspondence which one of Shippen's party carried on with the Pretender, Shippen called on the Minister, and

entreated him to save his friend. Sir Robert readily complied, and then said : " Mr. Shippen, I cannot desire you to vote with the " administration, for with your principles I have no right to " expect it. But I only require, whenever any question is brought " forward in the House affecting me personally, that you will recol- " lect the favour I have now granted you (1)." It is not to be supposed, however, that this engagement could bind any one but Shippen himself. But a letter of Mr. Thomas Carte, in the Stuart collection, and referring to this very subject, shows that the hopes inspired by Walpole's message to the Pretender were not yet wholly dissipated (2). It proves also that the motion of Sandys had been hastily brought forward without due and sufficient communication to the Jacobite Members, and that at the last moment they felt displeased, and determined to show their displeasure, at this arrogant neglect.

When Pulteney had sat down Sir Robert rose, and delivered a speech equal if not superior to any of his former efforts. Some of the charges against him, such as the despotic dismissal of officers, did not in my opinion admit of any satisfactory answer ; but on many points his defence was conclusive, and on all most able. He observed that the parties combined against him might be divided into three classes, the Tories, the dissatisfied Whigs, calling themselves Patriots, and the Boys—the latter phrase denoting how generally the young men of promise who entered Parliament had joined the Opposition banner, and thus afforded, perhaps, the surest of all omens of a Minister's fall. " The Tories," said Sir Robert, " I can easily forgive; they have unwillingly come into the measure, and they do me honour in thinking it necessary to remove me as their only obstacle. Gentlemen have talked a great deal of patriotism—a venerable word when duly practised; but I am sorry to say that of late it has been so much hackneyed about, that it is in danger of falling into disgrace : the very idea of true patriotism is lost, and the term has been prostituted to the very worst of purposes. A patriot, Sir ! why patriots spring up like mushrooms ! I could raise fifty of them within the four-and-twenty hours—I have raised many of them in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot. I have never been afraid of making patriots, but I disdain and despise all their efforts. I am called repeatedly and insidiously prime and sole minister. Admitting, however, for the sake of argument, that I am prime and sole minister in this country ; am I therefore prime and sole minister of all Europe ? am I answerable for the conduct of other countries as well as for that of my own ? Many words are not

(1) Memoirs of Walpole, vol. I. p. 671.

(2) Mr. Carte to the Pretender (Received April 17. 1741). See Appendix.

“wanting to show that the particular views of each Court occasioned the dangers which affected the public tranquillity; yet the whole is charged to my account. Nor is this sufficient; whatever was the conduct of England, I am equally arraigned. If we maintained ourselves in peace, and took no share in foreign transactions, we are reproached for tameness and pusillanimity. If, on the contrary, we interfered in the disputes, we are called Don Quixotes, and dupes to all the world. If we contracted guarantees, it was asked, why is the nation wantonly burdened? If guarantees were declined, we were reproached with having no allies.”

Sir Robert next proceeded to vindicate the Treaty of Hanover, and the whole series of his foreign policy. In his financial administration, he contended that within the last sixteen or seventeen years no less than 8,000,000*l.* of the Debt had been discharged by the application of the Sinking Fund, and 7,000,000*l.* more taken from that fund and applied to the relief of the agriculturists through the diminution of the Land Tax. As to the conduct of the war, “as I am neither Admiral nor General,” said he, “as I have nothing to do either with our Navy or Army, I am sure I am not answerable for the prosecution of it. But were I to answer for every thing, no fault could, I think, be found. It has from the beginning been carried on with as much vigour, and as great care of our trade, as was consistent with our safety at home, or with our circumstances at the beginning of the war; and if our attacks upon the enemy were too long delayed, or if they have not been so vigorous or so frequent as they ought to have been, those only are to blame who have for many years been haranguing against standing armies. . . . In conclusion, what have been the effects of this corruption, ambition, and avarice with which I am so abundantly charged? Have I ever been suspected of being corrupted? A strange phenomenon, a corrupter himself not corrupt! Is ambition imputed to me? Why then do I still continue a Commoner? I, who refused a White Staff and a Peerage!—I had, indeed, like to have forgotten the little ornament about my shoulders, which gentlemen have so repeatedly mentioned in terms of sarcastic obloquy. But surely, though this may be regarded with envy or indignation in another place, it cannot be supposed to raise any resentment in this House, where many must be pleased to see those honours which their ancestors have worn restored again to the Commons. . . . I must think that an Address to His Majesty to remove one of his servants, without so much as alleging any particular crime against him, is one of the greatest encroachments that was ever made upon the prerogative of the Crown; and, therefore, for the sake of my master, without any regard for my own, I hope all those that have a due respect for our Constitution, and for the rights

“and prerogatives of the Crown, without which our Constitution cannot be preserved, will be against this motion.”

This speech, which was not concluded till nearly four in the morning, produced a strong effect, and was followed by a triumphant division; the numbers being, for the motion 106, against it 290, an unusually large majority, mainly resulting, however, from the secession of the Tories. In the Upper House, that evening, Lord Carteret was powerfully supported by Argyle and Bathurst, but opposed by the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Newcastle, and Lord Hervey, and the motion was negatived by 108 votes against 59. The Prince of Wales was present, but did not vote; and it was observed that Lord Wilmington, though holding office under the Government, likewise remained neutral. A strong protest, which had been prepared, as is said, by Bolingbroke (1), was signed by 31 peers.

The remark of Sir Robert himself, in a conversation with Sandys, was, that they might, perhaps, get the better of him, but he was sure no other Minister would ever be able to stand so long as he had done—twenty years (2). The first effect of these motions seemed to be the securing of Walpole in power. His levee the next morning was the fullest ever known (3); congratulations poured in from all sides; while his opponents, baffled and confounded, were imputing to each other the blame of their failure. But in its ulterior consequences the motion of Sandys served in the ensuing general election to point and concentrate every attack upon the Minister, as the one great grievance of the state; and on the other hand, it is asserted that his success on this occasion threw him off his guard, and by increasing his confidence slackened his exertions (4).

An occurrence of this Session, still more important in its consequences, was the Subsidy granted to the Court of Vienna, where there had arisen a new conjuncture of affairs, portentous and eventful to the other European states. The Emperor Charles the Sixth had died on the 20th of October 1740. His daughter Maria Theresa, the heiress of his dominions with the title of Queen of Hungary, was but twenty-three years of age, without experience or knowledge of business; and her husband Francis, the titular Duke of Lorraine and reigning Grand Duke of Tuscany, deserved the praise of amiable qualities rather than of commanding talents. Her ministers were timorous, irresolute, and useless: “I saw them in despair,” writes Mr. Robinson, the British envoy, “but that very despair was not capable of rendering them bravely desperate (5).” The treasury was exhausted, the army dis-

(1) Charles Yorke to Philip Yorke. Coxe's Walpole, vol. iii. p. 585.

(3) Mr. T. Carte to the Pretender. Letter received April 17. 1741.

(4) Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 491.

(2) Opinions of the Duchess of Marlborough, p. 108. The date of 1739 is clearly erroneous.

(5) Mr. Robinson to Lord Harrington, October 22. 1740. Coxe's House of Austria.

persed, and no general risen to replace Eugene. The succession of Maria Theresa was, indeed, cheerfully acknowledged by her subjects, and seemed to be secured amongst foreign powers by their guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction; but it soon appeared that such guarantees are mere worthless parchments where there is strong temptation to break and only a feeble army to support them. The principal claimant to the succession was the Elector of Bavaria, who maintained that the will of the Emperor Ferdinand the First devised the Austrian states to his daughter, from whom the Elector descended, on failure of male lineage. It appeared that the original will in the archives at Vienna referred to the failure, not of the male but of the legitimate issue of his sons; but this document, though ostentatiously displayed to all the ministers of state and foreign ambassadors, was very far from inducing the Elector to desist from his pretensions (1).

As to the Great Powers—the Court of France, the old ally of the Bavarian family, and mindful of its injuries from the House of Austria, was eager to exalt the first by the depression of the latter. The Bourbons in Spain followed the direction of the Bourbons in France. The King of Poland and the Empress of Russia were more friendly in their expressions than in their designs. An opposite spirit pervaded England and Holland, where motives of honour and of policy combined to support the rights of Maria Theresa. In Germany itself the Elector of Cologne, the Bavarian's brother, warmly espoused his cause; and “the remaining Electors,” says Chesterfield, “like electors with us, thought it a proper opportunity of making the most of their votes,—and all at the expense of the helpless and abandoned House of Austria (2)!”

The first blow, however, came from Prussia, where the King Frederick William had died a few months before, and been succeeded by his son Frederick the Second; a Prince surnamed the Great by poets, and who would have deserved that title better had he not been one of them himself. It is difficult to understand how the same spirit could sometimes soar to the most lofty achievements—sometimes creep in the most wretched rhymes; and when we painfully toil through page after page, and volume after volume, of intolerable dullness, here and there enlivened by blasphemy, we can scarcely believe that they really proceeded from the first warrior and statesman of his age. Voltaire, who knew him well, gave him the nickname of CESAR-COTIN (3). Nor was there a less striking contrast between the qualities of his heart and of his head. Vain, selfish, and ungrateful, destitute of truth and honour, he

(1) Mr. Robinson to Lord Harrington, October 26. and November 7. 1740.

(2) Case of the Hanover Forces.

(3) Abbé Cotin, the constant butt of Bolleau's

satire, was also the original of Molière's *Trissotin* in *Les Femmes Savantes*. The name was at first *Tri-cotin*, but afterwards altered, the allusion being thought too plain.

valued his companions, not from former kindness, but only for future use (1). But turn we to his talents, and we find the most consummate skill in war, formed by his own genius and acquired from no master; we find a prompt, sagacious, and unbending administration of affairs; an activity and application seldom yielding to sickness and never relaxed by pleasure, and seeking no repose except by variety of occupation; a high and overruling ambition, capable of the greatest exploits or of the most abject baseness, as either tended to its object, but never losing sight of that object; pursuing it with dauntless courage and an eagle eye, sometimes in the heavens and sometimes through the mire, and never tolerating either in himself or in others one moment of languor or one touch of pity!

This aspiring Prince had found on his accession an immense treasure and an excellent army; he panted for an opportunity of employing both, and availed himself of the Emperor's death to revive some obsolete claims to certain duchies and lordships in Silesia. While others negotiated, he acted. He quietly collected his troops, all the while continuing his professions of amity to the Court of Vienna; and, when his preparations were complete, secretly quitting Berlin at the close of a masked ball, on the 23d of December he entered Silesia, at the head of thirty thousand men. He had not strengthened himself by any engagements with the Court of Versailles, but he relied on its ancient animosity against the House of Austria, and perceived that he might sign an alliance whenever he gained a victory. As he set off, he said to the French Ambassador, the marquis de Beauvau: "I am going, I believe, to play your game; and if I should throw doublets, we will share the stakes (2)."

At the same time, however, Frederick made an overture in the opposite quarter. He dispatched Count Gotter as his agent to Vienna, to announce his intended invasion, and to propose that the Queen of Hungary should cede to him the province of Lower Silesia, on which condition he would undertake to change sides, and employ his troops and treasure in defending Her Majesty against all her enemies and obtaining for the Duke her husband the Imperial Crown. But the high spirit of Maria Theresa could ill brook such submission. She declared that so long as the King of Prussia had a man in Silesia she would sooner perish than enter into any terms with him, and Gotter returned in disappointment to his master (3).

Meanwhile the invasion of Silesia was easy and almost unop-

(1) This appeared from the very outset of his reign. See in the Appendix a letter from Lord Desford to Marquis Visconti, December 26. 1740. A similar statement is made by Voltaire. He tells us that when at Berlin some persons remonstrated with the King for favouring him so highly. "Laissez faire," dit le Roi, "on presse l'orange, et on la jette quand on a avalé le jus." *La Métrie*

"ne manqua pas de me rendre ce bel apophthegme digne de Denys de Syracuse. Je résolus dès lors de mettre en sûreté les pelures de l'orange!" (*Mémoires de Voltaire*, p. 224. ed. 1822.)

(2) Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XV.* ch. 6.

(3) Coxe's *House of Austria*, vol. iii. p. 232—234.

posed. The Queen's troops, only 3000 in number, were compelled to retreat into Moravia; and the Protestants, who had suffered severely under the Austrian yoke, hailed Frederick as a champion of their faith. Before the end of January he had reduced the whole province except the fortified towns of Glogau, Brieg, and Neiss. Yet still he affected to call himself a friend of the house of Austria, and wrote to the Duke of Lorraine:—"My heart has no share in the mischief which my hand is doing to your Court (1):" Such hypocritical assurances tended only to inflame the resentment of Maria Theresa. She collected an army of about 24,000 men in Moravia, and drew Marshal Neipperg from a prison to place him at its head (2). According to her orders Neipperg, crossing the mountains, entered Silesia, and pushed forward to Neiss and Brieg, while Frederick, who had returned for a short time to Berlin, hastened back to meet his new antagonist. On the 10th of April the Prussians, approaching by rapid marches and favoured by a fall of snow, surprised Neipperg at Molwitz, a village near Brieg. The battle, however, which ensued, seemed at first to declare against them; their cavalry, much inferior to the Austrian, was entirely routed; the King's baggage was taken; and the King himself was borne along by the crowd of fugitives to Oppellen, many miles from the field of action (3). But the bravery and steadiness of the Prussian infantry, under Marshal Schwerin, retrieved the day: they not only arrested the progress of Neipperg's already half-victorious troops, but put them to flight with the loss of 3000 men and several pieces of cannon. An express was then dispatched to the King in the rear, informing him that the battle which he had long since despaired of was completely won. A strange outset of a hero's career, but nobly repaired in after years.

The disaster of Molwitz revealing the weakness of the Austrian monarchy encouraged new claimants to its spoils. The Kings of Spain, of Sardinia, and of Poland as Elector of Saxony, each on different grounds, pretended to some share in its dominions. On the other hand a generous spirit was rising throughout England to support the injured Queen, and the Opposition already began to clamour against the tameness of the Minister. Thus goaded, Walpole brought forward an Address in the House of Commons, pledging Parliament to maintain the Pragmatic Sanction: he also proposed a Subsidy of 300,000*l.* to the Queen of Hungary, and acknowledged the national obligation by treaty of assisting her with a force of 12,000 men. These motions were supported by Pulteney

(1) Despatch of Mr. Robinson to Lord Harrington, February 22. 1741.

(2) Neipperg had been disgraced and sent to the castle of Hallitz in 1739, for signing the preliminaries of a disadvantageous peace with the Turks. (Coxe's *House of Austria*, vol. iii. p. 198.)

(3) Frederick's behaviour in this flight was characteristically selfish. On arriving at Oppellen, the place was found to be occupied by an Aus-

trian out-post, and some Hussars sallied out against the King's party; upon which Frederick exclaimed to Maupertuis, the French mathematician, and some other attendants, "Farewell, my friends, I am better mounted than you all!" and gallily rode off, leaving Maupertuis and some others to be taken prisoners. This was related by Maupertuis himself at Vienna to Mr. Robinson. (Despatch to Lord Harrington, April 22. 1741.)

and other chiefs of the "patriots," but did not pass without some severe remarks from Shippen, who declared that the measures were intended only to secure the King's Electoral dominions. A similar Address, proposed by Ministers in the House of Lords, displayed a still wider schism in the Opposition ranks; Carteret speaking in favour of the motion, but Chesterfield and Argyle opposing it as too Hanoverian. According to Chesterfield, "the Prince of Wales behaved sillily upon this occasion, making Lords North and Darnley vote against us; such was the power of the NATALE SOLM. This has hurt him much with the public (1)." Carteret on his part, with the view of thwarting Walpole's negotiations, took care to assure Count Ostein, the Austrian Ambassador, that the Subsidy did not proceed from the good disposition of the Minister, but had been extorted by the general voice of the Parliament and people (2).

The great object of Walpole's negotiations at this time was to break the confederacy against Maria Theresa, by detaching the King of Prussia from it, nay, even converting him into an ally. It was found, however, far from easy to mediate between a victorious invader and a haughty and offended Queen. When Lord Hyndford the English Ambassador urged Frederick to moderate his pretensions, and represented how beautiful a thing is magnanimity, he was impatiently interrupted:—"Do not talk to me, my Lord, of magnanimity! a Prince ought first to consult his own interests. I am not averse to a peace, but I expect to have four Duchies, and I will have them (3)." Mr. Robinson at Vienna had full as many obstacles to combat. Scarce any concession could be wrung from Maria Theresa; she resolutely refused every part of Silesia, but at length proposed the Duchy of Limburg and other lands in the Low Countries. Even to these inadequate terms she was brought with extreme reluctance, and while empowering Mr. Robinson to make the offer to Frederick, passionately exclaimed, "I hope he may reject it!" That wish was soon accomplished. On arriving at the Prussian head-quarters the British Minister immediately opened his commission to the King, but was encountered by a burst of indignation. "Still beggarly offers!" cried Frederick. "Since you have nothing to propose on the side of Silcsia, all negotiations are useless. My ancestors," added he, with theatrical gestures, "would rise out of their tombs to reproach me should I abandon my just rights." So saying he took off his hat, and rushed behind the inner curtain of his tent (4).

Thus then the war continued, fraught with dangers and apparent

(1) Lord Chesterfield to Lord Marchmont, April 24. 1741. Marchmont Papers, vol. II.

(2) See the Life of Lord Walpole, of Wolterton, p. 224.

(3) Despatch of Lord Hyndford to Lord Harrington, Breslau, June 18. 1741.

(4) The details of this curious interview are related by Mr. Robinson in his despatch to Lord Harrington, August. 9. 1741. A second journey of Robinson, with larger offers, proved equally fruitless.

ruin to the Austrian Heiress. At the Court of France the pacific influence of Fleury was overborne by the Marshal de Belleisle, assisted by a female cabal; and Fleury, when driven to choose between the sacrifice of his power and of his principles, still at the age of eighty-seven clung with dying grasp to the former. He unworthily consented to preside over councils which he had long gainsaid and still disapproved. Belleisle was despatched to Breslau and to Dresden to concert the terms of alliance; with Munich they were already formed. The projects of Jacobite risings and French assistance were postponed at Versailles, the more readily, perhaps, since the failure at Carthagená had diminished the fear of British aggrandizement; and the troops were collected in two great armies for the invasion of Germany. The first army under Marshal Maillebois passed the Meuse and Rhine and advanced towards Hanover, where King George was then residing, having gone abroad in the spring in spite of the urgent entreaties of Walpole, and leaving that Minister to struggle, as he best might, through the difficulties of the General Election. His Majesty was accompanied by Lord Harrington as Secretary of State, and was employed in assembling troops for the support of the Queen of Hungary, when the approach of the French chilled his ardour and arrested his arms. Trembling for what was always nearest to his heart, his Electoral dominions, he concluded one year's neutrality for Hanover, stipulating that during that period it should yield no assistance to Maria Theresa, and that at the ensuing Election of Emperor its vote should not be given in favour of her husband. This treaty, signed on the 16th of September, was reprobated, and not without some reason, as a pusillanimous and selfish measure, and it is difficult to say whether it excited most displeasure in Austria or in England.

The second French army, 35,000 strong, and headed by Marshals de Belleisle and de Broglie, pouring into Bavaria, joined the Elector's forces, and reduced the important city of Lintz. There the Elector was inaugurated Duke of Austria, and declared war against Maria Theresa by the name of Grand Duchess of Tuscany. Already had his outposts pushed within three leagues of Vienna, already was a summons sent to Count Khevenhüller, Governor of that capital, already did its inhabitants hastily prepare, some for flight, others for resistance; and while a suburb which had grown up beneath the fortifications was destroyed, the Danube was covered with barges conveying away the most precious effects. The Queen herself, then advanced in pregnancy, was induced to depart with her husband and her brother-in-law Prince Charles of Lorraine to defend her capital and maintain her cause.

Amidst this long train of disasters no resource seemed left to the unfortunate Princess, but a people whose lofty spirit accorded with her own. For years, nay for centuries, had the Hungarians

groaned or rebelled beneath the despotism of her imperial ancestry. While they formed the outpost of Christendom upon their frontier, they were no less the martyrs of tyranny at home : almost equally assailed from Constantinople and from Vienna, they had to defend their religion with one hand and their privileges with the other : The flower of their chivalry was again and again mowed down in battle by the Turks or immured in dungeons by the Austrians, yet always started up afresh with renewed valour and unconquerable love of liberty. Never, perhaps, had any nation undergone more grievous calamities or displayed more heroic courage. " In going through " Hungary," says an English traveller, one hundred and twenty years ago, " nothing can be more melancholy than to see such a noble " spot of earth almost uninhabited (1) ; " and even at the present day, after a long period of quiet and good government, the scanty and squalid population, the dismal towns, and the uncultivated fields, still bear impressed upon them the stamp of former misery, and show how unavailing are the most lavish gifts of Providence where the greatest of all—Peace and Freedom—were denied.

It was to this noble nation, resolute against the strong oppressor, but generous to the feeble and the suppliant, that now, at her utmost need, the Austrian Queen appealed. She had already, when crowned at Presburg in the June preceding, gratified them by reviving and taking the oath of their King Andrew the Second (it had been abolished by her grandfather) in confirmation of their privileges, and by fulfilling the stately ceremonies which their forms prescribed. Placing on her head the crown of St. Stephen, and borne by a spirited charger, she rode up the ancient barrow called the Royal Mount, and from thence, according to the established custom, waved a drawn sword towards the four cardinal points, as though defying the universe to war. So fair and graceful was her aspect, that, as an eye-witness exclaimed, she did not require her weapon to conquer all who saw her (2). Yet lovely as she seemed in her Royal Crown, her fascination augmented after she had laid it aside; when her beautiful hair, no longer confined by it, flowed freely in long ringlets on her shoulders, while the excitement of the previous ceremony diffused a warmer glow over her charming features; and, as she sat down in public state at the Royal banquet, there was not a heart among the spectators, however chilled by age—or worse than age, by selfishness—that did not beat high with chivalrous and loyal admiration.

Endeared by these recollections, the young Queen, or as they

(1) Lady Mary W. Montagu to the Countess of Mar, January 30, 1717.

(2) Mr. Robinson to Lord Harrington, June 28, 1741. This scene was also detailed by several gentlemen who were present to Sir N. Wrexall (Courts of Berlin, Vienna, etc., vol. II. p. 299. ed.

1799.). He adds, " I am assured by those who " witnessed her coronation, that she was then " one of the most charming women in Europe : " her figure elegant, her shape fine, and her de- " meanour majestic." I have compared and com- bined both descriptions in my narrative.

termed her, the King (for in Hungary the female title is applied only to Queens Consort,) again repaired to Presburg a few months afterwards as a fugitive from Vienna. All the Magnates and other orders of the kingdom were there assembled in Diet. On the 11th of September, a day whose memory has ever since been cherished in Hungary, she summoned them to attend her at the Castle; they came, and when marshalled in the Great Hall, the Queen appeared: she was still in deep mourning for her father, but her dress was Hungarian, the crown of St. Stephen was on her head, and the scimitar of state at her side. Her step was firm and majestic, but her voice faltered, and tears flowed from her eyes. For some moments she was unable to utter a single word, and the whole assembly remained in deep and mournful silence. At length her infant son, afterwards Joseph the Second, was brought in by the first Lady of the Bedchamber, and laid on a cushion before her. With an action more eloquent than any words, the Queen took him in her arms, and held him up to the Assembly, and while sobs still at intervals burst through her voice, she addressed the assembly in Latin, a language which she had studied and spoke fluently, not from pedantry, as ladies elsewhere, but because it is to this day in common use with the Hungarian people, and still serves to convey the national deliberations. Her speech was no cold and formal harangue of a Sovereign, cautiously declaring projects, or haughtily demanding supplies; it was the supplication of a young and beautiful woman in distress. When she came to the words (2)—“The kingdom of Hungary, our person, our children, our crown are at stake! Forsaken by all, we seek shelter only in the fidelity, the arms, the hereditary valour of the renowned Hungarian states,”—the whole assembly, as if animated by one soul and speaking with one voice, drew their sabres halfway from the scabbard, and exclaimed, “Our lives and our blood for your Majesty! We will die for our King Maria Theresa!”—Nowhere, perhaps, does modern History record a more beautiful and touching scene. According to the narrative of one of the noblemen present, “we all wept, as did the Queen, aloud, but they were tears of affection and indignation. In a few minutes afterwards we withdrew, in order to concert the necessary measures at such a period of public danger and distress (2).”

(1) The precise words, as communicated from the Hungarian archives, both to Mr. Coxé and Sir N. Wraxall, are as follows: “*Agitur de regno Hungariæ, de personâ nostrâ, prolibus nostris et coronâ. Ab omnibus derelicti, unice ad inclytorum Statuum fidelitatem, arma, et Hungarorum priscam virtutem confugimus!*” The exclamation of the States in reply was “*Vitam et Sanguinem pro Majestate Vestrà! Moriamur pro Rege nostro, Mariâ Theresâ!*”—These words will resound to all posterity.

(2) The narrative of Count Koller, who was present, was taken down from his repeated re-

lation, and in his very words, by Sir N. Wraxall. (Courts of Berlin and Vienna, vol. II. p. 296—298. ed. 1799.) “The whole scene,” adds the Count, “which has furnished so much matter for history, hardly lasted more than twelve or fifteen minutes.” Archdeacon Coxé credits the point of the Queen’s holding up the infant Archduke to the Diet, because, as he states, it appears from Mr. Robinson’s despatches that the Archduke was not brought to Presburg till after the 20th of the month. (House of Austria, vol. III. p. 268.) Yet we know from other authority that Maria Theresa had taken her

It is certainly a great advantage, as all History attests, of female succession, that it tends above all other causes to kindle the extinct or revive the decaying flame of loyalty. The warmest-feelings then combine with the most deliberate judgment, and we become Royalists from enthusiasm as much as from reason. Nay even where a contracted understanding fails to discern the superior benefits of Monarchy, the heart unbidden warms towards one whose sex makes it our pride to protect, as her birth our duty to obey her. And never, not even by our own Elizabeth, were a people's loyalty and love more strongly stirred than then by Maria Theresa. Her attraction was not merely that of form or youth; goodness and benevolence of character shone conspicuous in every period of her life; and even when time and sorrow had deprived her of all pretensions to beauty, she still charmed all those that approached her by her manner and mien, displaying in most harmonious combination, a motherly kindness, a regal dignity, a female grace.

Nor did the enthusiasm of the Hungarians evaporate in words. The spirit of the Magnates was caught by the vassals; military ardour united with feudal duty; and though with different degrees of power, the energy and exertion were the same in all. From the remotest provinces, from the banks of the Save, the Teiss and the Drave, poured hardy and half-savage bands, whose aspect, nay whose very name was yet unknown to Western Europe—Croats, Pandours, Tolpaches, Sclavonians—with strange dress and arms, barbarous tongues, and unwonted modes of combat, yet able, as was shown by the event; to cope with most disciplined troops. The subsidy of 300,000*l.* which had been transmitted from England proved likewise of no small avail, and an army, formidable both in spirit and in numbers, rapidly grew around the Royal standard.

Vienna meanwhile was no longer in present peril from the Elector of Bavaria and his French allies. Reserving that capital for future prey, and impatient to be crowned King of Bohemia, he had turned aside from his Austrian expedition, and invested Prague. Its garrison was only 5000 men; its governor, Ogilvy, an Irish exile. To relieve that city became Maria Theresa's first object; the new Hungarian levies, headed by the Duke of Lorraine and his brother Prince Charles, were set in movement early in November, and were joined by the relics of the Silesian army under Neipperg, as well as by a detachment from the garrison of Vienna. Already had they advanced within five leagues of Prague, when they had the mortification to learn, that on the preceding night,

son with her from Vienna (Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 520.), and I should be the less inclined to trust Mr. Coxe's dates in this transaction, as he has chosen to transfer the celebrated scene before the Diet from the 11th to the 13th. But on referring to the despatch in question among Mr. Coxe's

transcripts (vol. cl. p. 214, Brit. Mus.) it is evident that his copyist has put the word "Archduke," by mistake, for "Grand-duke" that is, of Tuscany, and Duke of Lorraine; the son instead of the father. See the Appendix.

the 25th of November, the city had been taken by surprise. They thereupon retired to a secure position behind the marshes of Budweis, while Prague resounded with the festal coronation of the pretended King of Bohemia. From that conquest the Elector hastened to a still prouder scene of triumph, the Diet of Frankfort, where the neutrality of Hanover had left the Duke of Lorraine without a single vote, and where his rival was accordingly chosen and crowned Emperor by the title of Charles the Seventh (1). These, however, were but the continued impulse and flow of his preceding fortune; the zeal and valour of the Hungarians wholly turned the tide; and my next view of the affairs of Maria Theresa will display a success not unworthy of her spirit and theirs.

In England the Parliament had been prorogued on the 25th of April, and dissolved a few days afterwards. I need not here recapitulate what I have already dwelt upon, the many causes that had combined to heap unpopularity and discredit upon Walpole. Indeed, if truth were always found half way between opposite angry allegations, Sir Robert might be proved a perfect character; for he was denounced at once as profuse and niggardly, timid and presumptuous, a sycophant and a despot, too hasty and too slow ! But in reality, the faults of the Minister on some points are quite as undoubted as the injustice of the people on others. The Opposition had also been most unremitting in their exertions throughout the country ; and the testimony of a French traveller at this period may possess some interest, as showing what progress had been made in the science of Electioneering : “ I am now,” says he, “ at Northampton; a town where there are some of the “ best inns in England, but where I am lodged at one of the “ worst; this has happened because I fell in with a Noble Peer “ who was going, like myself, to London, and who insisted upon “ our travelling together, which I readily agreed to, not knowing “ that I should pay so dearly for the honour of his company. “ Each party in this nation has its peculiar inns, which no one can “ change unless he wishes to be called a turn-coat. . . . Our “ dinner consisted of a tough fowl and a liquid pudding. This “ was not the worst; it seemed at one moment as if the innkeeper’s “ hatred of the Minister would give him the privilege of sitting “ down to table with ourselves. The least we could do was, to “ drink from the same glass as he used, to his health and the healths “ of all those at Northampton, that are enemies of Sir Robert “ Walpole (against whom I have not the slightest cause of quarrel) “ and friends of our innkeeper (with whom, as you see, I have

(1) The coronation at Frankfort was delayed till February 14. 1742. The Margravine of Bareith, who was present, observes : “ Le pauvre Empereur ne goûta pas toute la satisfaction que cette cérémonie devait lui inspirer. Il était mourant de la goutte et de la gravelle, et pouvait à peine “ se soutenir.... L'Impératrice est d'une taille au-dessus de la petite, et si puissante qu'elle semble “ une boule; elle est laide au possible, sans air “ et sans grâce.” (Mém. de Bareith, vol. II. p. 342. and 346.)

"no great reason to be pleased). Nay, more, we had patiently to listen to all the arguments of this zealous member of the Opposition, for it was not the innkeeper that paid court to My Lord, but My Lord that paid court to the innkeeper. The latter loudly complained that his party in Parliament was far too moderate. 'How shameful!' he cried in a passionate tone. 'If I were a Peer like your Lordship, I would insist that all Ministers should be expelled from both Houses, and that the Militia should be disbanded, or else (here he added an oath) I would set fire to the city of London from end to end!' With these words he angrily wished us good night. After he was gone, 'Sir,' said my Noble Friend, 'you must not be surprised at all this. That man is of more importance in the town than you can possibly imagine; his understanding is so much respected by his neighbours that his vote at an election always decides theirs, and our party are bound to show him all possible attention (1).'" Such details may appear beneath the dignity of History, yet, let us never contemn whatever can best illustrate the temper and manners of the times (2).

One of the first elections that ensued at the Dissolution was that of Westminster. The Court had then a paramount influence in this borough; and its candidates were Sir Charles Wager, first Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Sundon, a Lord of the Treasury, and husband of the former favourite of Queen Caroline. No opposition was at first expected; but Sir Charles having been summoned to convoy His Majesty to Holland, and Lord Sundon being an arrogant upstart, with no merit but his marriage, a party in Westminster set up Admiral Vernon, then in the height of his popularity, and Mr. Edwin, a gentleman of considerable fortune. Still, however, there was a majority in favour of the Ministerial candidates; but some tumult ensuing, Lord Sundon was weakly prevailed upon to order the poll-books to be closed, a party of the Guards to attend, and himself and Sir Charles Wager to be returned by the High Bailiff while soldiers surrounded the hustings. So exasperated were the multitude that the Guards were pelted, and Sundon himself narrowly escaped with his life.

This appearance of military force roused a strong resentment through the country, and is supposed to have turned several elections against the Ministerial candidates. Another powerful lever of the Opposition was a subscription, to which Pulteney, the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough, and the Prince of Wales, were lavish contributors; the Prince incurring considerable debts on this occasion. In Cornwall, Lord Falmouth and Mr. Thomas Pitt succeeded in gaining over several of the smaller boroughs from

(1) *Lettres d'un Français*, vol. i. p. 257—259. ed. 1748. is argued with some striking examples in *Emile*, livre 4. (vol. i. p. 429. ed. 1821.). The author is as

(2) This question—as to what circumstances usual most able, and what we seldom find him, I should or should not be excluded from history—think, in the right.

the Government. In Dorsetshire, Weymouth and Melcombe followed the change of Bubb Dodington, who had gone into opposition with the Duke of Argyle, irritated, as it was said, by the refusal of a peerage. Lord Melcombe (such was the title he coveted) would have continued a steady friend, Mr. Bubb became an inexorable enemy! Scotland was made the battle field of two brothers, the Earl of Isla and the Duke of Argyle; the former as manager for Walpole, the latter as his principal opponent. In this conflict the Duke prevailed; and the Scottish members who had hitherto formed a close phalanx in support of the Government, and had even, as we have seen (1), received each ten guineas weekly during the Session, were now, for the most part, ranged on the contrary side. On the whole the Ministerial majority was so far reduced, that even its favourers could not boast of above sixteen; "and I well know," writes Dodington, "that if we take proper measures, sixteen and nothing is the same thing (2)!"

To concert these "proper measures" betimes was therefore a main object. Dodington, Lord Limerick, and several others, urged Pulteney to hold a meeting of the principal leaders and determine the future operations; but Pulteney, who, like many other men of quick genius, was always vibrating in his politics between blood-heat and freezing-point, being then at the latter, appeared very indifferent. He said that he saw no use of meeting nor of concert,—that he would by no means undertake to write to or summon gentlemen,—that he thought a fortnight before the Session would be time enough—that if popular and national points were gone upon, people must follow them without further preparation—that he would meet if he was sent to, but would rather his friends would let him know what was resolved upon, and he would take his post—that he was weary of being at the head of a party, and would rather row in the galleys (3). On the other hand, Lord Chesterfield wrote from abroad to point out and direct how the Government could be best assailed. "I am," says he, "for acting at the very beginning of the Session. . . . For example, the Court generally proposes some servile and shameless tool of theirs to be chairman of the Committee of Privileges and Elections. Why should not we, therefore, pick out some Whig of a fair character, and with personal connexions, to set up in opposition? I think we should be pretty strong upon this point. But as for opposition to their Speaker, if it be Onslow, we shall be but weak; he having, by a certain decency of behaviour, made himself many personal friends in the minority. . . . An Address to the King, desiring him to make no peace with Spain unless our undoubted right of navigation in the West-Indies without molestation or search be clearly and in express

(1) See vol. II. p. 102.

(2) To the Duke of Argyle, July 3. 1741. Coxe's Walpole.

(3) Ibid.

" words stipulated, and till we have acquired some valuable possession there as a pledge of the performance of such stipulation —such a question would surely be a popular one, and distressful enough to the Ministry." Chesterfield adds, that the decisive battle must be in the House of Commons, since among the Peers the Ministers are too strong to be shaken, and "for such a minority to struggle with such a majority would be much like the late King of Sweden's attacking the Ottoman army at Bender, at the head of his cook and his butler (1)!"

This letter was dated from Spa, Lord Chesterfield having gone thither on account of his health, and the same motive led him in the autumn to the south of France. At Avignon he was for a few days the guest of the Duke of Ormond; and it is positively asserted by his political opponents, that the true object of his journey was to solicit through the Duke an order from the Pretender to the Jacobites, that they should concur hereafter in any measures aimed against Sir Robert Walpole (2). The Stuart Papers, which I consulted, have afforded me no light upon this question. It is certain that Lord Chesterfield's illness was both real and severe, it being mentioned as such many years afterwards in his most unguarded correspondence (3). But it is far from improbable that the imputed negotiation may also have been a secondary object of his journey. Thus much we know—that the meeting of the new Parliament found Chesterfield restored to vigour, and active at his post, and that in the preceding month letters from James had reached nearly an hundred of his principal adherents, urging them to exertions against the Minister (4).

The other events between the election and the meeting of the Parliament all tended alike to the unpopularity of Walpole and to the downfall of his Government. A general resentment followed the news of the failures at Carthagená and Cuba, and they were readily ascribed to the Minister's partial choice of land officers, or insufficient preparations. Our commerce was also sustaining heavy losses from the war with Spain; and though Walpole had foretold these losses, and had often urged them as a motive for preserving peace, they were now charged to his fault. William Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield, writes at this period to the Lord President in Scotland: "The trade has suffered by captures to a degree that produces daily bankruptcies; and the merchants, enraged with the smart of their sufferings, impute most of the losses to neglect, in not stationing properly a few small ships, which was often desired to be done (5)." Another fierce outcry

(1) Lord Chesterfield to Mr. Dodington, September 8. 1741.

(2) See Horace Walpole's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 48.

(3) "I am very glad you begin to feel the good effects of the climate where you are; I know it saved my life in 1741, when both the skilful

"and the unskilful gave me over." To his son, December 9. 1760.

(4) Mr. Etough to Horace Walpole the elder. See Coxe's Walpole, vol. I. p. 687.

(5) Letter, November 18. 1741. Culloden Papers, p. 170.

was raised when a Spanish armament of 15,000 men sailed from Barcelona to attack the Austrian dominions in Italy. Where, it was asked, is Admiral Haddock? Has his squadron no better employment at this critical juncture than quietly blockading the Spanish flota at Cadiz? Yet, as Sir Robert observed to one of his sons, if Haddock had on the contrary allowed the flota to sail for the West Indies, in order to prevent the embarkation for Italy, the Tories would have complained as loudly, and said that he had favoured the Spanish trade, under pretence of hindering an expedition that was never really designed (1).

It appeared, however, on more accurate intelligence, that Haddock had in truth made an attempt to intercept the Barcelona expedition, but that it had been joined by a French squadron of twelve ships from Toulon, and that the French Admiral had sent a flag of truce to the English, announcing that he was engaged in the same expedition, and that if the Spaniards were attacked he had orders to defend them. Haddock, unable to cope with double his force, called a council of War, and in pursuance of its advice retired to Port Mahon, leaving the French and Spanish ships to proceed to their destination. This conduct, though different from the first reports, was not less unsatisfactory to the British nation (2).

But most unwelcome of all was the news of the Hanover neutrality. It seemed as if His Majesty wished to cast the whole burthen of the war on his kingdom, and to protect his Electorate without any exertion of its own. Walpole was much concerned at this measure, not only as foreseeing its effect upon the public mind, but as jealous of its having been transacted without his participation and advice. He complained that Lord Harrington had not given timely notice to the Cabinet (3), and it was only when he found that the treaty was finally concluded, and could not be recalled, that he gave it a sullen and reluctant acquiescence.

Such causes then combined to heighten more and more the exasperation that prevailed during the elections. Every day the ferment increased; whether justly or unjustly founded was of little importance to its progress (4), and it rose at length to such a pitch that no human power, I am persuaded, could have stayed or warded off its violence. Had not Walpole been overthrown by the House of Commons, he would have been overthrown in spite of and against the House of Commons; had he clung to the steps of the throne for

(1) H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, December 3. 1741.

(2) Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 587. Coxe's House of Bourbon in Spain, vol. iii. p. 321.

(3) According to Horace Walpole the elder, "Lord Harrington's correspondence (from Hanover) is governed by all the art and skill of an old courtier. He discovers his master's desires without explaining them freely and in confidence to others here, or giving his own opinion upon them; he pretends to leave the decision of questions proposed to others here,

"which questions he states in so strong a manner as puts them under a dilemma of either dis-
"obliging the King or giving an opinion they
"think perhaps not for the interest of their
"country." To Mr. Trevor, August 22. 1741, Life of Lord Walpole of Wolterton.

(4) An eminent modern republican writes to another:—"You know of how little consequence
"it is to human action whether opinions be or
"be not well founded." Gouverneur Morris to Jefferson, Paris, September 27. 1792.

his protection, the throne itself would have been shaken, and perhaps subverted, rather than allow him to retain his hateful power.

Amidst this rising storm of indignation, with colleagues helpless or wavering—Wilmington hoping to succeed him—Newcastle making secret overtures to Argyle—and Hardwicke always siding with Newcastle—under such adverse circumstances did Sir Robert encounter the meeting of the new Parliament.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The King's Speech (for his Majesty had lately returned from Hanover) was delivered by himself on the 4th of December. Notwithstanding the care and caution with which it had been drawn, it did not fail to excite a vehement discussion in both Houses. In the Upper, Chesterfield reviewed the whole foreign policy of Government, glancing with sarcastic bitterness at the Hanover neutrality (1); and he was supported both by Carteret and Argyle, but the original Address was carried by 88 to 48. Amongst the Commons, whose discussion did not take place till four days later, an amendment was proposed by Shippen, seconded by Lord Noel Somerset, that His Majesty might be entreated not to engage the kingdom in war for the security of his foreign dominions. They were eager for a division; Pulteney, on the contrary, declared against it, observing with a witticism, that dividing was not the way to multiply (2). Sir Robert, on his part, showed most unusual timidity and sense of weakness, and declared that he was willing, for the sake of unanimity, to omit the whole paragraph relative to the war with Spain. Little did this concession avail him:—"Sir," exclaimed Pulteney, "it is no wonder that the Right Honourable Gentleman willingly consents to the omission of this clause, which could be inserted for no other purpose than that he might sacrifice it to the resentment which it must naturally produce, and by an appearance of modesty and compliance pass easily through the first day, and obviate any severe inquiries that might be designed." He then proceeded, in an able philippic, to urge afresh all the grounds of charge that could be gathered against the Government; and even went so far as to assert that Walpole was influenced by the enemies of the Protestant Establishment.

(1) "Lord Chesterfield made a very fine (though still with many drawbacks) is far more trustworthy than Walpole's Reminiscences or "speech against the Address, all levelled at the House of Hanover." H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, December 10. 1741. This collection of letters now becomes of great use to history, and conversations, fifty years later.

(2) Mr. Orlebar to the Rev. H. Etting, December 10. 1741. Coxe's Walpole.

The reply of Sir Robert, says his son, was delivered "with as much health, as much spirits, as much force and command as ever (1)"; he repeated some words used by Chesterfield in the other House, "that this was a time for truth, for plain truth, for English truth;" and retorted the charge of enmity to the protestant Establishment by some hints of the secret mission to the south of France. He said he had been long taxed with all our misfortunes; but did he raise the war in Germany, or advise the war with Spain? Did he kill the late Emperor or King of Prussia? Did he counsel the present King of Prussia, or was he first minister to the King of Poland? Did he kindle the war between Muscovy and Sweden? For our troubles at home he declared all the grievances of the nation were owing to the Patriots. He added, that far from wishing to evade a more strict and less general inquiry, if the gentleman who had thus publicly and confidently arraigned his conduct would name a day for inquiring into the state of the nation, he would second the motion. This challenge was accepted; Pulteney named the 21st of January next, and was seconded by Walpole, while the Address, omitting the clause on the Spanish war, was passed unanimously.

In the tactics of the opposition at this period it seems that Chesterfield's advice from Spa had been adopted. They allowed Onslow to be placed in the Chair without resistance; but when it came to the election of Chairman of Committees, they brought forward Dr. Lee, a gentleman much respected by all parties. The Ministerial candidate for that office was Giles Earle, a former dependent of the Duke of Argyle, who had forsaken his patron, and made many other enemies by his caustic wit. On the 16th December, after great preparations on both sides, the Opposition prevailed by four votes, the numbers being 242 and 238. "You have no idea of their huzza," writes Horace Walpole the younger, "unless you can conceive how people must triumph after defeats of twenty years together. . . . They say Sir Robert miscalculated: how should he calculate, when there are men like Charles Ross, and fifty others he could name (2)?"—this Mr. Ross, and some others having unexpectedly voted against him, in spite of considerable former obligations. But even admitting that Walpole may have been thus deceived, he may yet be justly blamed for his imprudence and want of foresight in urging a most unwelcome candidate at a most critical juncture. Where any principle was involved, it was his duty at all hazards to stand firm; where only personal considerations were at stake, it would have been policy to yield.

On another question—a motion for papers on the German negotiations, Walpole was less unsuccessful, carrying that point against

(1) H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, December 1741. is in several respects erroneous. (Memoirs, p. 690.)
It appears from thence that the account of Coxe (2) To Sir H. Mann, December 16. 1741.

Pulteney by a majority of ten. But the ground for frequent and almost nightly battles was afforded by the Election Petitions. At that period the merits of each petition, instead of being referred to a Select Committee, and guarded by the imposition of an oath, were tried in the House by the votes of all the members present, and were almost always decided by considerations of party, instead of justice. Before the opening of the Session the Minister had been heard to declare that there must be no quarter given in Election petitions (1); and to one of his friends who felt some scruple as to the Heydon case, he dryly said, "You must take Walpole or Pulteney (2)." On the very day after discussing the King's speech, he prevailed in the Bossiney petition by only seven votes. His son exclaims, "One or two such victories, as Pyrrhus the Member for Macedonia said, will be the ruin of us!" But even this narrow majority forsook Walpole on the great Westminster petition which followed. The evidence given at the bar clearly proved the interference of the soldiery, and was enforced by the petitioner's counsel, William Murray, with a brilliant eloquence then for the first time manifested, and winning the applause even of his political opponents (3). On a division, this election was declared void by a majority of four, and a further vote for censuring the High Bailiff was Lord Doneraile, an Irish Peer brought into Parliament by the Court, who had a petition pending against his own return, and who had engaged to the opposite party that if they would withdraw their petition he would vote with them in the Westminster proceedings. So severely did his friends reproach him for his baseness, that he went to Pulteney to recall his offer; but Pulteney told him that his word of honour had passed, and that he would not release him. It was the vote of this conscientious nobleman that turned the scale of the High Bailiff's censure;—such were then the dirty underplots of public life! The Justices who had sent for the soldiers had a day appointed for being reprimanded on their knees by the Speaker.

The triumph of the Opposition on the Westminster petition was not confined to the House; a new election ensuing, no Court candidates ventured to appear at the hustings, and two "patriots," Lord Perceval and Mr. Edwin, were chosen by acclamation.

The Houses having adjourned for the Christmas holidays, and an interval for leisure being thus afforded, many personal friends of Sir Robert earnestly pressed him to resign. They represented to him that his health was broken; that the serenity of temper and indifference to invectives for which he had ever been distinguished, were now much impaired; that he

(1) Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 681.

(2) H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, December 8, 1741.

(3) "Murray spoke divinely; beyond what was

"ever heard at the Bar." H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, December 24, 1741.

had become irritable and fretful in debate, to his own pain, and to the lessening of his dignity and reputation; that his age seemed to allow, nay to call for a well earned repose; that the torrent against him was too powerful to stem; that he could no longer either prevent or punish the treachery of his colleagues; that it was better to lay down the seals of office than find them wrested from his hands; that his enemies, who might now be satisfied with his resignation, a few weeks later would call for his blood. But though health, strength, popularity, friends, success, had forsaken Sir Robert Walpole, ambition had not. Still did he cling to that darling power; his own for twenty years, which because he would never share he could not always retain. Still did he plan new expedients of Court craft, or Ministerial patronage. Retaining his influence with the King, he prevailed upon His Majesty, though not without the greatest difficulty, that an offer should be made to the Prince of Wales of an addition of 50,000*l.* to his yearly income, and of the future payment of his debts, provided His Royal Highness would desist from opposition to the measures of the Government. This message was conveyed through Secker, Bishop of Oxford. It is strange how the falling Minister could so far delude himself as to expect any favourable result from such an overture at such a moment, or imagine that his weakness would pass for moderation. The answer of the Prince, after many expressions of respect and duty to the King, declared that he would never hearken to any proposals so long as Walpole continued in power (1).

The period of the adjournment was as actively and more successfully employed by Walpole's enemies, in gaining over his adherents, extending their solicitations even into his Cabinet. A letter was addressed by Dodington to lord Wilmington, urging him to use his influence with the King for the dismissal of Sir Robert (2). Newcastle's brain was, as usual, teeming with perfidious machinations. Hervey, the Lord Privy Seal, pretending illness, kept aloof from his chief; according to Horace Walpole, "he lives shut up with my Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Pulteney—a triumvirate who hate one another more than any body they could proscribe, had they the power (3)."

It was amidst this turmoil of conflicting intrigues that Parliament met again on the 18th of January. Next day the Opposition, without a division, carried Hume Campbell, brother of Lord Marchmont, as member for Berwickshire (4). On the 21st ensued the long expected motion of Pulteney, for referring to a Secret Committee the papers which had been laid before the House relating to the war. Pulteney himself made two speeches, elaborate, powerful, and bit-

(1) Edward Walpole (second son of Sir Robert) "the death, moved to punish the sheriff (of to the Duke of Devonshire, January 9. 1742. "Berwick), and as we dared not divide, they or-

(2) See this letter in Coxe's Walpole, vol. III. "dared him into custody, where by this time I p. 338. (3) To Sir H. Mann, January 4. 1742. "suppose Sandys has eaten him." H. Walpole to

(4) "Sandys, who loves persecution even unto Sir H. Mann, January 22. 1742.

ter; and on the same side Pitt spoke with equal ability and acrimony. Among the defenders of the Minister, Sir William Yonge, Winnington, and Pelham were much and deservedly admired. In his opening speech, Pulteney protested that the motion was not pointed against any particular person, but merely intended to assist His Majesty with advice, and on this footing the debate was fought, till Lord Perceval, the new Member for Westminster, blundered out the real truth, declaring that he should vote for the motion as a Committee of Accusation. Sir Robert, perceiving his advantage, immediately rose, and observed that he must now take the question to himself. He inveighed against the malice of the Opposition, who for twenty years had not been able to touch him, and were now reduced to a disgraceful subterfuge; he defied them to the charge, and desired no favour but to be made acquainted with the articles of accusation. He alluded to Dodington, who had called his administration infamous, as a person of great self-mortification, who for sixteen years had condescended to bear part of the infamy. As to Pulteney, we are told that "Sir Robert actually dissected him, and laid his heart open to the view of the House (1)." In short, his harangue, of which no further record now remains, was even by his enemies acknowledged as a masterpiece of eloquence, and surprised even some of his friends by unwonted readiness in all the foreign affairs (2). For the division there had been on both sides most strenuous efforts, or, as at present we should term it, "whipping in;" there were brought down the halt, the lame, the blind, — "the lame on our side and the blind on yours," said General Churchill. But three of the ministerial sick, who had been kept waiting in an adjoining apartment which belonged to Sir Robert's eldest son, Lord Walpole, as Auditor of the Exchequer, found when they hastened to the House on the question being put, that the Opposition had been beforehand with them, and that the lock of the door was filled with sand and dirt so that it could not be opened. Among the patriots, Sir William Gordon, most dangerously ill, was dragged from his bed and carried to the House, seeming rather like a corpse, wrapped in its cerement, than like a living man. His son, a Captain in the Navy, had lately been lost at sea, and the news had been concealed from Sir William, that he might not absent himself. But when he appeared in the House, a Ministerial member, his friend (there is never any lack of such friends), went up and informed him of his unknown disaster. The old man bore it with great magnanimity, saying that he knew why

(1) Sir Robert Wilmot to the Duke of Devonshire, January 23. 1742.

(2) When the debate was over, Pulteney, who as usual sat near Walpole on the Treasury Bench, said to him that he had never heard so fine a debate on his side, and added: "Well nobody can do what you can!" "Yes," replied Sir Robert, "Yonge did better." Pulteney rejoined, "It was

"fine, [but not of that weight with which you spoke." (H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, January 22. 1742.) It is from this letter ad Sir Robert Wilmot's that we must glean the only hints remaining of Walpole's speech; the meagre reports of the time judiciously omit it altogether, though giving Lord Perceval's pompous oration at full length! (Parl. Hist. vol. xli. p. 870.)

he was told of it at that moment, but that when he thought his country in danger he would not quit his post.

By such exertions the House was fuller than had been known for many years : including the Speaker and Tellers, there were 508 members present, and Pulteney's motion was rejected by a majority of only three; a result, though not of victory, yet of joy and triumph to the Opposition.

The next, and, as it proved, the decisive struggle, was upon the Chippenham election petition. A point arising from it being mooted on the 28th of January, it appeared that the Opposition had so far gained in numbers since the last division as to prevail against the Minister by a majority of one. Walpole, with an undaunted spirit, was still for maintaining office in the very face of a hostile House of Commons; but his brother, his three sons, and all his trustiest friends, now combined in most earnestly urging him to resign. Still they would probably not have prevailed had not the same cry resounded from his own official colleagues. It is stated by himself, in a letter to the Duke of Devonshire, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, "I must inform you that the panic was so great among—what shall I call them?—my own friends, that they all declared that my retiring was become absolutely necessary, as the only means to carry on the public business (1)." In truth, it does not appear that any one person of weight gave him the slightest encouragement to continue at the helm, unless it were the King, reluctant to lose a faithful and experienced servant, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who went to see him at this period, and said as he took his leave, "Sir, I have been lately reading Thuanus : he mentions a minister who having long been persecuted by his enemies, at length vanquished them. The reason he gives, *QUIA SE NON DESERUIT* (2)."

Moved, though with extreme reluctance, by the all but unanimous opinion of his friends, and yielding to mutiny and panic in his own camp rather than to the force of the hostile phalanx, Sir Robert, on the night of Sunday the 31st of January, formed the final resolution to resign. When next morning at a private audience he stated the necessity of the case to the King, he must have been gratified and yet moved at His Majesty's regret. As he knelt to kiss hands, the King fell on his neck, wept, and kissed him, and requested to see him frequently. On the following day, when the final decision on the Chippenham election was impending, Walpole thought it his duty to send a private intimation to the Prince of Wales of his intended retirement. The circulation and effect of such a rumour were very perceptible in the division that evening; the majority against the Minister being swelled from one to sixteen. Expecting this event, Walpole bore it with fortitude

(1) Letter, February 2. 1742. Coxe's Walpole.

(2) H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, January 28. 1742.

and cheerfulness. As the Tellers began their office, he beckoned to Mr. Baynton Rolt, the member whose return was questioned by a Ministerial petition, to sit near him; and entered freely into conversation, animadverting on the ingratitude of several persons whom he had greatly obliged, and who were now voting against him, and declaring that he should never sit again in that House.

Next morning, the 3d of February, the Lord Chancellor conveyed the King's desire that the House should adjourn for a fortnight. Some days later, Sir Robert Walpole resigned all his places, and was created Earl of Orford.

Thus, then, ended Sir Robert Walpole's long and renowned administration. Having traced it from its commencement to its close, I have already, as occasion offered, pointed out what seemed to me its merits, or what I thought its errors; and I need not here enter into a full recapitulation of either. If we compare him to his next successors, their unsteadiness and perplexity, the want of principle in some, and the inferiority of talent in others, will be found to throw by contrast a reflected light on his twenty years of government. If we draw a parallel between him and the preceding Prime Minister, Lord Stanhope, we shall probably pronounce Walpole the superior in knowledge of finance, in oratorical abilities, in management of the House of Commons. On the other hand, it may be thought that Stanhope's was the higher skill in all foreign affairs. Another marked distinction between them appears in the readiness of Stanhope to introduce measures, as he thought, of practical improvement; while Walpole, on the contrary, strove to leave, as nearly as possible, all things as he found them. When Stanhope died, at the age of only forty-seven, he had in preparation five great measures. The first, for the relief of the Roman Catholics, by the mitigation of the Penal Laws affecting their persons or property. The second, for the relief of the Protestant Dissenters, by the abrogation of the Test Act. The third, for the security of officers in the army, and the lessening of their dependence on the Government, by taking from the Crown the power of dismissal, except under the sentence of a Court Martial (1). The fourth, for the limitation of the prerogative in the future creations of Peers. The fifth, not legislative, but administrative, for extending the popularity of the reigning family, widening the basis of the Government, and gradually gaining over the party in Opposition by employing several of its more moderate members. Every one of these measures was dropped by Walpole on succeeding to power. It may be maintained in his justification, that all these measures were mischievous; one of them, at least, the Peerage bill, undoubtedly was so. But it will be found, that the same indifference or aversion of Walpole to any change,

(1) See on this subject in the Parliamentary History 1734, and of Lord Chesterfield the same day in the History the speeches of Pulteney, February 18. other House.

extended even to cases where the change was certainly and clearly beneficial. Thus, for example, in December 1718, Stanhope had moved for and appointed a Lords' Committee on the state of the public records; and its report, made after some months' inquiry, details the want of arrangement, classification, nay even of proper house-room, for the various national documents, and recommends that some of them, at least, may be digested into order—that such of the loose papers as appear to be of value, may be bound up for their better preservation—that catalogues and indexes of them may be prepared without delay—that better apartments may be provided for their custody (1). Here, then, what defence can be framed for Walpole in discarding these recommendations? Was not the evil real and undoubted, the remedy plain and easy, and have we not even in the present times seen reason for lamenting its neglect? And are we not justified in saying, from this and other such examples, that Walpole's dislike to innovation prevailed, even where the innovation was most evidently an improvement?

The character of Walpole might also, as I conceive, be unfavourably contrasted with Stanhope's, in point of disinterestedness and political purity. I am very far—this must have been perceived in many former passages—from adopting the party suspicions and rancorous charges of corruption to which in his life-time Sir Robert stood exposed. I believe, on the contrary, that of such charges great part was falsehood, great part exaggeration. But still, looking only to proved and certain facts, and to the statements of his own partisans and panegyrists, we shall even on such testimony find cause to think that Walpole sometimes swerved from the straight path, and altogether lowered the tone of public morals. Thus, for instance, both he and Stanhope were in office together when the South Sea speculations reached their height. Stanhope thought it his duty to refrain altogether from any such source of profit. Walpole, on the contrary, plunged eagerly into the whirl, turned his own sagacity to good account, sold his shares of 100*l.* for 1000*l.*, allowed his wife to gamble for herself, and gained a considerable fortune. The same absence—I do not mean of integrity, but of any nice scruples, prevailed, I fear, during his subsequent administration. If it be needful any further to exemplify my assertion, I will take the very words of his own affectionate and admiring son. In a letter, several years afterwards, Horace Walpole is inveighing against Keene, Bishop of Chester: “My father,” he adds, “gave him a living of 700*l.* a year to marry one of his natural daughters; he took the living, and my father dying soon after, he dispensed with himself from taking the wife, but was so generous as to give her very near one year's income of the living (2).” I do not now inquire whether this accusa-

(1) This Report is printed in the Lords' Journals, April 10. 1719.

(2) To Sir H. Mann, December 11. 1732.

tion of Keene may not be unduly and untruly heightened. But I ask, could there be any stronger proof of a low tone of public morals than that Sir Robert should employ Crown livings as portions for his illegitimate daughters, and that his son should tell the story as bearing hard upon the Bishop, but without the slightest idea that it was also most discreditable to the Minister?

It is possible indeed that a feeling of partiality may blind me, but I will own that I cannot discern in any part of Walpole's career a parallel to the disinterestedness of Stanhope in Spain, when offered by the Archduke an estate and title for his services, but refusing them, and adding that if any gratitude to him were felt, he hoped it might be shown in a readiness to conclude the Treaty of Commerce, which he was then negotiating (1). How far less lofty was the course of Walpole on his resignation! Instead of withdrawing with a noble pride, asking nothing and accepting nothing, as one conscious of great services and resentful of popular ingratitude, he obtained the title of Earl of Orford, a further pension of 4,000*l.* a year (2), and a patent of rank for his daughter by the mistress whom he had afterwards married. Was it wise for his own reputation to grasp immediate rewards for his services, and leave posterity no part of the debt to pay? Was it just to solicit such signal marks of Royal favour at the very moment when overwhelmed by national resentment, and thus to involve the Crown in his own unpopularity? So fierce was the outcry against these favours to the fallen Minister (3), that Sir Robert was induced to relinquish the pension, which however he again sued for and received two years afterwards. He would, also, probably have cancelled Lady Mary's patent had it not been too late. A letter at this period, from one of his friends, strongly manifests the imprudence of these grants, but at the same time displays his high and unconquerable courage in adversity. Lord Morton writes to Duncan Forbes, President of the Scottish Court of Session: "I cannot finish without a word about our honest friend Sir Robert Walpole, for whom, I own, I am in some fear. He this day went to Richmond, never again to return to Court.. The letter of rank for his daughter has raised such a torrent of wrath against him, that God knows where it may end. They now talk of a strict Parliamentary inquiry; your Lordship knows how little any man can stand such an ordeal after twenty years' administration. The last time I saw him, which was on Sunday evening, I told him of the clamour that was raised upon the sub-

(1) War of the Succession, p. 177.

(2) The sinecures and places for life held by Walpole's three sons at this very time are enumerated by Coxe (*Memoirs*, p. 370.), and their yearly income amounts to 14,900*l.*, besides the Rangership of Richmond Park, which was held by Sir Robert and one of his sons jointly, with benefit of survivorship, and which produced several thousands more per annum.

(3) It had for many years been an Opposition taunt, that Sir Robert held in reserve a patent for some high title, to be taken out whenever he retired. Swift writes in 1731:—

"E'en quit the House, for thou too long hast sat in't."

"Produce at last thy dormant Ducal patent."

See Swift's Works, vol. x. p. 530. Scott's ed.

“ject of his daughter, but the thing was then passed the offices,
 “and could not be recalled, though she had not been presented,
 “else I believe he would have stopped it. I would fain hope,
 “after he is fairly away, that the fury may subside; at present it
 “is very violent. Last week there passed a scene between him
 “and me, by ourselves, which affected me more than any thing I
 “ever met with in my life, but it is too long to trouble your
 “Lordship with. He has been sore hurt by flatterers, but has a
 “great and undaunted spirit, and a tranquillity something more
 “than human (1).”

Before his departure for Richmond, Walpole had a considerable share in the choice of his successor. He was desirous to sow dissension in the ranks of his opponents, to continue the administration on the Whig basis, and, in case Pulteney should decline to be First Lord of the Treasury, to appoint Lord Wilmington. Such were his objects; his means were influence over His Royal master. In the same audience of the 1st of February, when he announced his own retirement, he prevailed over the King's aversion to Pulteney, and induced His Majesty to send him an immediate message, offering him full power, provided only he would screen Sir Robert from prosecution. This condition, suggested by Walpole at that crisis, is surely no proof of a generous and lofty mind. Am I wrong in believing that at such a juncture Clarendon or Chatham would have thought only of their country's, or, at the worst, of their party's benefit, and disdained to seek any safeguard for themselves, except from their own virtue and renown?

The communication to Pulteney was intrusted to the Duke of Newcastle, who accepted it with peculiar pleasure. He had already some days before, though, as it seems, only on his own account, privately sent to Pulteney, requesting to have a secret meeting with him at the house of the Duke's Secretary, Mr. Stone. Pulteney had answered, that at the present juncture he could not comply with the request for a secret meeting, lest he should give umbrage to his friends, but had no objection to receive His Grace publicly at his own house. This not suiting Newcastle's underhand designs, the communication dropped. But the Duke, having now the Royal authority, no longer affected mystery, and wrote to Pulteney, stating that he and the Lord Chancellor had a message to him from the King, and were therefore about to wait upon him.

A meeting accordingly ensued that same morning between Newcastle and Hardwicke on one side, and on the other Pulteney, attended by Carteret as his confidential friend. The Duke opened the conference by saying that the King, convinced that Sir Robert Walpole was no longer supported by a majority in the House of Commons, had commanded them to offer the places held by that Mi-

nister to Mr. Pulteney, with the power of forming his own administration, on the sole condition that Sir Robert Walpole should not be prosecuted. To this Pulteney replied, that if that condition were to be made the foundation of a treaty, he never would comply with it; "and even," said he, "should my inclination induce me to accept it, yet it might not be in my power to fulfil my engagement, for the heads of parties are like the heads of snakes, carried on by their tails. For my part I will be no screen; but if the King should be pleased to express a desire to open any treaty or to hold any conversation with me, I will pay my duty at St. James's, though I have not been at Court for many years; but I will not go privately, but publicly and at noonday, in order to prevent all jealousy and suspicion (1)."

This result being communicated to the King, His Majesty, without delay, and following the advice of Walpole, sent Pulteney another private message (it does not appear through whose hands), to request that if Pulteney did not choose to place himself at the head of the Treasury, he would let Lord Wilmington slide into it. Pulteney acquiesced in this alternative. His friend Carteret, who coveted that office, expressed some dissatisfaction; but Pulteney declared that if the other would not consent to Wilmington's appointment he would break his own resolution, and take the place himself. "You," he added, "must be Secretary of State, as the fittest person to direct foreign affairs." Thus then Sir Robert Walpole, writing to the Duke of Devonshire on the 2d of February, the day of the final division on the Chippenham case, was already enabled to announce Lord Wilmington as his successor at the Treasury (2).

A few days afterwards the King despatched another embassy to Pulteney, consisting, as before, of the Chancellor and Duke of Newcastle; but they do not seem to have been made acquainted with the intermediate message. Newcastle declared that he was now commissioned by the King to repeat the former offers, without urging the condition of not prosecuting the fallen Minister; and his Majesty only requested, that if any prosecution was commenced against Sir Robert Walpole, Mr. Pulteney, if he did not choose to oppose it, would at least do nothing to inflame it. Pulteney answered, that he was not a man of blood, and that in all his expressions of pursuing the Minister to destruction, he had meant only the destruction of his power, but not of his person. He could

(1) Life of Bishop Newton. At the close of this interview some refreshments being brought in, Newcastle drank, "Here is to our happier meeting."—Pulteney replied by Shakspeare's lines:

"If we do meet again, why we shall smile,
"If not, why then this meeting was well made."

(2) The details of these negotiations with Pulteney were communicated by himself to Bishops Newton and Douglas. (See Coxe's Walpole, vol. i.

Pref. p. xxx. and p. 702.) Neither the Bishops nor the Archdeacon attempt to fix the date, but it may be ascertained by observing that Walpole did not decide on resigning till the night of January 31.; that it was only on the following morning that he overcame the King's repugnance to apply to Pulteney; and that on the day after, February 1., he could already announce the name of his successor.

not undertake to say what was proper to be done ; he must take the advice of his friends ; though he was free to own, that, according to his opinion, some Parliamentary censure, at least, ought to be inflicted for so many years of mal-administration. Newcastle then observed, "The King trusts " you will not distress the Government by making too many " changes in the midst of a session." The reply of Pulteney was, that he did not insist on a total change, and had no objection to the Lord Chancellor or the Duke of Newcastle, but that he demanded an alteration of measures as well as men. He required that some obnoxious persons should be dismissed, and the main forts of Government delivered into the hands of his party ; namely, a majority in the Cabinet, the nomination of the Boards of Treasury and Admiralty, and of an office to be again restored, a Secretary of State for Scotland. These points being agreed to, though not without some demur, Newcastle said he supposed that Mr. Pulteney would place himself at the head of the Treasury, which, he added, was the earnest and repeated desire of the King. "As the disposition of places is in my hands," said Pulteney, I will accept none myself : I have so repeatedly declared "my resolution on that point, that I will not now contradict myself." He then named the Earl of Wilmington First Lord of the Treasury, and Samuel Sandys Chancellor of the Exchequer, Carteret Secretary of State, and the Marquis of Tweeddale the new Secretary for Scotland ; while for himself he required a Peerage and a seat in the Cabinet.

Concurrently with this negotiation, overtures were made from the Court to the Prince of Wales. His Royal Highness was gratified by an addition of 50,000*l.* to his yearly income, and by the promise that two of his adherents, Lord Baltimore and Lord Archibald Hamilton, should be included in the new Board of Admiralty. On the 6th he granted a private audience to Sir Robert Walpole, and assured him of his protection in case of attack—a promise from which he afterwards receded.

Meanwhile the rumours of the late negotiations, and of the intended appointments, raised a great ferment in the ranks of Opposition. The Tories, though forming the larger share of the anti-ministerial phalanx, found themselves as yet utterly excluded. Among the "patriots" many wished to be employed, and all to be consulted. Nay, more, as always happens in such cases, several persons, exasperated at the want of concert, murmured against the very course which they themselves would have advised, had they been applied to. Under these circumstances, the chiefs of Opposition, not in the new arrangement, summoned a meeting of the whole party, to be held on the 11th of February (the very day of Sir Robert's official resignation), at the Fountain Tavern in the Strand. This meeting was attended by nearly three hundred, both Peers and Commoners. Carteret refused to go,

only saying that he never dined at a tavern (1); but there appeared Pulteney, and the new Chancellor of the Exchequer. A general suspicion was expressed by the persons present that the change would not be complete, and that the old system was still to be continued. Lord Talbot, son of the late Chancellor, and a man of considerable talents, filling a glass of wine, drank to cleansing the Augean stable of the dung and grooms (2). But the principal opponent of Pulteney at this meeting was the Duke of Argyle, who now, by a change that would have been surprising in any other person, stood forth as the leader more especially of the Jacobites in Parliament. He made a long and solemn speech. After observing, in sarcastic allusion to Pulteney, that a grain of honesty was worth a cart-load of gold, he proceeded — “Have we not too much reason to fear that good use will not be made of the present happy opportunity, and that a few men, without any communication of their proceedings to this assembly, have arrogated to themselves the exclusive right of nomination? They have now been eight days engaged in this business, and if we are to judge from the few offices they have already bestowed, may justly be accused of not acting with that vigour which the whole people have a right to expect. The choice of those already preferred having fallen upon the Whigs, is an ill omen to the Tories. If these are not to be provided for, the happy effects of the coalition will be destroyed, and the odious distinction of party be revived. It is therefore highly necessary to continue closely united, and to persevere with the same vehemence as ever, till the Tories obtain justice, and the administration is founded upon the broad bottom (3) of both parties.”

Pulteney, whose strength lay in eloquence, and who always spoke far more ably than he acted, replied with great spirit and effect. He complained that he and his colleagues should be thus held forth and publicly arraigned with things of which no man durst venture to accuse them in private. “We deserve,” added he, “very different usage for the integrity with which we have hitherto proceeded, and with which we are determined to proceed. Overtures having been made to us, it was our duty (as it would have been the duty of every man to whom such overtures had been made,) to employ all our abilities and endeavours to form a happy settlement. So much for the imputation that we have taken the management of the negotiation into our hands!” He proceeded to argue, that as to the referring of the settlement to the whole party, it was an idea fit only for the “superficial vulgar,” — that there was neither justice nor prudence in

(1) H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, February 18. 1742.

(2) Bishop Secker's Diary, February 12. 1742.

(3) This was the favourite phrase of the day. H. Walpole writes to Sir H. Mann, February 18.

1742: “One now hears of nothing but the broad bottom; it is the reigning cant word, and means the taking all parties and people indifferently into the Ministry.”

attempting to dictate to the King — that it would have been more to the credit of the party if their patience had extended a little longer than the few days which had elapsed; that as to the appointments of Tories, it must be a work of some time “to remove” suspicions inculcated long, and long credited, with regard to a “denomination of men, who have formerly been thought not heartily attached to the reigning family.” Still, he added, some instances of friendly intentions to the Tories had already been given in the late removals, and there would be many more; but it must depend upon the prudent conduct of the Tories themselves (1).

Sandys also harangued, saying, the King had done him the honour to offer him a place, and why should he not accept it? If he had not, another would: if nobody would, the King would be obliged to employ his old Minister again, which he imagined the gentlemen present would not wish to see.

The gentlemen present were somewhat appeased by these explanations, and separated in better humour than they had met. But what seems to have principally weighed with them was, that each remembered how many offices were still vacant, and hoped that some were reserved for himself or for his friends.

A few days afterwards a conference between the late Opposition leaders was held at the desire and in the presence of the Prince of Wales. On the one side were Argyle, Chesterfield, Cobham, Gower, and Bathurst; on the other came Pulteney, accompanied by Lord Scarborough (2), the Prince's Treasurer. It does not appear that any arrangement was concluded at this conference, yet undoubtedly it tended, like the larger meeting, to allay dissatisfaction. A wise statesman should always give offended partisans an opportunity to pour forth their grievances; their mind seems relieved by the effusion, or their resentment exhausted by its own violence, and when once they have stated their complaints as fully and as bitterly as they desire, they often begin to feel that they have in truth little or nothing to complain of.

The principal demand by the Duke of Argyle was an appointment for Sir John Hinde Cotton, who, as I have elsewhere noticed, was perhaps the most active, and next to Shippen the most avowed, Jacobite in Parliament. That Argyle should now so warmly espouse his interests, and so closely link his cause with his own, seems a strong presumption that the Duke at this period was acting in concert with, or at least in favour of, the exiled family (3). He

(1) The account of this speech and of Argyle's is given in “*Faction Detected*,” a pamphlet of great note, written by Lord Perceval, [who was present at the meeting.

(2) This earl of Scarborough was not the same who had been the early confident and friend of George the Second. That nobleman had been always subject to fits of melancholy, and in one of

them, in 1740, had unhappily blown out his brains. The post of Secretary of State had been several times offered to him, but always refused. “He was,” says Lord Chesterfield, “the best man I ever knew, and the dearest friend I ever had.” (*Characters*.)

(3) This, it appears, was the decided opinion of Walpole. See, in Cox's Pelham, his confidential letter of October 20, 1743, after Argyle's death.

received at length a reluctant assurance, that Cotton should be included in the new Board of Admiralty, and thereupon he condescended to accept for himself a seat in the Cabinet, the Mastership of the Ordnance, and the Regiment of which he had been lately dispossessed. Lord Cobham in like manner was made a Field Marshal, and restored to the command of the Grenadier Guards, which he had lost in 1733 for his opposition to the Excise Bill. Lord Harrington, having resigned the Seals in favour of Carteret, was created an Earl, and appointed to the Presidency of the Council, vacant by Wilmington's promotion. Sir William Yonge was allowed to continue Secretary at War, and Mr. Pelham, Paymaster of the Forces. Thus then the new administration being completed, except the Board of Admiralty, which, as so many promotions had been referred to it, was itself referred for further consideration, the whole party, headed by the Prince of Wales, went to pay their respects at Court, on the 18th of February, the day when Parliament met (1), and on the same evening the new writs were moved in the House of Commons.

For a little time the Government business glided on with smoothness and despatch, interrupted only by occasional harangues from Shippen and Sir Watkin Wynn, whose animosity was not at all abated by the changes. Though very many others were dissatisfied, they stood at gaze, and would not yet openly oppose. But when the new Board of Admiralty was at length announced, there appeared at the head of it the Whig Earl of Winchelsea (as Lord Finch, the friend and defender of Steele), and among its members the Prince's dependents, Lords Baltimore and Archibald Hamilton, but no Sir John Hinde Cotton. The King, it seems, had put a positive negative upon that gentleman, declaring that he was determined to stand by those who had set him and his family upon the throne. At this disappointment the whole Tory party raised a loud yell of indignation. Argyle, as their present chief in the House of Lords, displayed the utmost resentment; he had besides, as he conceived, other grounds of his own to complain; he had set no bounds to his pretensions; he had expected to engross the whole Government of Scotland, and was irritated that the Marquis of Tweeddale, the Secretary of State, should, as such, possess any degree of authority. With these feelings, he, on the 9th of March, resigned all his new appointments, and relapsed into angry Opposition. The Prince of Wales, also, ere long, began to discover, that though his friends were in place, he was very far from power, and he showed first coldness and then aversion to the Government. Thus the elements of a new Opposition speedily gathered and grew. Several of the placemen, moreover, whose writs had been moved, found them-

(1) The King's reception of his son was very cold and formal. "His majesty said, 'How does the Princess do? I hope she is well.' The Prince kissed his hand, and this was all." H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, February 18. 1742.

selves no longer supported by their former patrons—especially the Dukes of Bridgewater and Bedford; and Lord Limerick, who had been intended for Secretary at War, but who was member for Tavistock, durst not vacate his seat for that ducal borough.

In this arrangement it may justly excite surprise, that no offers were made either to Chesterfield or Pitt. It is certain that the former had excited the resentment of the King, by his bitter invectives against the Hanover neutrality, and probable that Carteret may have feared to place a rival in the Council. Chesterfield himself declares in a letter at that period:—"The public has assigned me different employments; but I have been offered none, I have asked for none, and I will accept of none, till I see a little clearer into matters than I do at present. I have opposed measures, not men, and the change of two or three men only is not a sufficient pledge to me that measures will be changed, nay, rather an indication that they will not; and I am sure no employment whatsoever shall prevail with me to support measures I have so justly opposed. A good conscience is, in my mind, a better thing than the best employment, and I will not have the latter till I can keep it with the former (1)." With respect to Pitt, we may suppose, with great likelihood, that both he and Lyttleton were passed over as members of the Prince's household; his Royal Highness having applied in the first instance for Lords Baltimore and Archibald Hamilton, and these appointments being considered as sufficient for that quarter.

In reviewing the conduct of Pulteney at this memorable period, he appears equally conspicuous for good fortune and ill judgment. He was placed on an eminence as lofty and commanding as ever British statesman attained; the dispenser of all public honours; the arbiter between the Crown and the people. He saw humbled before him and imploring his forbearance that Monarch, who ten years back had struck his name from the list of the Privy Council, and denied him his Commission as a Justice of the Peace. He saw the assembled Commons, till then the supporters and satellites of Walpole, overthrow his haughty rival and hail him their triumphant leader. Above all, he beheld that nation to which his eloquent voice had so long appealed in vain, now stirred by that voice as by an oracle, and raising their own in its support. How vast but how giddy a height! How very great appears the occasion—how very unequal the man! At such a crisis, instead of fixing his eyes on high public principles and objects, he looked only to his own show of consistency, to his previous declarations against receiving public money, or being ambitious of public office. He shrunk at provoking some taunt from Shippen, some lampoon from Hanbury Williams! Ought such trifles as these to have weighed in

(1) See Maty's Life, p. 198. -

the balance with his country's service, if his country really was in danger? And if his country was not in danger, what pretence had he for having roused it almost to frenzy by his declamations against corruption and misgovernment? The truth is, that to think of personal reputation instead of the national welfare is rank selfishness, differing only in kind and degree from that which clings with tenacity to posts of profit. Let every statesman be assured that if he will but take care of his country, his reputation will take care of itself. Posterity is not deceived. A true patriot will be acknowledged and revered, whether in Opposition or in Downing Street; while he who grasps at office for the sake of sordid gains, or he who declines it from the dread of libellous attacks, will be classed alike in a far lower and less honoured scale.

But even admitting that Pulteney was defensible in his own refusal, with what justice could he yield the Treasury to Wilmington, a man even at the prime of life proved unfit for high rule, and whose dulness of disposition was now aggravated by the torpor of age? Was not this of all others the post which, as having been held by Walpole, would most attract the notice of the public, and indicate the intentions of the Government? Should then Walpole's principal opponent have left that post to one of Walpole's colleagues, who was pledged as such to Walpole's whole course of measures, and who could not swerve from them, without far greater inconsistency than Pulteney so anxiously avoided in himself?—I must own that I concur with Lord Chesterfield in thinking that so partial a change in the Cabinet, far from being a pledge that measures would be altered, was rather a sign that they would not.

Then again why claim a peerage? If Pulteney shrunk from the labours, he should also have relinquished the prizes of public life. The sacrifice should have been entire and complete. But it appears that this act of political suicide (for such it proved to the new Lord Bath), though prompted by his own inclination, had been aided and facilitated by the influence of Walpole with the King. The veteran minister clearly foresaw the impending ruin of reputation to his rival, and it was with this view that he laboured to remove His Majesty's reluctance to Pulteney's expected demand—nay more, when Pulteney wished afterwards to recede from his promised patent, the King, under Walpole's direction, insisted on his taking it. "I remember," says Horace Walpole, "my father's action and words when he returned from Court, and told me what he had done:—'I have turned the key of the closet 'on him!' making that motion with his hand (1)."

Never, certainly, was any statesman's conduct more fatal to himself. He lost ground alike with King and people. As Chester-

(1) *Reminiscences* (Works, vol. iv. p. 317.). There is also a story of Pulteney flinging down and trampling upon the patent when he first received it; but on this point Horace Walpole can only speak from rumour.

field observes, "the King hated him almost as much for what he might have done as for what he had done; the nation looked upon him as a deserter; and he shrunk into insignificance and an Earldom (1)." From the moment of Wilmington's appointment, his influence and popularity began to decline; the cry being that the nation was betrayed, and an infamous compromise effected for screening Sir Robert Walpole. But at the news of his own creation as Earl of Bath, which was deferred till nearly the last day of the Session, the public indignation knew no bounds: the peerage was everywhere denounced as the price of perfidy, and the acclamations which used to greet his presence were changed to scoffs and hisses. His attempts to rise from this depression were frequent but ineffectual, for "the confidence of the public, where once great, and once lost, is never to be regained (2)." The first time that Lord Orford met him in the House of Peers, Orford walked up and observed to him with malicious pleasantry, "Here we are, my Lord, the two most insignificant fellows in England (3)!"

It must be owned, however, that however ill judged the conduct of Pulteney, his motives were very far from mean or sordid, and that the public resentment, though not without foundation, greatly exceeded all bounds of justice or reason. But such is the common fate of factious men. Pulteney and his coadjutors had raised a spirit in the nation, which they could not lay. All these bawlers against Walpole's system had no practical measures of improvement in view; and, when placed at the helm, had nothing better to suggest than a continuation of Walpole's system. The people who had been taught to believe themselves oppressed by the old Government, of course, under such circumstances, believed themselves betrayed by the new. They became unjust to Pulteney, only because he had made them unjust to Walpole. Nor are there any characters in History who, in my opinion, deserve less compassion, than those who become the victims of the popular ferment which themselves have stirred.

We can trace with some accuracy the schemes with which the public mind was teeming at the period of Walpole's resignation; since almost immediately after that event, the greatest counties and chief towns in Great Britain sent representations to their Members, stating and urging their wishes. The purport of all these documents is nearly the same. First comes a loud cry for the blood of Walpole. "Shall the disturber of the public," say the Westminster Electors, "be permitted the enjoyment of a private tranquillity? Lenity to such a one would be cruelty to the nation." We have next heavy complaints from Suffolk of the exportation of English wool, "which many agriculturists ap-

(1) Characters, p. 31.

(2) Ibid. p. 32.

(3) Dr. King's Anecdotes of his own Times, p. 48.

"prehend to be the cause of the fatal decay of that manufacture in this kingdom, and of the prodigious increase of the poor." In other passages we find an outcry against the recent decay of trade, for which Walpole is considered answerable, as if such decay did not necessarily follow war, or as if Walpole had not been censured by themselves for preserving peace! The members are earnestly entreated to vote against Standing Armies in time of peace—a strange earnestness in the midst of hostilities lately begun, and so far from any prospect of cessation! The Septennial Act is reprobated—septennial ale being a much less pleasant prospect than triennial! There is also a demand for a Bill to limit the number of placemen in Parliament—undoubtedly a wise and well timed measure, if the limitation had not been carried, as they certainly designed, too far (1). Had there been a Reformed House of Commons at that period, all these sagacious recommendations must undoubtedly have prevailed; the head of Walpole would have rolled upon the scaffold; and an Act would have passed to check the increase of poor by limiting the sale of wool! But in 1742, as on many other occasions, the old nomination boroughs served to restrain the immediate fulfilment of rash desires, and allow the larger constituents leisure to cool and to reflect.

The only point on which the leaders of the late Opposition showed a warmth corresponding with the nation's, was the prosecution of vindictive measures against Walpole. They had employed Mr. Fazakerley, a high Tory lawyer and Member of Parliament, to draw up articles of impeachment (2); but not finding these satisfactory, Lord Limerick, on the 9th of March, moved for a Secret Committee to inquire into the administration of Sir Robert during the last twenty years. Pulteney was not present, being detained by the dangerous and, as it proved, mortal illness of his daughter; but his aversion to the motion was privately intimated by his friends, and this hint, combined with his absence, caused the question to be negatived by a majority of only two, 244 against 242.

When, however, Pulteney resumed his seat, he found so many and such bitter imputations cast upon his want of zeal, that he was compelled to entreat Lord Limerick to renew his motion. But as the forms of Parliament do not allow any motion, once rejected, to be tried again in the same Session, the term of the proposed inquiry was altered from twenty years to the last ten. In this shape the motion was repeated on the 23d of March, when Pulteney not only voted but spoke for it, declaring, however, that he

(1) The measure demanded at this period is defined by a contemporary "as a rigid place and pension Bill, excluding from Parliament every servant of his Majesty, who had abilities and experience." (Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 532.) He adds, "Many of the towns were for reducing if not abolishing

"almost all taxes, though they all agreed in the wisdom and necessity of continuing the war with double vigour."

(2) H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, February 18, 1742.

was against rancour in the inquiry, and desired not to be named on the Committee (1). The fallen Minister was defended by his son Horace in a first and not unsuccessful effort of oratory, but was fiercely and most ably assailed by Pitt, who observed, that if it was becoming in the Honourable Gentleman to remember that he was the child of the accused, the House ought to remember also that they were the children of their country! On the division in a very full House, the question was carried by seven votes, the numbers being 252 and 245.

The next point was the nomination of this Secret Committee, through the means of lists given in by every member, and then examined by a Committee appointed for that purpose. This Committee of examination continued at their labour for twenty-two hours without any intermission (2). At length the names being announced, were found, out of 21, to comprise many rancorous opponents, and only two decided friends of Walpole (3).

The Committee having met and chosen Lord Limerick for their Chairman, entered upon their investigation with all the zeal and activity that hatred can supply. They searched through the Treasury books and papers for proofs of guilt, and summoned before them the persons supposed to have been the secret agents of Walpole in his schemes of corruption. So plain and open was their animosity, that several members of their own party in the Committee became disgusted with it and ceased to attend. Among these, to his high and lasting honour, was Sir John Barnard, who declared that he thought their views had been more general, but that finding them so particular against one man, he would not engage with them (4).

With all their ardour and activity, the Committee made little progress. Paxton, Solicitor to the Treasury, Scrope, its Secretary, and other persons brought before them, refused to answer, lest any thing in their replies should criminate themselves. The Court also, though silent and cautious, were eager to hush the inquiry: their communications with Orford were secret, but frequent; and Mr. Edgcombe, who had been under Walpole the main manager of the little Cornish boroughs, was created a peer, with the view that the privileges of the Upper House might shield him from examination. Under these circumstances the Committee, much perplexed, applied to the House. Paxton was committed to Newgate, and a Bill was introduced to indemnify evidence against the Earl of Orford, that is, granting to every witness a remission

(1) Bishop Secker's Diary, March 23. 1742.

(2) H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, April 1. 1742. This is confirmed by Bishop Secker's Diary. Only one member faints from the fatigue!

(3) The difference between Coxe, who states the number of Sir Robert's adherents on this Committee as two, and Horace Walpole, who mentions five, is easily explained by the distinction of sure or

doubtful friends.—Sir Robert Walpole, who understood the *esprit de corps*, was very indifferent to this nomination of a few of his adherents. He observed, "They will become so zealous for the honour of this Committee that they will no longer pay regard to mine."

(4) H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, April 22. 1742.

of all penalties or punishments to which he might become liable by his disclosures.

This Bill, which, like that against Bishop Atterbury, broke through the settled forms and safeguards of law, in order to strike at one obnoxious head, was readily passed by the House of Commons, the members being then, as always happens in the heat of party, intent on their immediate object, and careless of final results. In the Lords the measure was warmly supported by Chesterfield and Bathurst, but as warmly and more effectually opposed by Carteret and the Chancellor Hardwicke. "In my opinion," said the latter, "it is a Bill calculated to make a defence impossible, to deprive innocence of its guard, and to let loose oppression and perjury upon the world. It is a Bill to dazzle the wicked with a prospect of security, and to incite them to purchase an indemnity for one crime by the perpetration of another. It is a Bill to confound the notions of right and wrong, to violate the essence of our Constitution, and to leave us without any certain security for our properties or rule for our actions. So clearly do I see the danger and injustice of a law like this, that I believe if I were condemned to a choice so disagreeable, I should more willingly suffer by such a Bill passed in my own case, than consent to pass it in that of another (1)." In accordance with the judgment of this great magistrate, a large majority of Peers decided for the rejection of the Bill.

This disappointment was severely felt by the enemies of Walpole in the Commons. Lord Strange, son of the Earl of Derby, a young man of some talent, but more violence, moved a resolution that the proceedings of the Peers were "an obstruction to justice," and the two Houses would have come into collision, had not Pulteney, and the Members of the new Administration, opposed the motion, and determined its rejection by a majority of fifty-two. Thus baffled in their attempt at obtaining larger powers, the Secret Committee resumed their sittings, and again endeavoured to intimidate Scrope, the Secretary of the Treasury. But this old man, firm against all threats, had formerly braved a sterner tyranny than theirs. As a stripling, he had fought under Monmouth at Sedge Moor, and carried intelligence to Holland in woman's clothes. He now, with as bold a spirit, answered the Committee that "he was fourscore years of age, and did not care whether he spent the few months he had to live in the Tower or not, but that the last thing he would do was to betray the King, and next to the King, the Earl of Orford (2)." We may conclude that his courage and his years wrought favourably with the more generous

(1) Parl. Hist. vol. xii. p. 696. Horace Walpole observes in his lively manner: "By this Bill, whoever is guilty of murder, treason, forgery, etc., have nothing to do but to add perjury, and

"swear Lord Orford knew of it, and they may plead their pardon!" To Sir H. Mann, May 13, 1742.
(2) H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, June 27. 1742.

minds in the Committee. The new Chancellor of the Exchequer, also, pleaded in behalf of a useful secretary; and, on the whole, Scrope was dismissed without further molestation.

It was not till the 30th of June, very nearly at the close of the Session, that the Committee presented their Second Report. The insignificance of the charges it contains appears one of the strongest arguments in favour of the fallen Minister. For, even admitting that great obstacles might be thrown in the way of discovery, yet still, as I have elsewhere contended (1), if Walpole's acts of bribery and corruption had been of such common and daily occurrence as his enemies had urged, nay, even if they approached in any degree to the representations of them, it is impossible that a band of determined enemies, armed with all ordinary powers, should have failed to bring to light a considerable number. Instead of these, the Report can only allege, that during one election at Weymouth, a place had been promised to the Mayor, and a living to his brother; and that some Revenue Officers, who refused to vote for the Ministerial candidate, had been dismissed. It denounces a contract with Messrs. Burrell and Bristow as fraudulent, because the contractors had gained 14 per cent., forgetting that large profit in one case is often required to counterbalance total loss in another. It then proceeds to express some loose suspicions as to the applications of the sum for Secret and Special Services, which, as it asserts, amounted during the last ten years to no less than 1,453,000*l.*, whereas, in a corresponding period of ten years, from 1707 to 1717, they were only 337,000*l.* But it appears that, in the first place, there is great disingenuousness in these calculations, since the latter omits a sum of 178,000*l.*, accruing from a deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of all foreign troops in the British service, and also omits a part of the sum of 500,000*l.*, paid by Parliament in 1713, as the debt of the Civil List. It appears, moreover, that several expenses which at present are provided for under different heads, and in a more open manner—especially all pensions paid from the Treasury—were at those periods classed as Secret or Special Service. Nor should we forget, that at a time when nearly all foreign Courts were most disgracefully open to corruption, large sums might be necessary to procure early and exact intelligence of their intentions, or produce a favourable decision in their councils. Still, I acknowledge I think it probable, and scarcely to be doubted, that some part of the money was corruptly spent at home. But if such corruption had been common, flagrant, or unblushing, I ask again, why should not the Committee have been able to trace and expose it, in like manner as they showed that of these sums for Secret Service, 50,000*l.*, during the last ten years, that is, 5,000*l.* annually, had been paid to Walpole's writers in newspapers and pamphlets?

(1) See Vol. I. p. 196.

On the whole, this Report of the Committee from which so much had been expected, instead of exciting indignation against the Minister, rather drew ridicule upon themselves, and as we are told by a contemporary, was received by the public with contempt (1).

Another remarkable proceeding of this Session was a motion to repeal the Septennial Act, when Pulteney, till then the warm promoter of such motions, stood forth as its opponent, and caused it to be rejected by his influence. His creed on that occasion seems by no means clear; he said he thought annual Parliaments would be best, but preferred septennial to triennial (2)!

This memorable Session was also distinguished by a zealous determination to support the Queen of Hungary. A subsidy of 500,000*l.* was granted to her on the motion of Pulteney, and a supply of upwards of 5,000,000*l.* voted for the prosecution of the war. Carteret, who had now succeeded to the chief, indeed the sole, management of foreign affairs, and who had often complained of Walpole's backwardness, was fully resolved on more vigorous measures, and prevailed with his colleagues that a body of 16,000 men should be sent as auxiliaries to Flanders. Their command was entrusted to the veteran Earl of Stair, who was drawn from his twenty years' retirement out of public business, and dignified with the title of Field Marshal. But the slow forms and indecisive temper of the Dutch restrained them from taking the part that was expected in conjunction with those troops, though bound by the same engagements, and by a much stronger interest, than England, to support the Pragmatic Sanction. In vain did Stair remonstrate; in vain did Carteret himself hasten over to the Hague at the close of the Session; the lightning of his eloquence flashed ineffectually upon the sluggish mass: and, it was not till some time afterwards, that in the struggle of their jarring fears, their apprehension of the French power prevailed, and induced them to assume a more prominent position. From thence it happened that the British forces, during the whole of this campaign, remained in Flanders "idle, unemployed, and quarrelling with the inhabitants (3)."

Happily for the Queen of Hungary, the ardour of her subjects atoned for the slackness of her allies. During the winter, her new levies, headed by Prince Charles of Lorraine, recovered no small part of the open country of Bohemia, and confined Marshal De Broglie and his French nearly to the ramparts of Prague. Another division, under Count Khevenhüller, the most enterprising of the Austrian generals at this period, defeated the French and Bavarians

(1) Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 545. See the Report at full length in the Parl. Hist. vol. xii. p. 788—827., and the elaborate but partial Commentary which fills the 61st Chapter of Coxe's Walpole.

(2) Bishop Secker's Diary, March 31. 1742. The motion was brought forward by Sir Robert Godschall, Lord Mayor and Member for the City, a very dull

man. Once in discussing some merchants' petitions, there was a copy of a letter produced, the original being lost, and Godschall asked, whether the copy had been taken before the original was lost, or after!

(3) These are the words of Tindal (Hist. vol. viii. p. 559.).

united, at Linz, and compelled a large body of the former to capitulate. Not satisfied with this success, Khevenhüller became the invader in his turn; his troops pouring into Bavaria, over-spread its vast plains almost without resistance, and entered its capital, Munich, on the very day that its sovereign was elected Emperor at Frankfort. And thus, by a singular coincidence, while a Court of Sovereigns hailed Charles their chief—while the orb of the world was, according to ancient custom, borne before him, as though all subject to his sway—he was despoiled even of his own hereditary states (1)! Grateful for such successes, the Queen of Hungary sent Khevenhüller an affecting letter of thanks, with the picture of herself and her son. The letter was read, and the picture displayed to the assembled soldiers, raising their enthusiasm to the highest pitch, and calling forth a solemn and unanimous expression of their devotion to her cause.

Besides the enthusiasm of her own soldiers and people, Maria Theresa, at this period, derived no small advantage from the jealousies and animosities prevailing between the little German Princes (2). Ceremony and precedence were then, as it appears, the favourite business of their lives. Whether a single or an arm-chair should be assigned to each other at an interview—whether their right hand or their left should be held forth in a festival—whether they ought to be addressed as *EURE DURCHLAUCHT* (your Highness) or *EUER LIEBDEN*, (a subdivision of rank so minute as to defy translation,)—such were the points on which they most deeply felt and most frequently contended (3). Not a few of them, says Chesterfield, would borrow a ducat's worth of gold on purpose to exercise the invaluable *JUS CUDENDÆ MONETÆ*. With such prejudices, we may easily conceive that to assist the rapid aggrandizement of one of their own number—to find a sovereign where they had hitherto beheld an equal,—would be far more galling than a continuation of the old respect and homage so long paid to the Court of Vienna. And it was, probably, in a great measure from this jealousy that many of the smaller German states, at first unfriendly to Maria Theresa, began to lean to her interests, upon the enthronement of her Bavarian rival.

Again, the stronger minds, among these Princes, entertained well-founded alarms of the encroachments and conquests of the French in Germany. So prevalent was this apprehension with the

(1) A satirical medal was struck about this time; on one side the head of Francis of Lorraine, afterwards Emperor, and the motto *AUT CÆSAR AUT NIHIL*; on the reverse the head of Charles, with *ET CÆSAR ET NIHIL*!

(2) A practised diplomatist observed eight years before: "Such is the eternal envy in the neighbouring Courts of Germany, that they most cordially hate one another." Horace Walpole (the elder) to Sir Robert, October 22. 1734.

(3) The constant recurrence of such discussions,

and the grave manner of treating them, are very striking in the *Memoirs of the Margravine of Bareith*—a princess certainly of no ordinary understanding. See the case of *Euer Liebden* (vol. II. p. 248.) At Frankfort, in her interview with the Bavarian Empress, the point of chairs caused terrible difficulties. "On disputa tout le jour...." "Tout ce qu'on put obtenir fut que l'impératrice ne prendrait qu'un très-petit fauteuil, et qu'elle me donnerait un grand dossier!" (Ibid. p. 245.)

King of Prussia, as to render him most desirous of peace and not unreasonable in his terms. Early in the winter he had even agreed to a secret armistice, which proved highly serviceable to Maria Theresa, as allowing her to employ her forces elsewhere,—to take Munich and to threaten Prague. But finding that he could not prevail in obtaining a peace with the concessions he desired, Frederick abruptly resumed the offensive, entered Moravia, reduced Olmutz, and then passing into Bohemia engaged the army of Prince Charles on the 17th of May, at the village of Czaslau. The numbers on each side were nearly equal, not so the skill of the commanders; and the Austrians were worsted with considerable loss (1). This defeat induced the Queen of Hungary to recede from her determination with respect to Silesia, and to yield that province as a peace-offering to the most dangerous of her antagonists. A treaty with this condition was accordingly signed at Breslau, in the ensuing month, including likewise the accession of the King of Poland as Elector of Saxony, who was gratified with some small districts on the Bohemian frontier.

Thus freed from the Prussian arms, Prince Charles was enabled to turn his undivided force to the reduction of Prague, where the French, about 25,000 strong, had been joined and were now commanded by Marshal Belleisle. The place was closely invested by the Austrians, who, however, pushed their attacks with very slender skill and slow progress; but a still more formidable enemy—famine—was wasting the French ranks within. Belleisle, in a conference with Königsegg, one of the Austrian Generals, offered to evacuate the city and all Bohemia, provided he had leave to march with his arms, artillery and baggage. He also presented to Königsegg a letter from Cardinal Fleury, in which that Minister expressed his readiness for peace, and declared that he had been forced into the war against his inclination. But the Austrian leaders would hear of no terms but unconditional surrender, and gave no other answer to Fleury's letter than by printing it in the public papers, to the great discredit and mortification of the Cardinal (2).

To relieve the French at Prague, Marshal Maillebois was directed to advance with his army from Westphalia. At these tidings Prince Charles changed the siege of Prague to a blockade, and, marching against his new opponents, checked their progress on the Bohemian frontier; the French, however, still occupying the town of Egra. It was under these circumstances that Belleisle made his masterly and renowned retreat from Prague. In the night of the 16th of December, he secretly left the city at the head

(1) Coxe's *House of Austria*, vol. iii. p. 273.

(2) Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XV.* ch. 7. He adds: "Le Cardinal, voyant sa lettre imprimée, en écrivit une seconde, dans laquelle il se plaignait au Général Autrichien de ce qu'on a publié sa première, et lui dit qu'il ne lui écrira plus désormais."

"mais ce qu'il pense. Cette seconde lettre lui fit encore plus de tort que la première." These letters are inserted in the *Mémoires de Noailles* (vol. v. p. 413–19), but the second does not contain the threat of insincerity which Voltaire asserts.

of 11,000 foot and 3,000 horse, having deceived the Austrians' vigilance by the feint of a general forage in the opposite quarter; and pushed for Egra through a hostile country, destitute of resources and surrounded by superior enemies. His soldiers, with no other food than frozen bread, and compelled to sleep without covering on snow and ice, perished in great numbers; but the gallant spirit of Belleisle triumphed over every obstacle: he struck through morasses almost untrodden before, offered battle to Prince Lobkowitz, who however declined engaging, and at length succeeded in reaching the other French army with the flower of his own. The remnant left at Prague, and amounting only to 6,000 men, seemed an easy prey; yet their threat of firing the city, and perishing beneath its ruins, and the recent proof of what despair can do, obtained for them honourable terms, and the permission of rejoining their comrades at Egra. But in spite of all this skill and courage in the French invaders, the final result to them was failure, nor had they attained a single permanent advantage beyond their own safety in retreat. Maillebois and De Broglie took up winter quarters in Bavaria, while Belleisle led back his division across the Rhine; and it was computed that of the 35,000 men whom he had first conducted into Germany, not more than 8,000 returned beneath his banner.

As in Germany apprehension of the French wrought in favour of Maria Theresa, so did apprehension of the Spaniards in Italy. The Queen of Spain made no secret of her desire and intention to obtain an independent sovereignty for her younger son Don Philip, as she had already the kingdom of Naples for Don Carlos, and this indeed had been her main motive for entering into the war; but the project was so distasteful to the King of Sardinia, who imagined that it might be realised partly at his own expense, that he was induced not only to relinquish his alliance with France and Spain, but to espouse the opposite cause of Maria Theresa. His accession gave the Austrians a decided superiority in the field, enabling them to drive the Spanish general, the Duke of Mortemart, out of Lombardy, with the loss of nearly half his army. At the same time no less important services were achieved by the British fleet on these coasts. Its commander was no longer Haddock; he had been superseded by Admiral Lestock, and Lestock in his turn by Admiral Matthews, who was sent out on the change of administration with seven additional ships of the line, and who arrived eager to justify the choice, and to correct the inactivity so much complained of in this quarter. One of his captains, cruising in pursuit of five Spanish galleys, and finding them take refuge in the little French port of St. Tropez, was not withheld by the peace which still subsisted with France (for both France and England had hitherto engaged only as auxiliaries), but entered the harbour after them, attacked them, and by the aid of a fireship reduced them to ashes,

This insult to the French flag, though passed over by Cardinal Fleury, affected him most deeply : when the tidings were brought to him we are told that he covered his eyes with his hands, exclaiming : *SI MEA CREDITA TRAHUNT ME !* — which he repeated again and again (1).

Another squadron of the British fleet, entrusted to Commodore Martin, suddenly appeared in the Bay of Naples, and threatened an immediate bombardment, unless the King would engage in writing to withdraw his troops (there were 20,000 men) from the Spanish army, and to observe in future a strict neutrality. The Neapolitan Court, wholly unprepared for the defence of the city, endeavoured to elude the demand by prolonging the negotiation. But the gallant Englishman, with a spirit not unworthy the Roman who drew a circle around the Asiatic despot, and bade him not step from it until he had made his decision (2), laid his watch upon the table in his cabin, and told the negotiators that their answer must be given within the space of an hour, or that the bombardment should begin. This proceeding, however railed at by the diplomatists as contrary to all form and etiquette, produced a result such as they had seldom attained by protocols. Within the hour Don Carlos acquiesced in the required terms. Thus was the neutrality of a considerable kingdom in this contest secured by the sight of five British ships of the line during four-and-twenty hours ; for their number was but such, and no longer time elapsed between their first appearance and their final departure from the bay (3).

CHAPTER XXV.

When in November 1742, the new administration again encountered the assembled Parliament, it had already survived the popular impulse which gave it birth, and, while itself discordant, could only lean for strength on the discord and division of its opponents. It had endeavoured, at the close of the last Session, to gratify the Tory party by appointing Lord Gower Privy Seal in the place of Hervey, and Lord Bathurst Captain of the Band of Pensioners. Shortly afterwards, also, the office of Solicitor General was bestowed, and most worthily, on William Murray. But the Tories, and indeed the whole people, disappointed in their vast though vague expectations of national advantage from the Ministerial change,

(1) Mr. Villetto to the Duke of Newcastle, July 19. 742. Appendix.

(2) *Liv. Hist.* lib. 48. c. 12.

(3) Coxe's *Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. iii. p. 335. Tindal's *Hist.* vol. viii. p. 679.

looked on, for the most part, in moody discontent. They felt, as Bolingbroke observed (for Bolingbroke had come over to England on a summer ramble, or perhaps with an ambitious hope), that “the principles of the last Opposition have been the principles of very few of the opposers.” With still greater bitterness does he add to Marchmont, “Your Lordship and I, and some few—very few—besides, were the bubbles of men whose advantage lies in having worse hearts (1).” And again at a later period, “Liberty has been the cry of one set of men, as prerogative was formerly of another. But it has been no more than a cry; and the cause of liberty has been as little regarded by those leaders who gave it out to their troops, as the cause of St. George or St. Denis was concerned in the battles of the English and the French (2).” Yet, notwithstanding such angry denunciations of his countrymen, Bolingbroke had determined once more to live among them. We find him again returned to England in January, 1743 (3); and he chiefly resided, till his death in 1752, at a house near Battersea, surrounded by the veteran friends of his youth, or the youthful admirers of his genius, and manifesting a far diminished influence, but an unabated eagerness in all political cabals.

The new Cabinet was divided into two great and nearly equal sections; the former opponents and the former colleagues of Sir Robert Walpole. Among these last, the most eminent undoubtedly was the Chancellor, Philip Yorke, Lord, and afterwards Earl of, Hardwicke. The family of Hardwick was neither rich nor old; he owed his elevation solely to himself, to high character, extensive knowledge, and eminent abilities. He was born in 1690, the son of an attorney at Dover; and at the early age of twenty-two we find him amongst the smaller contributors to the *Spectator* (4). He was first brought forward in public life by Newcastle and Stanhope, of whom the former named him a Member of Parliament in 1718, and the latter, Solicitor General in 1720 (5). Rising through the different stages of his profession, and distinguishing himself in all, he at length, in 1737, became Chancellor on the death of Lord Talbot, and continued such for nearly twenty years. Never was that high office more worthily or honourably filled. If we compare him to Somers—yet how difficult to assign the palm between two such mighty names!—we should say, perhaps, that Somers was the more distinguished as a statesman, but Yorke the superior as a magistrate. His decisions have ever been revered as a great landmark in our law, nor has calumny once dared to breathe against the uprightness of his motives. Amidst a degenerate age—while a too prevalent corruption had deeply

(1) To Lord Marchmont, October 30. 1742.

(2) To the same, November 25. 1746.

(3) See the Marchmont Papers, vol. ii. p. 289.

(4) Park's Continuation of Walpole's Royal and

Noble Authors, vol. iv. p. 267. Mr. Yorke was the author of the letter on travelling, in No. 364., signed Philip Homebred.

(5) Boyer's Political State, vol. xix. p. 351.

tainted the State, his Judge's ermine, like the fleece of Gideon, shone forth unsullied and pure. As an orator, he was never warm or impassioned, but clear, weighty, and convincing. When he rose in debate, it seemed, says Lord Lyttleton, like Public Wisdom speaking (1). His knowledge, high as it soared in his own department, was not confined to it: in literature he was accomplished; with foreign affairs well acquainted. Lord Waldegrave, who does not praise him as a statesman, owns, that even in that capacity he had been the main support of the Duke of Newcastle's administration (2). The principal blemish which his enemies imputed to him, and probably not without some truth, was avarice; yet, it should be borne in mind that Chancellors are easily, but unjustly exposed to this charge, from being contrasted with their colleagues and associates, men in general of hereditary fortunes and large expense, whilst the Head of the Law, on the contrary, must endeavour to found a family, and earn an estate, and not leave his son, as a poor Peer, a burthen on his country. This endeavour every thoughtless spendthrift or envious detractor may call avarice; but should not the Historian award to it a nobler name?

Of the others who had been Walpole's colleagues, Lord Wilmington, though nominally at the head of the Government, was justly regarded both by his own subordinates and by the public as a mere cypher. The Pelhams, namely, the Duke of Newcastle and his brother, backed by Lord Harrington, cowered beneath the storm that had overwhelmed their late chief; they were supported by the still powerful influence of that chief, from his retirement at Houghton, and by the good opinion of their Royal master; but they directed their views chiefly to future opportunities, and prudently awaited the clearing of the sky.

On the opposite side in the Cabinet were Mr. Sandys, Lords Winchelsea, Tweeddale, Gower, and Carteret; the latter considered by the people, and being in fact the new Prime Minister. His character, which I have elsewhere more fully portrayed (3), was a strange medley of brilliant abilities and of boyish freaks. Sometimes astonishing and over-awing his colleagues by his genius, at other moments he must have become their laughing-stock, as when he insisted upon reading to them in Council the love letters he received from Lady Sophia Fermor, a young beauty who became his second wife. "He is never sober," writes Horace Walpole, "and his rants are amazing, but so are his parts and his spirit (4)." The period of his Government was called "the Drunken Administration," in allusion partly to his convivial habits, but describing also his dashing, bold, and buoyant temper. We are told that on coming to power, he was base enough to think,

(1) See H. Walpole's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 308.

(2) Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs, p. 86.

(3) See vol. I. p. 304.

(4) To Sir H. Mann, November 20. 1743. and April 18. 1744.

and rash enough to say publicly, that England could only be governed by corruption (1). He was admirably skilled in all foreign affairs as well as languages, and speedily gained the King's highest favour by going all lengths in his Hanoverian measures. But intent as he was upon diplomatic negotiations and Royal smiles, he neglected all those smaller but necessary cares, by which alone party influence can be acquired or retained. On one occasion we are told, that when the Chief Justice, Willes, came to apply to him for an appointment, "What is it to me," cried Carteret, "who is a Judge and who a Bishop? It is my business to make Kings and Emperors, and to maintain the balance of Europe!" "Then," answered the Chief Justice, "those who want to be Judges or Bishops will apply to those who will condescend to make it their business (2)!" And so, indeed, it proved. The disposal of patronage was a labour of love to the Pelhams, and to them accordingly the whole pack of place-hunters—always a large one—repaired. Thus it happened, that in the race of power, which had begun even now, from the declining health of Wilmington, and for the spoils of his succession, Lord Carteret—immeasurably superior as he was in genius to the Pelhams—far higher as he stood at one time, both in Royal and popular regard—sunk down, overpowered beneath their active, consistent, and decorous mediocrity.

The great object of George the Second at this time, was, to appear, in emulation of William the Third, at the head of a confederate army, and to assist his Electoral dominions as largely as possible from his kingdom's resources. With this view, had the British troops been sent to Flanders; with this view, had they been reinforced by 6000 Hessians, taken into British pay, under a convention which Walpole had not long since concluded, and which forms one of the least justifiable acts of his whole administration. But it was now desired to extend this measure still further, and more directly to Hanover, by hiring from the British Treasury 16,000 soldiers of that country. Much as Carteret had clamoured against such a system while yet in Opposition, he now readily acceded to it, thereby gaining at once the King's highest confidence; it was also, strange as it seems, concurred in by Lord Bath and Mr. Sandys, and adopted by the Cabinet.

But when at the opening of Parliament the King's Speech announced the 16,000 Hanoverians, and when hints of British pay for them were thrown out in the Ministerial ranks, it may easily be conceived how adverse was the feeling excited in the country: The hiring of foreigners in bands of mercenaries, however consonant to the rude military system of the darkest ages, is condemned

(1) This remark is eagerly fastened upon by Mr. "Imprudent speech." To the Pretender, May 4. Carte, and he shrewdly adds, that "the world 1743. Appendix.
"sooner forgets an ill action in a man than an

(2) See H. Walpole's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 147.

alike by religion and natural reason : it is neither praiseworthy in those who sell their blood, nor in those who buy it ; and is right-ful only when the former have some national interest of their own in the quarrel, and when the latter have already raised, armed, and tried their own force, and found it unequal to their enemy's. But, independently of these general reflections, it seemed very far from constitutional to have taken a step of such importance, and so great extent, without the previous deliberation and consent of Parliament. But even waiving this also, there still remained the chief grievance which the people felt, or the Opposition urged—the glaring partiality to Hanover. It was heaping fuel on a fire that already burned high. Since 1714, it had always been the cry that Hanover was preferred to England : that cry had resounded sometimes with and sometimes without reason ; but never had more just cause been afforded than now. The nation observed, that though Hanover was far more immediately concerned in the event of the present war than England, it did not appear to have contributed any thing to the support of the common cause. It was also not left unnoticed that, on this occasion, Hanover had made a far more profitable bargain for herself than in 1702, when Marlborough had negotiated for the hire of 10,000 men from Luneburg, there being in that contract no stipulation either for levy or recruit money, whereas, in this present case, these amounted to 160,000*l.* (1). It was said, that a force to the same amount might be safely spared to go abroad, from the 23,000 soldiers whom we idly maintained at home. It was contended likewise, that if we must have mercenaries we ought to have taken any rather than from Hanover, because we might have engaged the Prince whose troops we hired, to join us in espousing the cause of the Queen of Hungary, and because, if the Hanoverians were once taken, our future administrations would always be ready to gratify the King, by finding pretexts for retaining them. Nay, the more eager partisans carried their exaggeration so far as to declare that the Act of Settlement, providing that Great Britain should never engage in war on account of Hanover, had been violated, and they did not even shrink from the inference to which that declaration seemed to lead.

The ambiguity of the King's Speech as to the pay of the Hanoverians, restrained discussion upon them, until that pay was actually moved for in the House of Commons. All doubts, however, were speedily dispelled. On the 10th of December, Sir William Yonge,

(1) Compare the Commons' Journals, November 29. 1708, and December 3. 1742. The additional items in the latter are as follows :—

Levy Money.	139,313 <i>l.</i>
Recruit Money from August till De-	
cember 1742, Horse.	2,315
Foot.	2,558

Till December 1748,

Horse.	8,912
Foot.	7,914

These charges are inaccurately stated in Tindal.—
There is also a provision for an excessive number of staff officers.

as Secretary at War, proposed a grant of 657,000*l.* for defraying the cost of these troops, from August 1742 till December 1743. He defended the proposal with his usual volubility, and was supported (with signal courage, considering former professions,) by the new Chancellor of the Exchequer. But several eloquent voices were raised against them. "As the King," said Sir John St. Aubyn, "has every other virtue, so he has, undoubtedly, a most passionate love for his native country; a passion the more easily to be flattered, because it arises from virtue. I wish that those who have the honour to be of his councils would imitate his Royal example, and show a passion for their native country too (1)!" The invective of Pitt was as bitter, and more direct. "It is now too apparent that this great, this powerful, this formidable kingdom is considered only as a province to a despicable electorate, and that, in consequence of a scheme formed long ago and invariably pursued, these troops are hired only to drain this unhappy nation of its money (2)." Yet, on a division, the Ministers could muster 260 votes against 193 — a clear sign how many of the patriots had combined with Walpole's friends, and how weak, even against the most unpopular proposals, was the new Opposition.

It was on another such debate, relative to the British troops lying unemployed in Flanders, that Murray the new Solicitor General made his first speech in Parliament: it was received with high applause, and was answered by Pitt; and observers could foresee, even from this first trial, that the two statesmen would henceforth be great rivals (3).

As, however the principal members of the Cabinet and leaders of the Opposition were now in the House of Peers, it was there that the main debate on the Hanoverian troops ensued. The question was brought forward by Lord Stanhope, son and successor of the late Prime Minister. Philip, second Earl Stanhope, was born in 1714, and therefore only seven years old at his father's decease. He had great talents, but fitter for speculation than for practical objects of action. He made himself one of the best — Lalande used to say the best — mathematicians in England of his day, and was likewise deeply skilled in other branches of science and philosophy. The Greek language was as familiar to him as the English; he was said to know every line of Homer by heart. In public life, on the contrary, he was shy, ungainly, and embarrassed. So plain was he in his dress and deportment that, on going down to the House of Lords to take his seat, after a long absence on the Continent, the door-keeper could not believe he was a Peer, and pushed him aside, saying "Honest man, you have no business in this place." — "I am

1748.

(1) *Parl. Hist.* vol. xii. p. 382. (2) *Ibid.* p. 1085. (3) H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann. December 9. 1742

"sorry, indeed," replied the Earl, "if honest men have no business here!" From his first outset in Parliament he took part with vehemence against the administration of Walpole (1). He had been educated chiefly at Utrecht and Geneva, and the principles he had there formed or imbibed leaned far more to the democatrical than to the kingly or aristocratical branches of the constitution; they are even termed "republican" by Horace Walpole (2), but unjustly, for, like his father, he was a most zealous assertor of the Hanover succession.

The speech of Stanhope on this occasion was pre-composed and full of strong arguments, but delivered, as we are told, "with great tremblings and agitations." He said, "the country these troops come from makes it probable they will frequently be taken, and affairs abroad embroiled for the sake of lending them. What would Poland think of taking Saxons into pay? Why should not some regard be had to the opinion of the people, who will always judge right of the end though not of the means, as well as to the inclinations of rulers who may aim wrong in both (3)?" and he concluded with a motion for an address to the King, that he would be graciously pleased to exonerate his people of those Mercenaries, who were taken into pay last year, without consent of Parliament. He was ably seconded by Lord Sandwich, and still more ably answered by Lord Carteret. Hervey spoke with much eloquence against, and Bathurst for the Hanoverians; a strange transposition of parts, and surely not unconnected with the loss of office in one case, with the acquisition of it in the other! Lord Bath, rising for the first time in that House, declared, in nearly the same terms as Walpole had so often urged against himself, that he "considered it an act of cowardice and meanness to fall passively down the stream of popularity, and to suffer reason and integrity to be overborne by the noise of vulgar clamours, which have been raised by the low arts of exaggeration, fallacious reasonings, and partial representations." He added that the term of "Mercenaries," in Stanhope's motion, seemed designed rather to stir the passions than to influence the judgment. "This was not," said he, "the rash measure of any single man, but the united opinion of all the administration that were present" (for Lords Gower and Cobham it appears had stayed away): "it was not only acquiesced in, but approved on a solemn deliberation. We have now an Address to dismiss, FLAGRANTE BELLO, troops, which the other House have given money to pay. What a difficulty would this put the King under! It would be a greater blow to the Queen of Hungary than losing ten battles."—A brilliant oration

(1) "We are to have Lord Rockingham and Lord Stanhope (who are just come of age) in the House of Lords; the first of whom I hear will be with us, the latter against us. All the Stanhopes and Spencers are taught to look on a

Walpole as one they are to hate by inheritance." Lord Hervey to Horace Walpole the elder, December 23. 1735. Coxe's Walpole.

(2) H. Walpole's Memoirs, vol. 4. p. 100.

(3) Bishop Secker's Diary, February 1. 1743.

from Chesterfield, and an able argument from Hardwicke, concluded the debate. On the division the Ministers had 90, the Opposition only 35 votes; but among the latter, to their high honour, were two members of the Cabinet, Cobham and Gower. Their consequent dismissal was expected by the public⁽¹⁾, but did not ensue.

Although these divisions in both Houses were decisive of the subject, so far as the Government was concerned, it was too powerful a weapon for the opposition to relinquish; and the public mind continued to be stirred by pamphlets, among which, the "Case of the Hanover Forces," written by Lord Chesterfield, excited the most attention, and received the highest applause. I need scarcely add how eagerly the Jacobites forwarded and swelled a cry so favourable to their hopes and designs. Yet while I condemn the measure on principle, I must acknowledge that in its effects it produced a great collateral advantage; since, it was the taking of these troops by the Government, and their confirmation by the House of Commons, that appear to have mainly determined the wavering temper of the Dutch, and brought them, at this very period, to a co-operation and concert of measures with the King. Nor should it be forgotten, that His Majesty in some measure softened the objections to the grant of British money, by reinforcing, of his own accord, the 16,000 Hanoverians with a body of 6000 more, paid from his Electoral revenues.

Another remarkable proceeding of this Session was the repeal of the Gin Act, passed in 1734⁽²⁾. It was found, as Walpole had foretold, that the duties imposed by that Act, and amounting nearly to a prohibition, had only afforded encouragement and opportunity to fraud. Informers were terrified by the threats of the people; justices were either unable or unwilling to enforce the law; and it was proved that the consumption of gin, instead of diminishing, had considerably augmented since the heavy duties were imposed. Though no licence was obtained, and no duty paid, the liquor continued to be sold at all corners of the streets; nay, we are even assured that the retailers of it used to set up painted boards, inviting people to be drunk at the small expense of one penny, assuring them they might be dead drunk for two-pence, and have straw for nothing! They accordingly provided cellars or garrets strewed with straw, to which they conveyed those poor wretches who were overpowered with intoxication, and who lay there until they recovered some use of their understanding; whilst the other dens for drinking were hideous receptacles of the most filthy vice, resounding with continual riot, oath, and blasphemy⁽³⁾. To check these frightful disorders, and

(1) H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, February 2. 1743. He speaks only of Gower, but we may conclude that the same expectation existed with respect to Cobham.

(2) See Vol. I. p. 402.

(3) See Smollett's History, book II. ch. 7. sect. 36.

at the same time prevent the loss to the Revenue, the Ministers had framed a new Bill, by which a small duty per gallon was laid on the spirits at the still-head, and the price of licenses reduced to twenty shillings. Through this measure it was calculated that the price of gin by retail would be moderately but really raised—so much as to discourage the drunkard, yet not so much as to encourage the smuggler—that the law, being mitigated, would be enforced—and that the Revenue would gain a clear and certain accession. And if even it were true, as the Opposition affirmed, that the latter motive was the main one with the promoters of the Bill, and that, in the words of a great Spanish historian, “Ill rulers never deem their Exchequer wrong (1);” still the wisdom of the preceding considerations would deserve our praise,—as what reason suggests, and experience has fully confirmed.

The Bill passed the House of Commons rapidly, and almost without remark (2), but in the Lords encountered a most vigorous resistance. All the Bishops opposed it. It was denounced as a sanction to vice—as a license granted to the people for poisoning themselves; as “a bait spread over the pit-falls of debauchery (3),”—as an infamous attempt to raise the Revenue at the expense of the health and morals of the people. Lord Hervey, in a dexterous speech, moved that several eminent physicians should be summoned to the bar, to prove to the House the fatal effects of dram-drinking. But the palm of eloquence on this occasion was undoubtedly borne away by Chesterfield: his two speeches on this question, inadequately as they seem reported, may yet attract our admiration, and have seldom been surpassed, as combinations of lively wit and impressive forebodings. Sometimes, comparing the measure to “the tax which Vespasian laid on spirituous liquors of another kind, that would not indeed admit of a total prohibition (4);” in other passages, again, he thunders against it as the infallible harbinger of national decline, depopulation, and ruin. Yet, notwithstanding his exertions, and those of the Right Reverend Bench, the Bill passed by a great majority.

In this Session an attempt was also made to renew the inquiry into the conduct of Lord Orford, the proposal being brought forward by Mr. Waller, seconded by Sir Watkin Wynn; but it was defeated by large numbers—a proof that the current of popular feeling had already turned. The forces voted for the year were 40,000 seamen and 11,000 marines, 16,000 British troops in Flanders, and 23,000 for guards and garrisons at home. The supplies did not fall short of 6,000,000*l.* (5).

(1) “*Fisci causa sub malo Principe nunquam est mala.*” Marianna, *Historia Hispaniæ*, liv. xvii. c. 4.

(2) “It was hurried through the other House with the utmost precipitation, and passed almost without the formality of a debate.” Chester-

field's Speech, February 21. 1745. This is better authority than Tindal's to the contrary.

(3) Chesterfield's Second Speech, February 24. 1743.

(4) See Bishop Secker's Diary, February 24. 1743.

(5) Commons' Journals, November 28. 1742, etc.

The King having prorogued the Parliament on the 21st of April, hastened over to his German dominions, accompanied by his son the Duke of Cumberland, and attended by Lord Carteret, as Secretary of State. In the preceding January a strong impulse had been given to the war, on the part of France, by the death of Cardinal Fleury in the ninetieth year of his age. His pacific policy died with him; and the hostilities which he had begun from compulsion were continued and extended from choice. The young King, selfish, indolent, and devoted to pleasure, took no part in public business; but the power of Fleury was shared between Count D'Argenson, Minister of War, an expert diplomatist, and Cardinal Tencin, a subtle insinuating priest, of considerable talents, but fitted for intrigues rather than for government, disgraced by some acts of fraud in early life (1), and devoted to the House of Stuart, which had wrought his elevation to the Purple. His sister, Madame de Tencin, a nun who had renounced her convent, was celebrated for her wit and gallantries. Bolingbroke is said to have enjoyed her favours during his embassy at Paris; and at another period she became the mother—it would be most presumptuous to assert by whom—of D'Alembert, the well-known mathematician and philosopher.

The French Ministers, eager to signalize themselves by a vigorous prosecution of the war, and excited by the unfavourable news that came from Germany, collected a large army under the Mareschal Duke de Noailles, who had been distinguished in the Spanish campaigns, to support their other forces in the Empire. These forces, first commanded by Maillebois, and afterwards by De Broglie, had ceased to threaten Hanover, by their march for the relief of Prague. They had afterwards wintered in Northern Bavaria; and it was through their diversion that the Emperor Charles the Seventh was enabled to re-enter his capital. But in the spring of 1743 he was again defeated by the Austrians, and once more driven from his hereditary states; De Broglie being intent only on his own security, and restrained by his instructions from hazarding a battle. The unfortunate Emperor, whose exalted rank served but to sharpen the sting of his calamities, and to make them more conspicuous and deplorable, sought shelter in the free city of Frankfort; a Sovereign without any states to rule, nay, even without any revenues to maintain him! De Broglie, on his part, retreated in confusion from Bavaria, harassed by the Austrian cavalry, and sustaining heavy losses, until, on the banks of the Neckar, he received a reinforcement of 12,000 men from Noailles, and again attempted to keep Prince Charles of Lorraine in check.

During that time the British troops also were advancing into Germany, having begun their march from Flanders, at the end of Fe-

(1) St. Simon, *Mém.* vol. xx. p. 4. ed. 1829. by President des Brosses in his *Travels*, vol. ii. Tencin resided at Rome in 1740; and is described p. 79. and 84.

bruary, under the command of the Earl of Stair. They were joined on their march by some Austrian regiments, headed by the Duke of Aremberg and by the 16,000 Hanoverians in British pay, who had wintered in the Bishoprick of Liege. But so tardy was their march, that it was the middle of May before they crossed the Rhine and fixed their station at Hochst, between Mayence and Frankfort. Here Lord Stair determined to await the junction of the 6,000 Hanoverians in Electoral pay, and also of the same number of Hessian mercenaries, who had been employed in garrisoning the Flemish fortresses, but who were now relieved by an equal body of Dutch troops, and left at liberty to rejoin the main army. Even without any fresh accessions, however, Lord Stair could muster at Hochst nearly 40,000 soldiers; and might easily have seized the Emperor at Frankfort, had not the neutrality of that free city been scrupulously respected by both parties in this contest—or, to speak more truly, had not the seizure of the Emperor promised but small advantage.

The Mareschal de Noailles, on his part, whose army, even after the detachment sent to De Broglie, amounted to 60,000 men, likewise passed the Rhine, and approached the Mayn on the southern bank, as the British on the northern. The two camps were no more than four leagues distant from each other. Yet still, amidst these hostile manifestations, and an impending battle, the two nations nominally remained at peace, and only acted as auxiliaries: there was still a British Resident at Paris, and a French in London. "A ridiculous situation!" writes Horace Walpole. "We have the name of war with Spain without the thing, and war with France without the name (1)!"

In the manœuvres that ensued, Lord Stair, whose military genius, never very bright, was rusted with age, appears to have committed blunder upon blunder. Having first determined to await the Hessians and Hanoverians, he suddenly altered his intentions, recalled the detachments which he had sent across the Mayn, and advanced up the course of that river on the right bank, with the view of drawing supplies from Franconia, and of communicating with the Austrian forces. He reached Aschaffenburg on the 16th of June, closely followed and completely out-generalled by Noailles. The French commander took up a strong position near Gross Ostheim, while his detachments occupied the principal fords and passes on both the Upper and Lower Mayn, so that the English found themselves cut off both from their own magazines at Hanau, and from the expected Franconian supplies. Moreover the duties and details of our Commissariat appear in that age to have been ill understood, or grossly neglected. "England, that is famous for negligence,"—says Marlborough in one of his letters (2).

(1) To Sir H. Mann, July 19. 1743.

(2) To Lord Godolphin, September 2. 1702.

Under these circumstances, when on the 19th King George arrived from Hanover, with Lord Carteret and the Duke of Cumberland, he found affairs in a most critical posture; the soldiers on half rations, the horses pining for want of forage; Stair and Artemberg divided by a violent feud, and the army reduced to 37,000 men, and cooped up in a narrow valley that runs between Mount Spessart and the Mayn, and extends along that river from the town of Aschaffenburg to the large village of Dettingen (1), while in sight appeared a far superior force of French, ably commanded and well supplied, and in confident expectation that the allies must either surrender prisoners of war, or be cut to pieces in their retreat. The expected Hessians and Hanoverians, it appeared, had nearly reached Hanau, but so far from being able to advance and join, were themselves in peril of being taken by the French. Still, under every disadvantage and danger, the soldiers were full of spirits and eager to fight, and the presence of their King became a further incentive to their valour.

After repeated councils of war, the only measure that seemed practicable was to fall back on the magazines and reinforcements at Hanau, and this resolution was hastened by so utter a failure of forage, that, had they remained but two days longer, they must have sacrificed their horses (2). The movement, however, was neither safe nor easy in the face of a superior enemy, quick at discerning and powerful to prevent the design. At the first signs of their intended retreat, Noailles immediately altered his own position from their front to their rear, advanced to Seligenstadt, threw two bridges over the Mayn, and sent his nephew, the Duke de Grammont, with 23,000 men, across the river to secure the defile of Dettingen, through which the Allies must march. These troops were accordingly drawn up on very strong ground, while batteries were also raised along the opposite bank of the Mayn, and these precautions were the more dangerous, because in a great measure unknown to the English, who still believed the principal force of Noailles to be on the other side of Aschaffenburg.

Before day-break, on the morning of the 27th of June, the Allies struck their tents and began their march towards Dettingen in two columns. The King himself commanded the rear guard, which, from the ignorance of Noailles's movements, was considered the post of danger. But when they found their advanced posts repulsed from Dettingen, and beheld the French forces pouring over the bridge of the Mayn, they perceived that their front was chiefly threatened. Their columns were immediately halted, and the King, riding to the first ranks, drew up the army

(1) The distance between Aschaffenburg and Dettingen is one and a half German or about eight English miles. Dettingen was then and is now the post station on the road from Aschaffenburg to Hanau, which is two German miles further.

(1) "On manquait de fourrage au point qu'on proposa de couper les jarrets aux chevaux, et on l'aurait fait si on était resté encore deux jours dans cette position." Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV, ch. x.

in order, the infantry before and the cavalry behind; its right extending to the slopes of the Spessart, and its left to the river. Their only hope lay in cutting their way through the French lines, yet these were strong as nature and skill could make them. The village of Dettingen, occupied by Grammont, was covered by a morass and a ravine, the bed of a small rivulet; and further reinforcements to support him were already in motion from the army of Noailles. The batteries on the other side of the Mayn began to play upon the British flank; behind them Aschaffenburg, which they left, was already taken by a French division of 12,000 men: thus were they completely enclosed and hemmed in, and our military fame—the lives and liberties of our soldiers—nay even of our King—seemed already within our enemy's grasp!

Happily at this decisive moment the Mareschal de Noailles left his post in the front and passed to the other bank of the Mayn, to give some further directions in that quarter. During his absence, the impetuous courage of the nephew marred the uncle's skilful policy. Grammont, burning to engage his adversaries, and believing that the force before him was only part of their army, which he might easily exterminate, ordered his troops to cross the ravine, thus quitting his vantage ground, and giving the Allies battle on equal terms. By this movement, also, the batteries on the other side of the Mayn, that were already mowing down whole ranks of English, were compelled to suspend their fire, lest it should strike their countrymen as much as their enemies. As the French approached, the horse of George the Second, frightened with the noise, ran away with His Majesty, and had nearly carried him into the midst of the enemy's lines, but was fortunately stopped in time (1). The King then dismounted, and put himself at the head of the British and Hanoverian infantry at the right, flourishing his sword, and addressing the British in these words, "Now, boys, now for the honour of England; fire and behave bravely, and the French will soon run!" The Duke of Cumberland in like manner, as Major General, commanded the first line on the left. Yet, notwithstanding the bravery of their Royal leaders, and their own, the troops were thrown into some disorder by the first impetuous charge of the young French chivalry. The King, however, with admirable courage and coolness, made every exertion to retrieve this slight confusion, while the battle rapidly spread from flank to flank and became general along the line. The Duke of Cumberland, like his father, appeared in the hottest of the fight, displayed the highest courage, and even when wounded in the leg refused to quit the field (2).

(1) Letter from Mr. Kendal, of Lord Ashburnham's troop.

(2) The great gallantry of the Duke of Cumberland in this battle is acknowledged by the French as well as English writers. There is also

an interesting story of his generous treatment of a wounded French officer; but to this the subsequent conduct of "the Butcher" makes it more difficult to give credit.

Noailles, who from the other side of the river had beheld the first motion of his troops with astonishment and grief, hastened over with all possible speed to give the needful directions; but on his arrival he found the tide of the battle already turned. The British and Hanoverians vied with each other in the most determined intrepidity; while the French, though no way inferior in gallantry, did not on this occasion display an equal steadiness, and were not, like them, inspired by the presence and exertions of their King. The conduct of George in this conflict deserves the highest praise; and it was undoubtedly through him and through his son, far more than through any of his generals, that the day was won. A dense mass of infantry formed and led by His Majesty in person, broke and scattered the enemy, whom they found exhausted by their own brave but imprudent onset. So dreadful a slaughter ensued in the French ranks, that Noailles, despairing of the day, and anxious only to prevent further havoc of his men, gave the signal of retreat across the Mayn. But this retreat speedily became a rout. Many of the French were cut down by their pursuers before they could reach the bridges; and the bridges becoming choked with the multitude of fugitives, many more plunged into the river and were drowned. Others, again, turning in the opposite direction, and throwing down their arms, endeavoured to ascend the mountains to the right, and were taken prisoners without resistance. The fighting continued till four in the afternoon, and the King remained on the ground till ten at night. The loss of the French in killed and wounded was computed at 6000, including a large proportion of their officers, whose headlong valour strove during the engagement to repair the error it had caused at the commencement. It seemed only surprising how so many brave men could ever, under any circumstances, be defeated. The Allies on their part suffered severely, their loss being scarcely under 3000 men. Both their Marshals, D'Arenberg and Stair, though eclipsed by their Royal master, well deserved his praise for intrepidity; the former was wounded in the shoulder, and Stair was eager to pursue the French in their retreat. But considering that so large a proportion of Noailles's army had not engaged and was still quite fresh; that the Allies were exhausted from their hard won victory, and from their insufficient supplies; that as one of their officers complains, "we had neither victuals, "drink, nor tents to lie in, after the work was done,"—the rash proposal of Stair was wisely overruled, and the troops after a few hours' halt continued their retreat to Hanau. They were compelled, however, to leave their wounded at the mercy of the French commander, who treated them with signal generosity (1).

(1) The chief authorities for the battle of Dettingen are, Lord Carteret's despatch, June 30. 1743. O. S. and the other official accounts—Capt. Kendal's letter, published in the Gentleman's

Magazine, July, 1743—Coxe's Pelham, vol. i. p. 68—71.—House of Austria, vol. iii. p. 292—294. —Mémoires de Noailles, vol. v. p. 347—357. There was also published in England the same year, a

Such was the battle of Dettingen, the last in which a King of England has appeared at the head of his troops. In its circumstances it might, perhaps, not unaptly be compared to the battle fought by Napoleon, in 1813, against the Bavarians on the neighbouring ground of Hanau, except that on this last occasion the position of the French was inverted, and that they had to force instead of intercepting a passage. We may also observe that at Dettingen, superior as was the army of Noailles, yet from the French divisions at Aschaffenburg, and on the other side of the Mayn, the numbers actually engaged were most considerable on the side of the Allies. And, notwithstanding the glory which this battle sheds on both the British and the Hanoverian arms, we must own, that the good conduct of the troops was required by, and could scarcely retrieve, the blunders of the generals. A few weeks afterwards Voltaire met Lord Stair at the Hague, and took the liberty of asking him his opinion of the battle. "I think," replied the Earl, "that the French made one great mistake, and the English two: yours, was not standing still; our first, entangling ourselves in a most perilous position, our second, failing to pursue our victory." The latter project has been already mentioned as wild and rash, but the former complaint may, with great justice, be urged against Lord Stair himself, as the commander (1).

At Hanau, the Allied army being joined by the expected reinforcements, and thus becoming nearly equal to the French, Lord Stair again proposed to pass the Mayn and attack the enemy. But several circumstances — his own hasty temper, and violent quarrel with the Hanoverian officers — the jealousy of the petty German Princes — the very delays and perplexities of consultation — tended to prevent a second battle; nor, indeed, was it necessary to the expulsion of the invaders from the Empire. For, De Broglie being closely pressed by Prince Charles, and giving way before him, was driven across the Rhine near Mannheim; and Noailles, by this means, finding himself placed between two formidable armies, determined on retreat, burned his magazines, and likewise passed the Rhine on the 17th of July, opposite Worms, from whence he and De Broglie withdrew to their own frontier on the Lauter, so that the whole of Germany was now freed from the French.

It appears that De Broglie, who had already offended the Emperor by his refusal to defend Bavaria, sent him a message at this time, on the part of his Government, that the King of France could afford him no further assistance, and advised him to make peace

pamphlet containing several other letters from officers and soldiers present at the battle, for the sake of those who "love truth and particulars" (p. 31.). The latter indeed are sufficiently minute, extending even to Lord Stair's loss of his hat a few days before the action (p. 44.). It is almost as little worth while to notice that Frederick the Second, in his "*Histoire de mon Temps*," caricatures

the conduct of the King in this battle, and represents him as standing all the time, with his sword drawn, in the attitude of a fencing master who is about to make a lunge in *quarte*: We must remember that Frederick was not present — that he hated his cousin — and that he had never any regard for truth.

(1) *Siècle de Louis XV. ch. x.*

with the Queen of Hungary. The unhappy Prince was then at Frankfort, without credit for even the common necessities of life, and obliged to borrow 40,000 crowns from Noailles, who had come (as did also Lord Stair) to visit him after the battle. Yet, notwithstanding his destitute condition, he replied to De Broglie with becoming spirit, saying, that he never would be instructed how to make peace by those who were so ignorant how to make war (1)! In conformity with his suggestion however, he signed a neutrality for his own hereditary states, which were to remain in the Queen of Hungary's possession till the conclusion of a peace; and this peace he endeavoured to obtain through the mediation of George the Second, and by the agency of Prince William of Hesse. But Maria Theresa was by no means inclined to grant any moderate terms, aspiring either to keep Bavaria, or extort the abdication of the Imperial Crown (2). Moreover the Ministers in England, much incensed at Carteret's neglect, and want of consultation with them, resolutely declined to sanction or adopt the preliminaries agreed to between the King and the Emperor, more especially as these provided for a subsidy of 300,000 crowns to the latter. All the petty German objects of the day, as Chesterfield observes on another occasion, were to be paid in a few ducats, and a great many guineas (3)! Under such obstacles, the negotiation with Prince William was reluctantly abandoned by King George and Lord Carteret.

On the retreat of the French, the King's quarters at Hanau had become the scene, not merely of this negotiation, but of several Councils of War which Prince Charles and Count Khevenhüller left the Austrian army to attend. An immediate invasion of France was planned and announced, and the public expectations, already excited by the victory of Dettingen, were wound up to the highest pitch. King George accordingly marched across the Rhine at the bridge of Mayence, and fixed his station at Worms, while Prince Charles, from Alt Breisach, seized a post on the left bank of the river. But these were almost their only achievements; each considering the season too far advanced, or the French too strong, for further operations. Moreover, the King's camp was distracted with jarring counsels and rival pretensions: Lord Stair, above all, complained with bitterness that his advice had been slighted; and he delivered to His Majesty an angry memorial, reflecting on past transactions, hinting at Hanoverian partialities, and asking permission to retire, as he expressed it, to his plough. His resignation was immediately accepted, not without some marks of the Royal displeasure at the language in which it was tendered (4). Many other English officers,

(1) Tindal's Hist. vol. viii. p. 632.

(2) "The Queen of Hungary has proposed in form that she should keep Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, and that the Elector of Bavaria should in exchange have the kingdom of Naples..... Lord Carteret treats it as impracti-

" cable, and has sent strong orders upon it to Sir Thomas Robinson." Mr. Stone to the Earl of Harrington, July 31. 1743.

(3) To Mr. Dayrolles, September 18. 1752. Chesterfield's Works.

(4) Mr. Stone to Lord Harrington, September 11

including the Duke of Marlborough, the second in command, immediately threw up their commissions in disgust, and with loud complaints of their Hanoverian rivals. Amidst such dissensions, at the close of the campaign the King returned to England, and his troops to their former station in Flanders.

In Italy, as on the Rhine, the result of this campaign was far from fulfilling the expectations raised at its commencement. Montemar having been recalled on account of his former failure, the Queen of Spain had appointed as his successor Count de Gages, an officer of English extraction and long service. While stationed at Bologna in the winter, he received peremptory orders from his imperious mistress to give battle to the Austrians within three days, or else resign his command to another officer. Accordingly, marching forward, he engaged Count Traun on the 3d of February, at Campo Santo, and claimed a victory with the capture of some standards and artillery. Nevertheless he was soon afterwards compelled to fall back upon Rimini, and in the autumn towards the frontier of Naples, with an army reduced to 12,000 men. Tuscany, though subject to the Queen of Hungary's husband, remained unmolested under a treaty of neutrality which he had concluded. Savoy and the coast of Nice were exposed to several inroads and attacks from the Infant Don Philip, and some troops assembled in Dauphiny, but he was more than once repulsed, and found himself unable to force a passage (1).

But before the close of the campaign, either in Germany or Italy, a treaty affecting both those countries was signed by King George at Worms, on the 13th of September. The contracting parties were England, Austria, and Sardinia. By this alliance the King of Sardinia undertook to assist the common cause with an army of 45,000 men, and to renounce the pretensions which he had advanced to the Milanese; in return he was to be gratified with the supreme command of the Allied forces in Italy, whenever present in person, with the cession of the Vigevenasco and other districts from Austria—and with a yearly subsidy of 200,000*l.* from England. Maria Theresa likewise consented to transfer to him her claim to the town and Marquisate of Finale, which had been mortgaged to the Genoese; and George the Second, besides his subsidy, stipulated to maintain a strong fleet in the Mediterranean. This treaty of Worms had been negotiated by Lord Carteret in submission to the Electoral wishes of the King, and with scarce any reference to the other Ministers in England; nevertheless, it being already concluded, they gave it a sullen acquiescence. But they absolutely re-

1743. (Coxe's Pelham.) There was circulated among the officers at this time, a French dialogue on the battle of Dettingen, written perhaps by Stair himself, and certainly much in his style. Pierrot asks Harlequin, "*Que donne-t-on aux Généraux qui ne se sont pas trouvés à la bataille?*" Harl. "*On leur donne le cordon*

"rouge." Pierr. "*Et que donne-t-on au Général en chef qui a gagné la victoire?*" Harl. "*Son congé.*" Pierr. "*Qui a soin des blessés?*" Harl. "*L'ennemi.*"

(1) Muratori, *Annal. d'Ital.* vol. xii. p. 295—302.

fused to admit a separate and secret Convention agreed to at the same time and place, but not yet signed, and stipulating that Great Britain should pay the Queen of Hungary a subsidy of 300,000*l.* every year, not merely during the war, but so long “as the necessity of her affairs shall require;” and this Convention, accordingly, was never ratified nor publicly avowed (1).

It cannot fail to be perceived in all these negotiations that Carteret made every sacrifice of British interests, and of his own popularity, in order to secure the personal favour of the King. He was sanguine of prevailing in the struggle between the rival parties in the Cabinet, which impended from the declining health of Lord Wilmington, and which came to an issue from the death of that statesman on the 2d of July. The two candidates for his succession were Pulteney and Pelham: the former supported by Carteret, the latter by the secret but still powerful influence of Walpole (2).

The fallen Minister, judging of events with his usual sagacity and foresight, and looking round among the members of his former party, saw none but Henry Pelham qualified to undertake the direction of the Treasury, and the management of the House of Commons. Pelham himself, with characteristic timidity, shrunk from the dangerous pre-eminence, but was urged forward by the exhortations of Lord Orford, of his brother Newcastle, and of the Chancellor Hardwicke. At length, he had been prevailed upon to solicit the reversion of Wilmington's office, before the King went abroad: his application was secret; and the answer, by Orford's influence and advice, was a positive promise from His Majesty.

On the other hand the friends of Lord Bath perceived the fatal error he had committed, in not taking the Treasury on Walpole's resignation, and warned him not to be the bubble of his own reputation for consistency. Pulteney admitted the truth of their representations; he felt that it was a chimerical hope to direct public measures without holding any public appointment, and that declarations against office thrown out in the heat of debate, or in the bitterness of party struggles, might, to promote his principles, be infringed without blame. Still however he wavered, and would make no applications previous to Lord Wilmington's demise. But on that event he was persuaded to write a letter to Lord Carteret, to be laid before the King, stating the unanimous wishes of the Board of Treasury in his favour—expressing his own acquiescence—and soliciting the place. This letter he sent express to the Continent by a confidential servant of Sir John Rushout, his warm friend and one of the new Lords of the Treasury.

(1) Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Stone, October 14. 1743. (Coxe's Pelham.) He adds, “It is a most strange, unfair, unpardonable proceeding in Lord Carteret: but what we must always expect from him.”

(2) The channel of communication between Lord Orford and the Court, was the house of

Mr. Fowle, a Commissioner of Excise, in Golden Square. Late in the evenings Walpole used to meet there in secret the King's confidential page; the door being always opened and shut by Mr. Fowle himself; but his daughters sometimes peeped from the top of the stairs! See Coxe's Walpole, vol. i. p. 733.

This letter, and a renewed application from Mr. Pelham, reached his Majesty while he still remained at Hanau. For five weeks no decision was taken upon either. The formal answer to Pelham—that the King would make known his pleasure through Lord Carteret—was far from affording him an omen of success. Already did the faint resolution of Pelham begin to sink, and was only sustained by friendly exhortations from Houghton. “If,” added Lord Orford, “you had taken the advice of a fool, (meaning himself,) and been made Chancellor of the Exchequer, under Lord Wilmington, the whole had dropped into your mouth. Lost opportunities are not easily retrieved (1).” It may, therefore, be supposed with how much surprise and delight the Pelhams hailed a letter from Lord Carteret, dated the 16th of August, Old Style, in which by His Majesty’s command he announced a decision in their favour. The tone of Carteret in this communication was manly and straightforward, yet not hostile; he avowed to Pelham that he had striven to the utmost against him, but added, “what could anybody in my circumstances do otherwise? If I had not stood by Lord Bath who could ever value my friendship, and would not you have despised me? However, as the affair is now decided in your favour by His Majesty, I wish you joy of it, and I will endeavour to support you as much as I can (2).”

Henry Pelham, when he became First Lord of the Treasury, was forty-seven years of age, and had been twenty-four in Parliament. His character was Walpole’s in miniature. He had formed himself upon sir Robert’s model as nearly as his far inferior talents would allow, while his care and caution had restrained him from Walpole’s more open defects. He differed, however, from his model in natural temper: far from the joyous good humour and buoyant courage of Walpole, Pelham was peevish and irritable; qualities which would have made him very unpopular amongst his party, had they not been usually kept down by an inborn timidity and dread of giving offence. From this difference of temper between the two Ministers, it followed that the love of power, in which both concurred, was manifested in opposite ways,—Sir Robert’s by bearing none but mutes in the Cabinet; Mr. Pelham’s by shrinking from any new opponent in the Commons. In the same proportion, however, as his abilities fell below his predecessor’s, did they rise above his brother the Duke of Newcastle’s. He had probity, industry, punctuality; he was a good speaker on points of business, and a good Minister for quiet times. He never incurred lavish

(1) To Mr. Pelham, July 13. 1743. (Coxe’s Pelham.)

(2) See this letter in Coxe’s Pelham, vol. 1. p. 83. In his Memoirs of Walpole, Mr. Coxe says, “It is more than probable that before the return of Rushout’s messenger, the King had consulted the Earl of Orford” (p. 733.) This, however,

appears to be disproved by Orford’s confidential letters as published in Coxe’s subsequent work. Nor would it be easy to explain why the King should think it desirable to consult Lord Orford again, having before he left England received his opinion and advice on the very point at issue.

expense, except when the King very particularly desired it; nor forsook his friends, but on extremely pinching questions. In short, we may place him in that large and respectable class of statesmen, whom contemporaries do right to keep in office, but whom posterity will seldom take the trouble to remember.

The view of the King in preferring Pelham, besides his dislike of Bath and his regard for Orford, seems to have been that, since the Hanoverian troops, the foreign subsidies, and the dissensions of the Generals were likely to excite considerable clamours, it was absolutely requisite to secure the most powerful assistance in the House of Commons. At the same time, however, Carteret's favour and confidence in all foreign business continued unimpaired. Under these circumstances, the following was the advice of Pelham's old patron in Norfolk; "Gain time, strengthen yourself, and enter "into no hasty engagements (1)." Such a course was sufficiently agreeable to Pelham's natural caution. He made no rash or unnecessary alterations. He found places for his friend Henry Fox, and for Lord Middlesex, an adherent of the Prince of Wales. The Paymastership of the Forces, vacant by his own elevation, he bestowed on Winnington; and, requiring for himself the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, he gratified Sandys on his retirement with a peerage and a place in the Royal Household. And when, in the ensuing December, two Members of the Cabinet, Lords Gower and Cobham, resigned from disgust, at finding that the Hanoverian troops were still to be continued, the Privy Seal was transferred to Lord Cholmondeley, although on this last occasion, Lord Bath strained his whole influence in favour of Lord Carlisle. It is remarkable, that, from the long tenure and exorbitant power of Walpole in government, the office he had filled at the head of the Treasury was now universally considered as that of the Prime Minister, whereas, previous to 1721, the main authority had often been vested in a Secretary of State.

Another advantage to Pelham, at this period, accrued from the death of two principal chiefs of the new Opposition, Lord Hervey and the Duke of Argyle. The brilliant parts of Hervey had been always checked by his feeble health, while the great name of Argyle was lowered by his rapid changes, and recent Jacobite connexions. Leaving no male issue, Argyle was succeeded in his titles and estates by his brother, and of late his bitter enemy, the Earl of Isla. Never did such near kinsmen display less affinity of mind. With all his faults and follies, Argyle was still brave, eloquent, and accomplished, a skilful officer and a princely nobleman. Isla, on the contrary, was base and mean—"his heart is like his "aspect, vile," says Hanbury Williams,—suspect of having be-

(1) Lord Orford to Mr. Pelham, July 13. 1743. sportsman adds, "Whig it with all opponents that This was written in anticipation of the event. In "will parly, but 'ware Tory!" August 25. 1743, a subsequent letter the veteran statesman and

trayed Walpole at his fall (1), I believe, unjustly, yet seldom on any occasion, swayed either by gratitude or generosity.

The King and Lord Carteret having returned to England, the Parliament was opened on the 1st of December. The Opposition did not appear very formidable on common questions; thus, an attempt to put a negative on the Address of Thanks was rejected by 278 against 149. But the unpopularity of Hanoverian troops and Sardinian subsidies armed them with extraordinary strength. Chesterfield and Pitt, above all, thundered against Carteret, as the author of these measures, and transferred to him most of the hard names which had so lately resounded against Walpole. On the very first night of the Session, Pitt denounced him as "an excrable, a sole Minister, who seems to have drunk of the potion, which poets have described, as causing men to forget their country." And on another occasion, after calling

1744.

him "the Hanover-troop-Minister" — "a flagitious task-master" — "with the sixteen thousand Hanoverians as his placemen, and with no other party;" in short, after he had exhausted invectives, he added, "But I have done; if he were present I would say ten times more(2).": In the same debate, a cousin of Lord Strange went even further—if that was possible—in violence; his own friend, George Grenville, called him to order; and we find even Mr. Yorke complaining of "the inconsiderate warmth of Stanley(3)."

Motions against the Hanover troops and Hanover measures were now brought forward, night after night, in every variety of form. The arguments I need not recapitulate; they were nearly the same as in the previous session. On these points the Ministerial majorities were neither large nor willing, while the nation from without were loud in their expressions of resentment. It frequently happened that the toast of "No Hanoverian King" was proposed even in loyal companies, and the very name of Hanoverian became a by-word of insult and reproach. Thus fraught with all but universal unpopularity, the question of the foreign troops had begun to scare even the most resolute members of the Cabinet. All except Carteret wavered. A letter is preserved from the Duke of Newcastle, in which he argues against the Hanoverian mercenaries, as strongly as he did for them a few months after (4). Mr. Pelham, as usual, was timorous; his fears were quickened by his brother's, and the measure would undoubtedly have been dropped but for the interposition of Lord

(1) This charge is broadly urged by Sir C. Hanbury Williams, in a poem, from which the line above is taken (*Works*, vol. i. p. 28.); and it is more than once hinted by Horace Walpole in his letters. But I observe that Sir Robert himself attached no weight to it. See his warm letter of congratulation to *Isle* on his accession to the Dukedom. (*Coxe's Walpole*, vol. iii. p. 399.)

(2) H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, January 24. 1744.

(3) Mr. P. Yorke's *Journal*, *Parl. Hist.* vol. xiii. p. 483. It is added that "the scene could be compared to nothing but a tumultuous Polish Diet."

(4) To Lord Hardwicke, November 7. 1743.

Orford. This veteran statesman, on coming to town, most warmly deprecated such an insult (for so he deemed it) to his Royal master : he used his authority over Pelham and his other partisans in the Cabinet—an authority that finally prevailed over their alarms. And though, hitherto, he had seldom appeared, and never spoken in the House of Lords, having remarked to his brother Horace that he had left his tongue in the House of Commons, yet on this occasion his eloquent voice was once more raised, beseeching their Lordships to forget their cavils and divisions and unite in affection round the throne(1). It was solely owing to him that the torrent of public opposition was braved and overcome “The whole world,” says his son, “nay, the Prince himself, allows that if Lord Orford had not come to town, the Hanover troops had been lost (2).”

Whatever may be thought of the system of buying troops from Germany, “that great market of men,” as Pitt emphatically called it in debate (3), we must own that it was no fit season to disband the army, when the perils of the war were rapidly thickening around us. The French Government, irritated by the Treaty of Worms, had, on their part, concluded at Fontainebleau an alliance offensive and defensive with Spain. They determined to send forth a superior army in the next campaign, with their young King at its head, and, instead of continuing the contest as auxiliaries, to issue a direct declaration of hostilities against both England and Austria; nay more, they were encouraged by the clamours against the Hanoverians, and the other symptoms of popular discontent in England, to undertake a Jacobite invasion—an attempt of which a full account shall presently be given. It was met, however, with prompt resolution, both by the Ministry and by the Parliament. Several members of the Opposition—none more conspicuously than Pitt—laid aside, for the moment, their party animosities to withstand the common danger. The Duke of Marlborough, in spite of his recent resignation, hastened up to London to move a loyal Address in the House of Peers. The Earl of Stair, forgetting his wrongs, offered his services in any station, and in return was graciously appointed Commander in Chief. It soon appeared—a fact till lately incomprehensible to foreign nations—that the most ardent adversaries of the Minister might be among the most zealous subjects of the King. The high Tories and Jacobites, on their part, expecting that their cause would soon be decided by other weapons than words, prudently, for the most part, kept aloof from the debates. Supplies were voted to the amount of nearly 10,000,000*l.* including subsidies of 300,000*l.* to Austria, and 200,000*l.* to Sardinia. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, but only for two months. A Bill was brought in,

(1) See his speech at length, in Coxe's Memoirs, p. 738.

(2) H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, January 24. 1744.

(3) Parl. Hist. vol. xlii. p. 468.

from the ranks of Opposition, providing that the penalties on treasonable correspondence with the Pretender should extend to correspondence with his children. But on reaching the Upper House two additional clauses were proposed by the Lord Chancellor: one, to attain the sons of the Pretender, in case they should attempt to land; and the other, to extend the penalties of the Act to the posterity of those who should be convicted under it, during the lifetime of both the young Pretenders. The former clause passed unanimously; but the latter, which tended to impose a cruel punishment on children for the offences of their fathers, was strenuously though ineffectually opposed by the Duke of Bedford and Lord Chesterfield in one House, by Mr. Pitt and Lord Strange in the other.

Out of Parliament the proceedings were not less vigorous. A proclamation was issued for putting the laws in force against Papists and Nonjurors. Lord Barrimore and Colonel Cecil were arrested and examined, but no material discoveries being made against them they were soon afterwards released (1). Troops were directed by forced marches to the Southern coast, and an application was sent to the Dutch for the 6000 auxiliaries which they were bound by treaty to furnish in case of an invasion. Loyal addresses and protestations of service poured in from every quarter. Yet, with all this outward show, it appears that, in truth, no more than 7000 Englishmen, in arms, could be drawn together for the defence of the capital or any of the neighbouring counties, while, on the other hand, the Jacobite conspiracy was extensive, well laid, and ready to burst forth. The veteran brother of Sir Robert Walpole, whose sagacity and zeal for the Protestant Succession are equally unquestionable, laments in private that, "I see nothing but words stirring in the City, for the support of the Government. I do not look upon Addresses to carry with them powder and ball — and I apprehend that the people may perhaps look on and cry 'Fight dog! fight bear!' if they do no worse (2)!" As it appears to me, the fate of England at this juncture hung suspended on the winds and the waves: had these not favoured us the cause of the Stuarts might, nay must, for a season have prevailed; but, as with the Spanish Armada, *FLAVIT DEUS ET DISSIPANTUR!*

(1) The Earl of Barrymore, an Irish Peer, and a Member of the House of Commons in England, was at this time the oldest Lieutenant General in the service: he died in 1747, at the age of eighty. His fortune was great, but his temper penurious; in his political principles he was wholly devoted

to the exiled family. See Mr. Yorke's Journal, Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 668. and Tindal's History, vol. ix. p. 37.

(2) See Mr. Walpole's confidential letter to Mr. Trevor, March 8. 1744, in Coxe's Life of the former, p. 259.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Ever since the accession of Cardinal Tencin to power, the Jacobites had formed the most sanguine hopes of French support. His attachment to the House of Stuart—the favours it had bestowed upon him—his enterprising temper, as contrasted with the dilatory prudence of Fleury—the rancour excited by the progress of the war—these circumstances might well justify their expectations. Nor were they disappointed. The Cardinal immediately renewed the negotiation with the British exiles at Paris, which had greatly languished in the last year of Fleury's life, but which was still in the hands of Lord Sempill, and Drummond of Bohaldie. He also disposed the French Government in favour of the scheme, and found the King's mind, though indolent, yet well inclined to the Stuarts, as to his kinsmen, in whose veins as in his own ran the heroic blood of Henry Quatre. Nor were considerations of policy wanting, to show the French the importance of at least distracting the British from foreign affairs, and, if possible, placing a grateful ally upon their throne. Arrangements were, therefore, speedily in progress for an expedition to England, and a smaller one to Scotland, to be assisted by simultaneous risings in both countries. For these was needed the presence of the exiled Prince as their object and leader. But, as even the youth of James had never been remarkable for enterprise, and as he was latterly weighed down by age and disappointments, the hopes of his partisans had for some time rested on his son Prince Charles, then in the twenty-fourth year of his age, endowed by nature with many, and by their imaginations with all, great qualities.

Charles Edward Stuart is one of those characters that cannot be portrayed at a single sketch, but have so greatly altered, as to require a new delineation at different periods. View him in his later years, and we behold the ruins of intemperance—as wasted but not as venerable as those of time;—we find him in his anticipated age a besotted drunkard, a peevish husband, a tyrannical master—his understanding debased, and his temper soured. But not such was the Charles Stuart of 1745! Not such was the gallant Prince full of youth, of hope, of courage, who, landing with seven men in the wilds of Moidart, could rally a kingdom round his banner, and scatter his foes before him at Preston and at Falkirk! Not such was the gay and courtly host of Holyrood! Not such was he, whose endurance of fatigue and cagerness for

battle shone pre-eminent, even amongst Highland chiefs; while fairer critics proclaimed him the most winning in conversation, the most graceful in the dance! Can we think lowly of one who could acquire such unbounded popularity in so few months, and over so noble a nation as the Scots; who could so deeply stamp his image on their hearts that, even thirty or forty years after his departure, his name, as we are told, always awakened the most ardent praises from all who had known him—the most rugged hearts were seen to melt at his remembrance—and tears to steal down the furrowed cheeks of the veteran? Let us, then, without denying the faults of his character, or extenuating the degradation of his age, do justice to the lustre of his manhood.

The person of Charles—I begin with this for the sake of female readers—was tall and well-formed; his limbs athletic and active. He excelled in all manly exercises, and was inured to every kind of toil, especially long marches on foot, having applied himself to field sports in Italy, and become an excellent walker (1). His face was strikingly handsome, of a perfect oval and a fair complexion; his eyes light blue; his features high and noble. Contrary to the custom of the time, which prescribed perukes, his own fair hair usually fell in long ringlets on his neck. This goodly person was enhanced by his graceful manners; frequently condescending to the most familiar kindness, yet always shielded by a regal dignity, he had a peculiar talent to please and to persuade, and never failed to adapt his conversation to the taste or to the station of those whom he addressed. Yet he owed nothing to his education: it had been entrusted to Sir Thomas Sheridan, an Irish Roman Catholic, who has not escaped the suspicion of being in the pay of the British Government, and at their instigation betraying his duty as a teacher. I am bound to say that I have found no corroboration of so foul a charge. Sheridan appears to me to have lived and died a man of honour; but History can only acquit him of base perfidy by accusing him of gross neglect. He had certainly left his pupil uninstructed in the most common elements of knowledge. Charles's letters, which I have seen amongst the Stuart Papers, are written in a large, rude, rambling hand like a school-boy's. In spelling they are still more deficient. With him "humour," for example, becomes UMER; the weapon he knew so well how to wield, is a SORD; and, even his own father's name appears under the alias of GEMS. Nor are these errors confined to a single language: who—to give another instance from his French—would recognize a hunting-knife in COOTO DE CHAS? I can, therefore, readily believe that, as Dr. King assures us, he knew very little of the History or Constitution of England (2). But the letters of Charles, while they prove his want of education, no less clearly dis-

(1) Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*, p. 231. ed. 1785.

(2) *Anecdotes of his own Time*, p. 201.

play his natural powers, great energy of character, and great warmth of heart. Writing confidentially, just before he sailed for Scotland, he says, "I made my devotions on Pentecost Day, recommending myself particularly to the Almighty on this occasion to guide and direct me, and to continue to me always the same sentiments, which are, rather to suffer any thing than fail in any of my duties (1)." His young brother, Henry of York, is mentioned with the utmost tenderness; and, though on his return from Scotland he conceived that he had reason to complain of Henry's coldness and reserve, the fault is lightly touched upon, and Charles observes that, whatever may be his brother's want of kindness, it shall never diminish his own (2). To his father, his tone is both affectionate and dutiful: he frequently acknowledges his goodness; and when, at the outset of his great enterprise of 1745, he entreats a blessing from the Pope, surely, the sternest Romanist might forgive him for adding, that he shall think a blessing from his parent more precious and more holy still (3). As to his friends and partisans, Prince Charles has been often accused of not being sufficiently moved by their sufferings, or grateful for their services. Bred up amidst monks and bigots, who seemed far less afraid of his remaining excluded from power, than that on gaining he should use it liberally, he had been taught the highest notions of prerogative and hereditary right. From thence he might infer, that those who served him in Scotland did no more than their duty—were merely fulfilling a plain social obligation, and were not, therefore, entitled to any very especial praise and admiration. Yet, on the other hand, we must remember how prone are all exiles to exaggerate their own desert, to think no rewards sufficient for it, and to complain of neglect, even where none really exists; and moreover that, in point of fact, many passages from Charles's most familiar correspondence might be adduced to show a watchful and affectionate care for his adherents. As a very young man, he determined that he would sooner submit to personal privation than embarrass his friends by contracting debts (4). On returning from Scotland he told the French Minister, D'Argenson, that he would never ask any thing for himself, but was ready to go down on his knees to obtain favour for his brother exiles (5). Once, after lamenting some divisions and misconduct amongst his servants, he declares that, nevertheless, an honest man is so highly to be prized that, "unless your Majesty

(1) Second letter of June 12. 1745. See Appendix.

(2) Letter to his father, December 19. 1746. Appendix.

(3) Letter of June 12. 1745. Appendix. James on his part writes to his son with warm affection, many of his letters beginning with the Italian name of endearment, "My dearest Carluccio."—But my remarks apply no further than July, 1747, when the nomination of Henry as a

Cardinal—a measure most injurious to the Stuart cause, and carefully concealed till the last moment from his brother, so as to prevent his remonstrances—produced an almost complete estrangement between Charles and his family.

(4) "I never love to owe, but, on the contrary, I will deprive myself of little conveniences rather than run in debt." Letter, June 1. 1744. Stuart Papers.

(5) Letter of Dec. 19. 1746. Appendix.

"orders me, I should part with them with a sore heart (1)." Nay more, as it appears to me, this warm feeling of Charles for his unfortunate friends survived almost alone, when, in his decline of life, nearly every other noble quality had been dimmed and defaced from his mind. In 1785 Mr. Greathed, a personal friend of Mr. Fox, succeeded in obtaining an interview with him at Rome. Being alone with him for some time, the English traveller studiously led the conversation to his enterprise in Scotland. The Prince showed some reluctance to enter upon the subject, and seemed to suffer much pain at the remembrance; but Mr. Greathed, with more of curiosity than of discretion, still persevered. At length, then, the Prince appeared to shake off the load which oppressed him; his eye brightened, his face assumed unwonted animation; and he began the narrative of his Scottish campaigns with a vehement energy of manner, recounting his marches, his battles, his victories, and his defeat, his hair-breadth escapes, and the inviolable and devoted attachment of his Highland followers, and at length proceeding to the dreadful penalties which so many of them had subsequently undergone. But the recital of their sufferings appeared to wound him far more deeply than his own; then, and not till then, his fortitude forsook him, his voice faltered, his eye became fixed, and he fell to the floor in convulsions. At the noise in rushed the Duchess of Albany, his illegitimate daughter, who happened to be in the next apartment. "Sir," she exclaimed to Mr. Greathed, "what is this! you must have been speaking to my father about Scotland and the Highlanders! No one dares to mention these subjects in his presence (2)."

Once more, however, let me turn from the last gleams of the expiring flame to the hours of its meridian brightness.—In estimating the abilities of Prince Charles, I may first observe that they stood in most direct contrast to his father's. Each excelled in what the other wanted. No man could express himself with more clearness and elegance than James: it has been said of him that he wrote better than any of those whom he employed (3); but, on the other hand, his conduct was always deficient in energy and enterprise. Charles, as we have seen, was no penman; while in action—in doing what deserves to be written, and not in merely writing what deserves to be read—he stood far superior. He had some little experience of war, (having, when very young, joined the Spanish army at the siege of Gaeta (4), and distinguished himself on that occasion,) and he loved it as the birthright both of a Sobieski and a Stuart. His quick intelligence, his promptness of decision, and his contempt of danger, are recorded on unquestion-

(1) Letter of January 16. 1747. See Appendix.

(2) Scottish Episcopal Magazine, vol. II. p. 177. and Chambers' History of the Rebellion of 1745, vol. II. p. 321. The right date must be not 1785

but 1785, as Charles was still at Florence in the former year, and not yet joined by his daughter.

(3) See Macpherson's State Papers, vol. II. p. 225.

(4) Muratori, Annal. d'Ital. vol. XII. p. 207.

able testimony. His talents as a leader probably never rose above the common level; yet, in some cases in Scotland, where he and his more practised officers differed in opinion, it will, I think, appear that they were wrong and he was right. No knight of the olden time could have a loftier sense of honour; indeed he pushed it to such wild extremes, that it often led him into error and misfortune. Thus, he lost the battle of Culloden in a great measure because he disdained to take advantage of the ground, and deemed it more chivalrous to meet the enemy on equal terms. Thus, also, his wilful and froward conduct at the peace of Aix la Chapelle proceeded from a false point of honour, which he thought involved in it. At other times, again, this generous spirit may deserve unmingled praise: he could never be persuaded or provoked into adopting any harsh measures of retaliation; his extreme lenity to his prisoners, even to such as had attempted his life, was, it seems, a common matter of complaint among his troops (1); and, even when encouragement had been given to his assassination, and a price put upon his head, he continued most earnestly to urge that in no possible case should "the Elector," as he called his rival, suffer any personal injury or insult. This anxiety was always present in his mind. Mr. Forsyth, a gentleman whose description of Italy is far the best that has appeared, and whose scrupulous accuracy and superior means of information will be acknowledged by all travellers, relates how only a few years after the Scottish expedition, Charles, relying on the faith of a single adherent, set out for London in an humble disguise, and under the name of Smith. On arriving there, he was introduced at midnight into a room full of conspirators whom he had never previously seen. "Here," said his conductor, "is the person you want," and left him locked up in the mysterious assembly. These were men who imagined themselves equal, at that time, to treat with him for the throne of England. "Dispose of me, gentlemen, as you please," said Charles; "my life is in your power, and I therefore can stipulate for nothing. Yet give me, I entreat, one solemn promise that if your design should succeed, the present family shall be sent safely and honourably home (2)."

Another quality of Charles's mind was great firmness of resolution, which pride and sorrow afterwards hardened into sullen obstinacy. He was likewise, at all times, prone to gusts and sallies of anger, when his language became the more peremptory from a haughty consciousness of his adversities. I have found among his papers a note without direction, but no doubt intended for some

(1) Capt. Daniel's Narrative, MS.

(2) Forsyth's Italy, p. 597. Geneva ed. He is, however, mistaken as to the date of this journey, which was undoubtedly September, 1750. See King's Anecdotes, p. 198. There seems to have been another such conspiracy two years after-

wards. A medal, in my possession, has on one side Prince Charles's head, and on the other the inscription, L'ETAMINI GIVES, SEPT. XXIII. MDCCLII. This date, there is reason to conjecture, refers to Charles having declared himself a Protestant.

tardy officer : it contained only these words : "I order you to execute my orders, or else never to come back." Such harshness might, probably, turn a wavering adherent to the latter alternative. Thus, also, his public expressions of resentment against the Court of France, at different periods, were certainly far more just than politic. There seemed always swelling at his heart a proud determination that no man should dare to use him the worse for his evil fortune, and that he should sacrifice any thing or every thing sooner than his dignity.

Such is, I conceive, a true and impartial portrait of Prince Charles, as he departed from Rome, and as he arrived in Scotland. I shall afterwards have occasion to explain some of the causes that ere long impaired the merits and darkened the shades of his character ; and, at this place, it only remains for me to touch upon some features, inconsistent with the portrait I have drawn, but resting, as I think, on no sufficient evidence. "He was a miser," says Dr. King. "I have known him, with two thousand louis-d'ors in his strong box, pretend he was in great distress, and borrow money from a lady in Paris who was not in affluent circumstances. His most faithful servants were ill rewarded (1).".... First it should be remembered that the testimony of Dr. King is very far from impartial to the Stuarts ; he was that worst of all enemies, a former friend. If the facts of his story be truly stated, and his authority, though not impartial, is yet, I own, of no inconsiderable weight—they will certainly admit of no defence. But as to the charge of avarice in general, and of sparing rewards to his servants, I may observe that for the sake of the exiles themselves, and with a view to their certain and complete relief, it was surely better for Charles to be thrifty of his means, and to collect money for the execution of one great enterprise, rather than to scatter it in vague and casual acts of bounty.

"But he was a coward !" Such is the language of those who love to trample on the fallen, and to heap imputations upon him whom fortune has already overwhelmed. When Lochiel, Lord George Murray, and so many other brave men so often censured Charles as rash, and checked his headlong eagerness for battle, can it be doubted that he equalled (for none could exceed) them in bravery? But who are they that assert the contrary? Helvetius, the French philosopher, whose house at Paris was for some time Charles's residence, told David Hume that the Prince was utterly faint-hearted, insomuch that when the expedition to Scotland was in preparation, it had been necessary to carry him on ship-board by main force, bound hand and foot (2). Now, on the contrary, there are no facts in all history better attested than that, throughout his stay in France, Charles warmly pressed the expedition against

(1) Anecdotes of his own Time, p. 202.

13. 1773. Mémoires Secrets de Dubois, vol. 1.

(2) Letter from Hume to Dr. Pringle, February p. 139.

many of his friends, who wished to await a more favourable opportunity, and that, in Scotland, it was solely his earnest persuasion that prevailed upon the first Highlanders to rise. The documents which have since appeared not only establish these facts in the clearest manner, but must tend, by subverting the testimony of Helvetius on one point, to render it worthless on all others (1).

But the cowardice of Charles is also asserted by the Chevalier Johnstone, an officer of his own army. This, at first sight, may appear unimpeachable authority. The keener eyes, however, of Sir Walter Scott, and other Scottish antiquaries, have discovered that Johnstone, in other parts of his narrative, shows himself quite unworthy of credit. Thus a most minute and circumstantial story, which he ascribes to Gordon of Abbachie, is proved to be in all its parts an utter fiction. Thus, again, his own private circumstances are found to be in some respects the very opposite from what he represents them (2). After such detections, I can only value Johnstone's Memoirs for their military criticisms and remarks, but shall never admit them as sufficient evidence for facts. The complaints of men who in their vanity think their services slighted, or the calumnies of those who forsake, and then, to excuse their forsaking, slander, the defeated, are always too readily welcomed by contemporary rancour. But there is I believe no higher duty—I am sure there is no greater pleasure—in history, than to vindicate the memory of a gallant and unfortunate enemy.

Early in the summer of 1743, Cardinal Tencin wrote to the old Pretender, urging that Prince Charles should at once proceed from Rome to France, so as to be ready to take the command of the intended expedition whenever that should be prepared. The answer of James, however, far more sagaciously points out, that his son's journey should rather be deferred till those preparations were completed, as it would otherwise serve to put the British Government upon its guard, and induce it to adopt more active measures of defence (3). Accordingly, the previous step was to draw together 15,000 veterans at Dunkirk to be commanded, under Charles, by the Mareschal de Saxe, an illegitimate son of the late King of Poland, and at that time the most skilful and intrepid officer in the French service: a large number of transports for the descent were collected in the Channel, and a fleet of eighteen sail of the line, for their protection, was ready to sail from the harbours of Rochefort and Brest. Notice of these equipments, and of their state of forwardness, being duly sent to Rome, James, on the 23d of December, 1743, put his name to several important acts—a proclamation to the British people, to be published on the landing—and a Commission, declaring the Prince, his son, Regent, with

(1) See this argument more fully urged in a note to *Waverley*, vol. ii. p. 272. revised ed.

(2) See this letter in the Appendix: it is dated June 27, 1743; the day of Dettingen.

(3) See the *Quarterly Review*, No. lxxi. p. 211.

full powers in his absence (1). On the same day he likewise signed a patent to secure rather than to reward, the doubtful fidelity of Lord Lovat, by naming him Duke of Fraser, and the King's Lieutenant in all the counties north of Spey (2).

Thus prepared, and full of hope and ardour, Charles took leave of his father, and set out from Rome on the night of the 9th of January, 1744, on the pretence of a hunting expedition, and afterwards in the disguise of a Spanish courier. He was attended only by a single servant, a faithful groom, who personated a Spanish secretary. Both the King of Sardinia by land, and Admiral Mathews by sea, were eager if they could to intercept him; but so skilfully were his measures taken, that his departure remained a secret even to his younger brother during several days (3). Travelling day and night, he reached Savona, and, embarking in a small vessel, ran through the British fleet at great risk of being captured, but arrived safe at Antibes. From thence he pursued his journey, riding post, with such speed as to enter Paris on the 20th of the same month—the very day on which the pretended King at Rome publicly, at his own table, announced his son's departure, and received the congratulations of his family.

An interview with the King of France was now eagerly solicited by Charles, but in vain; and it is remarkable, that he was never admitted to the Royal presence, until after his return from Scotland (4). He held, however, repeated conferences with the Earl Marischal, and Lord Elcho; the former his avowed, the latter his secret, adherent. He then hastened from Paris to direct the intended expedition, and took up his residence at Gravelines, where he lived in strict privacy, under the name of the Chevalier Douglas, and with only Bohaldie attending him as secretary. It was from thence that his eyes, for the first time, greeted the white cliffs of that island, which he believed himself born to rule, and was destined so soon to invade. What visions of glory and empire may then have floated before him, and seemed to settle on the distant British hills! How little could the last heir and namesake of the martyred Charles at that time foresee that he should be even more unhappy, because self-degraded, and unlamented in his end!

The letters of Charles, at this period, to his father give a lively picture of his close concealment:—"The situation I am in is very particular, for nobody knows where I am, or what is become of me; so that I am entirely buried as to the public, and cannot but say that it is a very great constraint upon me, for I am obliged

(1) See these papers in the Collection of the Declarations and other State Papers of the Insurgents at Edinburgh. Reprinted 1749.

(2) See Lord Lovat's Trial, 1747, p. 24.

(3) These singular measures of precaution are fully detailed in a secret letter of intelligence, sent to the British Government, and dated January 25. 1744; it will be found in my Appendix.

(4) Tindal alleges an interview (vol. ix. p. 21.), and he is followed by all the later writers: but the Stuart Papers seem to prove the contrary. James writes to Mr. O'Brien, August 11. 1745,—
"Depuis que le Prince étoit en France, il a été tenu guère moins que prisonnier; on ne lui a pas permis d'aller à l'armée, et il n'a même jamais vu le Roi."

“very often not to stir out of my room for fear of somebody’s
 “noting my face. I very often think that you would laugh very
 “heartily, if you saw me going about with a single servant, buying
 “fish and other things, and squabbling for a penny more or less!”
 And again: “Everybody is wondering where the Prince is: some
 “put him in one place, and some in another, but nobody knows
 “where he is really; and sometimes he is told news of himself to
 “his face, which is very diverting.” — “I have every day large
 “packets to answer, without any body to help me but Maloch
 “(Bohaldie). Yesterday I had one that cost me seven hours and a
 “half (1).” About this time, however, the Prince received a visit
 from Lord Marischal, who intended to join the expedition to Scot-
 land, but was informed by Charles that it was deferred until that to
 England had sailed.

Meanwhile the squadrons at Brest and Rochefort had combined,
 and, led by Admiral Roquefeuille, were already advancing up the
 British Channel. Our fleet had, till lately, lain anchored at Spithead:
 it consisted of twenty-one ships of the line; and its commander
 was Sir John Norris, an officer of much experience, but whose enter-
 prise, it is alleged, was quenched by age. He had now steered
 round to the Downs, where, as Captain of Deal Castle, he had long
 been well acquainted with the coasts, and where, being joined by
 some more ships from Chatham, he found his force considerably
 greater than the French. Roquefeuille, by this time, had come
 abreast of the Isle of Wight, and, perceiving no ships left at Spit-
 head, rashly adopted the conclusion that they had all sought shelter
 within Portsmouth Harbour. Under this belief, he despatched a
 small vessel to Dunkirk, to urge that the expedition should take
 place without delay, a direction which was cheerfully complied
 with. Seven thousand of the troops were at once embarked in the
 first transports, the Prince and the Mareschal de Saxe in the same
 ship, and they had put out to sea, while Roquefeuille, proceeding
 on his voyage, was already at an anchor off Dungeness.

At this critical moment the British fleet, having advanced against
 Roquefeuille, anchored within two leagues of him, so that the
 Downs and Isle of Thanet were, for the time, left open to invasion.
 The French fleet might have been attacked with every advantage,
 and almost certain prospect of not only their defeat, but their
 destruction; but though a good officer, Norris was no Nelson; and,
 considering the state of the tide, and the approach of night, resolved
 to defer the battle till next morning. Next morning, however,
 the French fleet was gone. Roquefeuille seeing the very great
 superiority of his opponent, and satisfied with having made some
 diversion for the transports, had weighed anchor in the night, and
 sailed back towards the French harbours. Next day a dreadful

(1) To his father, April 3. April 16, and 6. March 1744. Stuart Papers.

tempest, which greatly damaged his ships, protected them, however, from any pursuit of Norris.

But the same storm proved fatal to the transports. It blew—as was observed in London on the same day—directly on Dunkirk (1), and with tremendous violence : some of the largest ships, with all the men on board, were lost; others were wrecked on the coast ; and the remainder were obliged to put back to the harbour with no small injury. For some time Charles hoped to renew the attempt ; but the French Ministers were discouraged, and the French troops diminished by this disaster. The Mareschal de Saxe was appointed to the command in Flanders, the army withdrawn from Dunkirk, and the expedition relinquished.

Under these mortifying circumstances Charles, not yet losing hope, sent a message to Lord Marischal to repair to him at Gravelines, and proposed that they should engage a small fishing vessel and proceed together to Scotland, where he said he was sure he had many friends who would join him. This bold scheme—yet scarcely bolder than that which Charles put in execution a year later, and far better timed as to the preparations of his party—was strenuously opposed by Lord Marischal, and at length reluctantly abandoned by Charles. The Prince's next wish was, to join the French army in the ensuing campaign, a project which was in like manner withstood and finally baffled by the Scottish nobleman. On this last occasion Charles wrote to his father in terms of high resentment against Lord Marischal (2). It certainly is no matter of blame to a young Prince if he ardently pants for warlike distinction ; but on the other hand, Lord Marischal was undoubtedly most kind, judicious, and far-sighted in preventing him from entering the French ranks against his own countrymen, where his restoration was not concerned, and thereby heaping a needless unpopularity upon his head.

As another instance how rife were divisions and animosities amongst those who had every motive to remain united, it may be mentioned that Charles had, at first, neglected to summon the Duke of Ormond from his retirement at Avignon, to embark with the intended expedition. Ormond, it is true, was now an octogenarian, and his exertions even in his prime were little worth ; but his name and popularity in England had long been a tower of strength. The Prince perceived his error when too late, and hastily wrote to the Duke pressing him to join the armament, and Ormond accordingly set out ; but, receiving intelligence upon the road that the design had already miscarried, returned to his residence.

(1) "There have been terrible winds these four or five days..... we hope to hear that these storms, which blew directly on Dunkirk, have done great damage to their transports. By the fortune of the winds, which have detained them in port, we have had time to make preparations ; if they had been ready three weeks ago, when

"the Brest squadron sailed, it had all been decided. We expect the Dutch in four or five days." H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, March 1. 1744. But the first division of the Dutch did not arrive till the 18th. (Tindal's Hist. vol. ix. p. 28.)

(2) Letter, May 11. 1744. Stuart Papers.

Disappointed in all projects of immediate action, whether in England, in Scotland, or in Flanders, Charles now returned to Paris. He received a message from the King directing him to remain concealed; accordingly, he writes to his father:—"I have taken a house within a league of this town, where I am like a hermit (1)." But in a little while the zeal and loquacity of his adherents betrayed his presence; so that, as is observed by himself, "at last my being in Paris was LE SECRET DE LA COMÉDIE (2)." At some intervals, accordingly, he was allowed to live privately in the capital, but at others, he found it necessary to retire to Fitz-James, the seat of the Duke of Berwick, where he sought recreation in field sports (3). During all this time he carried on an active correspondence with his Scottish partisans, whom he soon perceived to be greatly superior in zeal and determination to his English. "The truth of the matter is," says he at a latter period, "that our friends in England are a afraid of their own shadow, and think of little else but of diverting themselves; otherwise, we should not want the King of France (4)." During the last two years his adherents in the North had employed, as their principal agent, Mr. John Murray, of Broughton, a gentleman of birth and property whom they knew to be active and able, and believed courageous and trusty; and this person being despatched to Paris in the summer of 1744, held frequent conferences with Charles. In these the Prince appeared sanguine of French assistance, but declared himself willing to go to Scotland though he brought but a single footman (5)!

The invasion of England had not been the sole object of the armaments at Dunkirk and at Brest; the French were equally desirous of striking a decisive blow upon the naval resources and reputation of Great Britain. With this view the fleet at Toulon, consisting partly of French, partly of Spanish vessels, was likewise directed to sail from that harbour, and to risk an engagement with Admiral Mathews. The two fleets met off Toulon on the 22d of February, New Style; the British vessels were the more numerous, but in worse condition from the length of time they had kept the sea, and a deadly feud rankled between Mathews and Lestock, the first and second in command. Mathews, with his own division, attacked the Spanish squadron very gallantly, himself bearing down upon the Spanish flag-ship, a vessel of 114 guns. Lestock during this time kept aloof, withheld, as Mathews alleged, from motives of personal envy; as himself declared, from the confused and doubtful

(1) Letter, June 1, 1744. Stuart Papers.

(2) To his father, November 16, 1744.

(3) He writes to Mr. Edgar, January 16, 1745:—

"I am going in two or three days to my country-house, where I shall be at full liberty to have the spleen. It is now two months since I have not handled a gun, because of the bad weather and cold, for which I should be called *Cacciatore di Panbianco* by the Duke, if he knew it,

"in revenge for my calling him so formerly.

"As soon as I am arrived at Fitz-James, I intend

"to begin again to shoot, but not when it rains.

"You will see by this, that according as one advances in years, one gets reason! Adieu."

(4) To his father, February 21, 1745.

(5) Examination of Mr. Murray of Broughton, August 13, 1746. See Appendix.

signals of his chief. When night parted the combatants, the Spaniards had suffered severely; their Admiral's ship was shattered to a mere wreck: the Royal Philip was disabled; and the Poder, after being taken and retaken, was finally burnt by the English. Next day, the combined squadrons retiring in disorder, Lestock, with his division, gave them chase, and was followed by the whole fleet; but, just as he was in hopes of coming up with the enemy, Mathews gave the signal to cease from pursuit; a measure difficult to explain from any other causes than jealousy and resentment. Lestock was, moreover, treated with great personal harshness by his superior officer, suspended from his command and sent for trial to England, where, however, Mathews himself was speedily summoned to answer for his conduct. After some proceedings in the House of Commons, there ensued a Court Martial, and a most protracted and wearisome inquiry: the result being at last, that Lestock was honourably acquitted, and Mathews declared incapable of serving His Majesty in future. The Spaniards, on their part, accused the French, though unjustly, of having deserted them in the engagement, and, as unjustly, claimed for themselves the honour of the day, decorating their Admiral, Don Joseph Navarro, with the pompous title of Marquis de La Victoria (1).

The naval designs of the French Government, and their reported reception of the young Pretender, contrary to the stipulations of treaties, were loudly complained of by Mr. Thompson, who was still British Resident at Paris. His representations, however, were met by haughty answers, and terminated by a public declaration of war, issued by France in the month of March, and couched in most offensive terms (2).

About the middle of May, King Louis took the field in person, on the side of Flanders, with De Saxe for his general, with 80,000 effective men for his army. The Allies had undertaken to have 75,000 in that quarter; but, so grievously had the Dutch and Austrians failed in their contingents, that the whole united force did not exceed 50,000. Besides the British Commander, Marshal Wade, though a respectable officer, was ill qualified to cope with the practised skill and daring energy of Saxe. He might also complain that the Dutch and Austrian generals impeded all his measures—as they once had Marlborough's—by their jarring and jealous counsels; and he had not Marlborough's high serenity of temper and gift of patience—"patience," says that great man, "that will overcome all things (3)"—to support him. Thus the French, feebly opposed by inferior and divided adversaries, reduced within six weeks Courtray, Menin, Ypres, Fort Knoque, and Furnes, and spread alarm to the inmost provinces of Holland. But,

(1) Coxe's *Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. III. p. 346.

(2) Duke of Marlborough to Lord Godolphin

(3) See this declaration and the counter one of July 13. 1702. England in Tindal's Hist. vol. ix. p. 29—32.

in July, their progress was arrested by the tidings, that another Austrian army had suddenly burst into Alsace.

Prince Charles of Lorraine had with great promptitude drawn together a considerable force at Heilbronn, and with great skill passed the Rhine near Philipsburg in the very face of the enemy, from whence, at the head of 60,000 men, he forced the lines of the Lauter, and drove the French before him to the ramparts of Strasburg. To avert the threatened danger Louis the Fifteenth resolved to march in person, with half his army, leaving the rest, under De Saxe, to maintain their ground. This would have been the moment for the Allies in Flanders to undertake some important operation; but discord and inefficiency were still the bane of their councils, and their campaign closed as it had begun without enterprise or glory (1).

The French King had been but little inured to the fatigues of the field, and had sought to alleviate them by the pleasures of the table (2). He had advanced as far as Metz on his march to Alsace, when he was seized with a violent fever, which increased so rapidly that, in a few days, his life was despaired of. The news reached Paris in the middle of the night; immediately the Queen and Royal Family hastened away to the scene of danger, and arrived just when the King's illness had taken a favourable turn. But the general grief and consternation in the capital can scarcely be described. The cry was, "If he dies it will be from marching to our defence." The Churches were opened at midnight, and prayers offered for His Majesty's recovery; but the voices of the priests were often overpowered by their own emotion, or lost amidst the rising sobs of a loyal and afflicted people; and, when the tidings of the King's convalescence came, the messenger who brought them was embraced and nearly stifled by rejoicing crowds; his very horse was covered with kisses, and led in triumph through the streets (3). Such feelings are the more remarkable, as flowing from duty and principle rather than from gratitude. Louis had, hitherto, done nothing for the welfare of his subjects, and seldom even bestowed a thought upon them except as instruments of his pleasures: he was selfish and cold-hearted, incapable of friendship, but always blindly governed by some female favourite. In his illness, however, he discerned the error of his ways, and hearkened to the voice of priestly admonition; he dismissed his reigning mistress, Madame de Chateauroux, and declared that if Providence spared his life he should henceforth devote it to the good of his people. Almost every man, when sick, forms an earnest resolution of amendment, and his progress in recovery may be accurately traced, day after day, by the slackening of his good intentions. And so it proved with Louis. As he grew in strength he recalled his

(1) Lord Hardwicke to the Duke of Newcastle, August 16. 1744.

(2) Tindal's Hist. vol. ix. p. 74.

(3) Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV. ch. xii.

former mistress, and sunk back to his old voluptuous indolence. And thus it happened in the course of time, and by the progress of misgovernment, that the surname of *LE BIEN-AIMÉ*, which he justly obtained from such signal marks of popular affection, has become a byword of derision whenever coupled with his name. "The French King," says Chesterfield only eight years afterwards, "is both hated and despised, which seldom happens to the same man (1)."

During the King's illness at Metz there came a diversion to Alsace, still more effectual than he could have afforded had he remained in health. Frederick of Prussia had for some time viewed with jealousy the rapid successes and reviving power of the Austrians, and apprehended that a restoration of Silesia would become the aim of their ambition. He had, indeed, pledged himself to Maria Theresa, both by public treaties and private promises, but his liberal mind was emancipated from any such narrow prejudices, as to speak the truth or to keep his word. Resolved to renew hostilities, he had lately negotiated at Frankfort an engagement with the Emperor, and now broke into Bohemia at the head of 60,000 soldiers, while Moravia was invaded by another division of his army. On the 16th of September he reduced Prague, after a ten days' siege, making the garrison, no less than 15,000 men, prisoners of war. Encouraged by his example, the Imperial troops, under Marshal Seckendorf, entered Bavaria, drove a diminished force of Austrians before them, and once more reinstated Charles the Seventh in his capital, and in the greater part of his electorate. Even the city of Vienna began to tremble at and to provide against a siege. But on the very first movements of the King of Prussia, Prince Charles had been hastily summoned from his conquest of Alsace; he repassed the Rhine with skill and with safety in the presence of a superior enemy, and led his army by forced marches to the frontiers of Bohemia, himself proceeding to Vienna to concert the military operations (2). Maria Theresa, on her part, again repaired to Presburg, again appealed, and not in vain, to the chivalrous loyalty of the Hungarians; roused the gallant nobles to renewed exertions in her cause, and saw tumultuous but intrepid levies crowd beneath her banner. By these, and by Prince Charles's troops combined, the Prussian conquests were speedily retrieved; and, before the winter, Frederick found himself compelled to evacuate as speedily as he had overrun Bohemia.

The campaign in Italy was marked by several important events. The French, headed by the Infant Don Philip, and by the Prince de Conti, not only conquered Savoy, but reduced Nice, forced

(1) Earl of Chesterfield to Mr. Dayrolles, May 19. 1752.

(2) See a curious letter on the state of the war, from Sir Thomas Robinson, dated September 16. 1744, and printed in my Appendix. The King of Prussia, on beginning hostilities, published a letter or address to the people of England: "a

"poor performance!" says Horace Walpole. "His Voltaire and his Literati should correct his works before they are printed. To pen manifestoes worse than the lowest *commis* that is kept jointly by two or three Margraves, is insufferable." To Sir H. Mann, August 16. 1744.

several mountain passes, and routed the King of Sardinia in person at the bloody battle of Coni. On the other hand the Austrians, under Prince Lobkowitz, drove the Spanish troops from their strong position at Rimini, and pursued them towards the frontier of Naples with every prospect of defeating them. At this critical moment, however, the King of Naples broke his neutrality, and joined the Spaniards with some forces. The Austrians, though out-numbered, not dismayed, formed a gallant scheme, resembling Prince Eugene's at Cremona, to surprise the Neapolitan King and Generals at the head-quarters at Velletri; and their first column successfully penetrated into the place, set fire to the suburbs, and spread no slight consternation among the Spanish army; but reinforcements coming up, they were finally repulsed with considerable slaughter. They then commenced their retreat towards the Po, and closed the campaign in nearly the same positions as at its commencement (1).

This year England obtained, as captives, the two principal promoters of the war, the Mareschal de Belleisle and his brother. They had been sent in the autumn, by the King of France, on a mission to the King of Prussia, but stopping to change horses at Elbingerode, a village of the Electorate of Hanover, were detained by the magistrates. From thence they were conveyed to England, and, refusing to give their parole in the mode it was required, were confined for security in Windsor Castle. The Emperor complained of their arrest as a breach of the privileges of the Empire; the prisoners, themselves, claimed the benefit of the cartel of exchange; and the British Government was inclined to consider them as prisoners, not of war but of state. The question was referred by the King to his three Field Marshals, Stair, Cobham, and Wade, who, after a due examination of Belleisle's papers and commissions, gave it as their opinion that Belleisle and his brother were prisoners of war; and they were accordingly released under the cartel, and sent back to France, after several months' detention (2): but we must acknowledge that in this transaction, the British Government appears neither rightful in its claims, nor speedy in its justice.

On the same day, in the month of October, died the Countess Granville and the Duchess Dowager of Marlborough. The former event is only remarkable for the succession to her title of her son, Lord Carteret, who must henceforth be mentioned as Earl Granville. Sarah of Marlborough was nearly a nonagenarian, surviving both enemies and friends: her rival, the Duchess of Buckingham, had died in the preceding year; her satirist, Pope, only five months before. To her last, she was precisely the Atossa of his masterly delineation:—"cursed with every granted prayer;

(1) Muratori, *Annal. d'Ital.* vol. xli. p. 308—316.(2) Tindal's *Hist.* vol. ix. p. 107. and 136.

"childless with all her children;" she appeared a living proof that riches cannot surely bestow happiness, nor offspring always inspire affection. . Much as she hated all those who had ever crossed her own or her husband's path, her fiercest rancour, perhaps, was reserved for some of her own descendants; nor did her gratitude for kindness at all keep pace with her resentment of injuries. It may be doubted whether her dogs, of whom she speaks with peculiar tenderness and respect, did not at last engross the larger portion of her heart (1). Her enormous wealth, as during her life it had indulged her in every caprice of tyranny, enabled her, in her will, not only to endow her favourite grandson, John Spencer (Earl Spencer's ancestor), but to mark, by large legacies, her admiration of several leading opponents of the Ministry. To Lord Chesterfield she bequeathed 20,000*l.*, and the reversion of the Wimbledon estate (2); to Pitt 10,000*l.*, in consideration of "the noble defence" he has made for the support of the laws of England, and to "prevent the ruin of his country (3)."

The new Earl Granville was now in the very crisis of his ministerial fate. His unscrupulous support of all Hanoverian measures had lost him his reputation, both in Parliament and with the people, in the same degree as it had secured the boundless favour of the King. His Majesty's regard to Granville was at this time still further enhanced by his displeasure with the other Ministers; who, in the first place, had opposed his undertaking another journey to Hanover, and induced him, much against his inclination, to remain this year in England. He said to one of the Foreign ambassadors at his Court, that the people here were angry at his going to Hanover, when they all went out of town to their country-seats; but that it was unjust, for Hanover was his country-seat, and he had no other (4). Secondly, they were unwilling to support His Majesty in new payments to other German principalities. On one occasion he exclaimed to the Chancellor, "I wish Saxony could be assisted with a sum of money!" "Upon this," writes Lord Hardwicke, "I took the liberty to observe that the large additional subsidy which His Majesty had already granted to the Queen of Hungary, was an additional reason against the practicability of this Saxon demand. The King made no reply, but pulled some papers out of his pocket; so I made my bow (5)!" But the Royal displeasure was soon more unequivocally manifested. "Our refusal," says Newcastle, "in the Saxon affair, has produced all the resentment that can be shown by manner, by looks,

(1) "My three dogs have all of them gratitude, wit, and good sense, things very rare to be found in this country. They are fond of going out with me, but when I reason with them, and tell them it is not proper, they submit, and watch for my coming home, and meet me with as much joy as if I had never given them good advice." *Opinions of the Duchess of Marlborough*, 1787, p. 18.

(2) *Maty's Life*, p. 228.

(3) *Thackeray's Life*, vol. i. p. 137.

(4) *Marchmont Papers*, vol. i. p. 54. His Majesty appears to have overlooked Hampton Court and Windsor Castle.

(5) To the Duke of Newcastle, August 5. 1744. *Coxe's Pelham*.

"by harsh expressions to those, and to me in particular, who he thinks have obstructed his views. . . . And I think I can see by the air of the Court and the courtiers, a greater shyness towards us, or at least towards me, than I have ever yet observed. . . . Upon the whole, I am of opinion that the King thinks, at present, he has nothing more to hope from us, and nothing to fear; that we will go on with his favourite, Lord Carteret, and he will use us accordingly (1)."

Granville on his part, conscious of far superior talents, elated with the Royal favour (2), and drunk with ambition and wine, continued to treat the Pelhams with haughty disdain. He had even frankly told them, a few months before, that he should insist on a larger share of power. "Things," said he, "cannot remain as they are. I will not submit to be overruled and outvoted upon every point by four to one. If you will take the Government upon you, you may; but if you cannot, or will not, there must be some direction, and I will do it (3)." Under these circumstances, but not without considerable hesitation, the love of power in the brothers triumphed over their timidity, and impelled them to decisive measures. Early in November they declared to the King, for themselves, and for the greater part of their colleagues, that His Majesty must choose between their resignations and the dismissal of Lord Granville. The alternative, as they foresaw, was most painful. On the one side lay the King's inclinations, on the other his necessities: Hanover with Granville, the House of Commons with Pelham. How could he venture, while requiring large subsidies for his German objects, to alienate the money-giving part of the Legislature, and convert its leaders from placemen into patriots? Yet George made every resistance in his power, consulted with Granville how to avert the storm, and sent for Lord Orford, who was sick at Houghton, entreating him to come to London, and give his advice and assistance. Nay, at this crisis, he even received assistance from the Prince of Wales, who agreed with his father only on one point, devotion to Hanover, and who rightly considered Granville as the victim of his Electoral zeal. But Frederick had little weight even with his own party: the advice of Orford was strongly against Granville; the latter failed in his overtures to the Opposition chiefs; and, thus compelled, the King, on the 23d of November, announced to the Chancellor his sullen submission. Accordingly, next day the seals were resigned by Granville, and given back to his predecessor, the Earl of Harrington (4).

(1) Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Pelham. August 25. 1744.

(2) "Lord Granville's maxim was, 'Give any man the Crown on his side and he can defy every thing.' Winington asked him, 'If that were true, how he came to be Minister?'" H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, November 26. 1744.

(3) Coxe's Life of Horace Lord Walpole, p. 269.

(4) See Mr. Yorke's Journal, Parl. Hist. vol. xlii. p. 975—983. He calls Granville "this hunted Minister, at present an outcast from all parties." The King ascribed the whole blame to Newcastle, who, in his Majesty's own words, "is grown as jealous of Lord Grandville as he had been of

With Granville retired Lord Winchelsea and his Board of Admiralty, and other persons of inferior note, which, together with some cyphers and secret enemies to be flung out, left sufficient vacancies for a large accession of new strength. The object of the Pelhams was now to guard against the return of their rival, and to facilitate their Government in the House of Commons, by a coalition of parties. They accordingly opened a negotiation with the principal men in Opposition, especially with Chesterfield, Gower, and Pitt. So well pleased were these at the fall of the "sole and execrable minister," that they expressed their readiness to assist in maintaining the honour of Great Britain, and carrying on the war upon a practicable footing. It was agreed that they should unite against Granville and Bath; that as to public questions, the Hanoverians in British pay should be relinquished; and that, as to personal points, the heads of Opposition, whether Whig or Tory, should so far as possible be admitted into place.

During this time the Parliament had met, when there appeared a dead calm in both Houses, and in consequence of it a very thin attendance. The leaders had imposed silence on their party; but this interval of apparent tranquillity was filled up by active negotiations and conferences among themselves. But, here again, the utmost difficulties were encountered from the King's personal aversion, especially to Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Pitt. His Majesty warmly resented the zeal of both against his Hanoverian objects, nor had he forgotten Chesterfield's connection with the Duchess of Kendal, and claims under the will of George the First (1). He was also—and it must be owned not unreasonably—displeased at the prospect that an undoubted adherent of the exiled family, like Sir John Hinde Cotton, should be forced into the nominal service of his own (2).

The repugnance of George prevailed in a few cases; in most others it was surmounted by the necessity of his affairs, he exclaiming with bitterness, "Ministers are the King in this count—try (3)!" As the Tories continued to insist on some place for Cotton, as the condition of their support, he was appointed Treasurer of the Chamber in the Royal Household. Lord Gower resumed the Privy Seal; and, according to the elder Horace Walpole, "several other Tories, Knights of the shire, were offered places "by the mediation of Gower, but serving for Jacobite counties "could not hazard a new election, and therefore declined the offer, "of which they have since made a merit with their party. This

"Lord Orford, and wants to be Prime Minister, "which, a puppy! how should he be?" H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, Nov. 26. 1744.

(1) See Vol. I. p. 346.

(2) A caricature was circulated, representing the Ministers thrusting Sir John Hinde Cotton, who was extremely corpulent, down the King's throat.

(Coxe's Life of Horace Lord Walpole, p. 376.) It would seem that political caricatures were much in vogue, in England, at that period; two very curious ones are mentioned in a letter of Earl Marischal, of November 4. 1743. See Appendix.

(3) Notes of Conversation between the King and Lord Chancellor. Coxe's Pelham, vol. i. p. 202.

“made room for more of the patriot kind (1).” The King’s objections to Chesterfield were so far complied with, that the Earl consented to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland instead of Secretary of State; the former post not requiring, and indeed precluding, his frequent access to the Royal presence. The Duke of Devonshire, the devoted friend of Walpole, and often called by him “the rough diamond (2),” became Lord Steward. The Duke of Bedford was made First Lord of the Admiralty, with the Earl of Sandwich as second Commissioner. A seat at the same board, for George Grenville, gratified his uncle Lord Cobham. In the room of Lord Sandys, Lord Bathurst, and Sir John Rushout, stepped in Waller, Dodington, and Lord Hobart, while a Lordship of the Treasury was conferred on Lyttleton.

Pitt alone was placeless. He loftily declared that he would accept no office except that of Secretary at War, and the Ministers were not yet able to dispense with Sir William Yonge in that department. This resolution of Pitt, joined to the King’s pertinacity against him excluded him, for the present, from any share of power. But the Pelhams felt his importance, and anxiously courted his aid. They promised to take the earliest opportunity to soften or subdue the prejudice against him, which rankled in the Royal mind; and they were sincere in that promise. Their great object was to prevent the return of Granville to office; their great dread, that Granville might form a party in the Lower House: and it was, therefore, their evident policy to attempt no deception, and to give no offence to any Commoner, so able and aspiring as Pitt. On the other hand, Pitt cheerfully concurred in the new arrangements; he resigned his place in the Household of the Prince, who had fallen into great contempt, by clinging, like the King, but against his own former professions, to Hanover and Granville; and he undertook to support the Ministerial measures in the House of Commons. An opportunity for Pitt’s public declaration was

1745.

afforded in the January ensuing, when Sir William Yonge moved a grant for continuing the army in Flanders; a grant which the patriots had heretofore strenuously opposed. Pitt, at this time, was disabled with gout, and painfully, nay dangerously ill; yet he desired to be carried to his place, and, rising upon his crutches, spoke with undiminished eloquence and fire. “If,” said he, “this were to be the last day of my life, I would spend it in the House of Commons, since I judge the condition of my country to be worse than even that of my own health.” He argued, that the question was changed since the preceding year, when a certain fatal influence prevailed in his Majesty’s councils. The object seemed then to multiply war upon war, expense upon expense, and to abet the House of Austria in such romantic at-

(1) To Mr. Trevor, December 28. 1744.

(2) H. Walpole’s Memoirs, vol. i. p. 170.

tempts, as the recovery of the *AVULSA MEMBRA IMPERII*, without regard to the immediate interest of Great Britain. "The object now is," he continued, "to enable ourselves by a close connection with Holland, to hold out equitable terms of peace, both to friends and foes, without continuing the war a moment longer than is necessary for our own rights and those of our allies. We are now free of that Minister, who, when not ten men in the nation were disposed to follow him, supported himself in the Closet, on that broken reed, a dependence on foreign Princes." He then proceeded to compliment Mr. Pelham on his genuine patriotism and capacity for business, and the new Ministry, for pursuing moderate and healing measures. "I perceive," he exclaimed, "a dawn of salvation to my country breaking forth, and I will follow it as far as it will lead me. I should, indeed, consider myself as the greatest dupe in the world, if those, now at the helm, did not mean the honour of their master, and the good of the nation. If I find myself deceived, nothing will be left but to act with an honest despair!" A member present, no friend of Pitt, declares that "his fulminating eloquence silenced all opposition," and the question passed with only a single negative from Lord Strange (1).

Indeed, so thoroughly were the leading members, whether Tory or Patriot, reconciled by the recent changes, that the Ministers might boast to the King, "If your Majesty looks round the House of Commons, you will find no man of business, or even of weight, left, capable of heading or conducting an Opposition (2)." And though some change occurred in that respect, yet still, from this period to the death of Mr. Pelham, in 1754, the Opposition was so feeble, that the debates in Parliament dwindled almost to insignificance; they made far less impression on the people, and should fill a much briefer space in History. Thus, for example, the remainder of the Session of 1745 was marked by no important division, and produced only some proceedings on the conduct of the Admirals in the Mediterranean; a silly motion of Mr. Carew for Annual Parliaments; and an attack upon the City act of 1725 (3), which was repelled this year, but to which Mr. Pelham prudently yielded in the next.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that no sooner had Granville fallen, than the Ministers readily slid into what they had previously denounced as "his abominable courtly measures (4)." The Ha-

(1) For this remarkable debate see Mr. Yorke's Journal (Parl. Hist. vol. xiii. p. 1082.) and Mr. Cornabé's letter, January 28. 1748, in my Appendix. Sir Watkin Wynne also spoke for the question, saying, that he agreed with the Court for the first time in his life. On the other hand, Sir R. Newdigate drily called it "an old measure from a new ministry:" but he was put down by Pitt.

(2) Notes of conversation between the King and Lord Chancellor. January 5. 1748.

(3) See Vol. I. p. 330.

(4) An expression of the Duke of Newcastle. See Coxe's Lord Walpole of Wolterton, p. 377. The Duke, with a faint effort at consistency, writes to his brother, December 30. 1744. "We must not, because we seem to be in, forget all we said to keep Lord Granville out!"

hanoverian system was as steadily pursued, the English money as lavishly supplied. All objection to the King's favourite wish at this moment—a new Saxon subsidy—disappeared, as soon as the Minister who urged it was removed. In January, 1745, a Quadruple Alliance was concluded between England, Holland, Austria, and Saxony; by which, the latter power engaged to furnish 30,000 men for the defence of Bohemia, in consideration of a subsidy of 150,000*l.*, two thirds of this to be paid by England, and one third by Holland. But the system of German subsidies did not end here: such examples are contagious; and there was scarcely a Prince in the Empire, who did not henceforth, think himself entitled to the praise and pay of Great Britain, even when he only defended his own dominions. The Elector of Cologne was gratified with 24,000*l.*; another sum of 8,000*l.* was not too small to tempt the Elector of Mayence. All these, as well as an increased subsidy of half a million to the Queen of Hungary, being supported by the patriots, were readily passed by the British Parliament.

With respect to the Hanoverian and Hessian mercenaries, they were indeed dismissed the British service, but by a private agreement with the Queen of Hungary, they were immediately taken into Austrian pay; and it was with this very view, that her subsidy had been raised from 300,000*l.* to 500,000*l.* The only difference was therefore, that, in the first case, the same foreign troops were paid by British money directly, and in the second case, indirectly. Nay, more; when the outcry against the Hanoverians had died away, the Ministers, knowing that popular clamour can scarce ever be effectually revived upon the same subject, reverted to their former plan. In 1746, 18,000 Hanoverians were once more taken into British pay, and the new Parliament of the ensuing year voted 22,000.

In all these measures, a strong case of inconsistency may unquestionably be established against the statesmen, who, having first vehemently opposed, afterwards brought forward or acquiesced in them. My admiration of Chatham does not lead me to assert the perfection, though it does the purity, of his whole political career. Yet, with respect to the Hanover forces, voted after 1745, we should remember that the rebellion, which had manifested the strength of discontent and the want of troops at home, placed their engagement on a new foundation of experience, and afforded far more justifiable grounds for their support.

The new Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, before proceeding to his Government, consented to undertake another embassy to the Hague, to endeavour to bring the Dutch into a more hearty co-operation in the war. In this object every preceding negotiator had failed; Chesterfield in a great measure succeeded. His knowledge of Dutch politics and statesmen, derived from his former mission, the high reputation which he had then left behind, joined to his

insinuating manners and skilful address, in a few weeks prevailed over the greatest obstacles (1). The Dutch were brought to undertake, upon paper, that they would maintain 50,000 men in the field, besides 10,000 in their garrisons; and that the Duke of Cumberland, who was to be put at the head of the British forces in the next campaign, should be appointed commander-in-chief of the whole confederate army. And though the Dutch, in reality, did much less than they had promised, it was yet much more than, from past experience, their British allies had any reason to expect.

In March 1745, and before the close of the Session, Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford, expired. The cause of his death was partly the stone, partly a quack medicine which he took to cure it. To the last, amidst severe bodily pain, which he bore with high fortitude and resignation, his mind retained all its wonted sagacity and clearness. Only a few days before he died, the Duke of Cumberland, having in vain remonstrated with the King against a marriage being concluded for him with a deformed Danish Princess, sent his governor, Mr. Poyntz, to consult Lord Orford how to avoid so hateful an alliance. After reflecting a few moments, Orford advised that the Duke should give his consent to the marriage, on condition of receiving an ample and immediate establishment; "and believe me," added he, "that the match will be no longer pressed." The Duke followed the advice, and the result fulfilled the prediction.

In January, the same year, one principal obstacle to peace was removed in the Emperor Charles the Seventh, who died at Munich, worn down by disasters as much as by infirmities (2). His son and successor in his hereditary states concluded a treaty at Fuessen, with the Queen of Hungary, by which the new Elector renounced all claims to the Austrian succession, engaged to recall his troops from the French army, and promised his vote for the Duke of Lorraine in the next Imperial Diet; while Maria Theresa acknowledged the validity of the late Emperor's election, and restored all the territory which she had conquered from Bavaria.

In April, the campaign was opened on the side of Flanders, where the French had an army of 76,000 excellent troops, commanded by the Mareschal de Saxe. As to the Allies, England had furnished her full contingent of 28,000 men, but Holland less than half of the 50,000 she had stipulated; there were but eight Austrian squadrons, and the whole body scarcely exceeded 50,000 fighting men. The nominal leader was the young Duke of

(1) See an account of his proceedings with the French envoy, Abbé de la Ville, in a letter to his son, September 29. 1752. See also Maty's Life, p. 236—243.

(2) "Il n'avait été malheureux que depuis qu'il avait été Empereur. La nature dès-lors lui avait

"fait plus de mal que la fortune. . . . Il avait
"la goutte et la pierre; on trouva ses poulmones,
"son foie et son estomac gangrenés, des pierres
"dans ses reins, un polype dans son cœur!"
(Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV. ch. xiv.)

Cumberland, but subject in a great measure to the control of an Austrian veteran, Marshal Königsegg, and obliged to consult the Dutch commander, Prince de Waldeck. Against these inferior numbers and divided councils the French advanced in full confidence of victory, and, after various movements to distract the attention of the Allies, suddenly, on the 1st of May, invested Tournay. This was one of the strongest fortresses in Flanders, well provided with stores and provisions of every kind, and garrisoned by no less than 9,000 Dutch. To relieve this important city, immediately became the principal object with the Allies; and the States, usually so cautious, nay, timorous in their suggestions, were now as eager in demanding battle. Accordingly, the Duke of Cumberland, who had but lately arrived at the Hague from England, set out again for Brussels, and after a few days passed in preparations, put himself at the head of his troops and led them towards the enemy. On the other hand, Marshal de Saxe made most skilful dispositions to receive them. Leaving 15,000 infantry to cover the blockade of Tournay, he drew up the rest of his army, a few miles further, in an excellent position, which he strengthened with numerous works; and his soldiers were inspirited by the arrival of the King and Dauphin, who had hastened from Paris to join in the expected action.

The three Allied Generals, on advancing against the French, found them encamped on some gentle heights, with the village of Antoin and the river Scheldt on their right, Fontenoy and a narrow valley in their front, and a small wood, named Barré, on their left. The passage of the Scheldt, and, if needful, a retreat, were secured by the bridge of Calonne in the rear, by a *TÊTE DE PONT*, and by a reserve of Household Troops. Abbatis were constructed in the wood of Barré; redoubts between Antoin and Fontenoy; and the villages themselves had been carefully fortified and garrisoned. The narrow space between Fontenoy and Barré seemed sufficiently defended by cross fires, and by the natural ruggedness of the ground: in short, as the French officers thought, the strength of the position might bid defiance to the boldest assailant. Nevertheless, the Allied chiefs, who had already resolved on a general engagement, drove in the French piquets and outposts on the 10th of May, New Style, and issued orders for their intended attack at daybreak. The night was passed by all the troops under arms: ours, daunted neither by the strong position nor superior numbers of the enemy, but full of that calm self-reliance, that unboastful resolution, which are scarce ever found wanting in British soldiers. They have, truly indeed, that fear-nought feeling ascribed to them by a General who had often led them forward in former wars. When, in 1714, Cobham and Stanhope went together on an embassy to Vienna, a body of 10,000 excellent cavalry—deemed the best in Europe—was reviewed before them by Prince Eugene;

who, turning to Stanhope, asked him, "If he thought that any 10,000 British horse could beat these Austrians?" "I cannot tell, Sir," answered the General, "whether they could or not, but I know that five thousand would try (1)!"

At six o'clock on the morning of the 11th, the cannonade began. The Prince of Waldeck, and his Dutch, undertook to carry Antoin and Fontenoy by assault, while the Duke of Cumberland, at the head of the British and Hanoverians, was to advance against the enemy's left. His Royal Highness, at the same time with his own attack, sent General Ingoldsby, with a division, to pierce through the wood of Barré, and storm the redoubt beyond it. But Ingoldsby, finding the wood occupied by some sharp-shooters, which he mistook for a considerable body, hesitated—disobeyed his positive orders—and returned to the Duke for fresh instructions; thus incurring an irreparable loss of time to the army, of honour to himself. On the other wing likewise, the Dutch were repulsed in their attacks, suffering so severely from the fire of the numerous batteries, that they retired in confusion to some distance from the field, where they remained sluggish and unmoved spectators of the remaining conflict. Nay, more; one of their Colonels (Appius was his name) rode away with the greater part of his men, some 15 or 20 miles, to Ath; and from thence, with an impudent folly equal to his cowardice, wrote a letter to the States, informing them that the Allied army had engaged the French, and been totally cut to pieces, except that part which he had prudently brought off safe (2)!

While Ingoldsby and the Dutch were thus failing in duty, the British and Hanoverians had not forgotten theirs. These gallant troops, leaving their cavalry in the rear, from the ruggedness of the ground, but dragging forwards several field pieces, plunged down the ravine between Fontenoy and Barré, and marched on against a position which the best Marshals of France had deemed impregnable, and which the best troops of that nation defended. At their head was William of Cumberland, conspicuous for his courage, and whose want of experience was supplied by an excellent officer—his military tutor—General Ligonier. The French and Swiss guards stood before their front, and offered every resistance that brave men could make; while whole ranks of the British were swept away, at once, by the murderous fire of the batteries on their left and right. Still did their column, diminishing in numbers not in spirit, steadily press forward, repulse several desperate attacks of the French infantry, and gain ground on its position.

(1) This reply has sometimes been ascribed to Sir C. H. Williams, Sir A. Mitchell, or others, at the Court of Frederick the Second. But the much earlier and respectable authority of Dr. King fixes it, beyond all question, on "the English officer" who accompanied Lord Cobham in his embassy "to Vienna," that is, General Stanhope. (See

King's Anecdotes of his own Time, p. 130. and the first vol. of this History, p. 83.)

(2) Mr. Yorke to H. Walpole, May 16. 1745. See Appendix. This regiment, though in the Dutch pay, was not of their country, but of Hesse Homburg.

Soon did they begin to retaliate upon the enemy the terrible slaughter they had themselves experienced. One of the first that fell dead in the French ranks was the young Duke de Grammont, the same whose imprudent valour had hazarded and lost the day at Dettingen. At his side, when he fell, was his uncle De Noailles, an older Marshal than De Saxe, but who would not refuse to serve in any capacity that his King and country required; and who, in this battle, assisted his junior commander with all the skill of a veteran, with all the submission of an aide-de-camp (1).

The space between Fontenoy and the wood of Barré was so narrow, that the British, as much from necessity as choice, remained in a close and serried column. This mass—firm, solid, and compact, and all animated by the same spirit as though it formed but a single living frame, as though one mighty Leviathan of war—bore down every thing before it with irresistible impulse. The news of the Dutch retreat, indeed, and of Ingoldsby's return, struck a momentary damp upon their spirits, but was speedily repaired. Again did the British soldiers stand proudly on the French positions they had won, while charge after charge of the best French cavalry was urged at them in vain. Nay, they even continued to press forward in the rear of Fontenoy, threatening to cut off the communication of the enemy with the bridge of Calonne, and, therefore, his passage of the river. The battle appeared to be decided: already did Marshal Königsegg offer his congratulations to the Duke of Cumberland; already had Mareschal de Saxe prepared for retreat, and, in repeated messages, urged the King to consult his safety and withdraw, while it was yet time, beyond the Scheldt. But Louis, with a spirit which could not forsake even the most effeminate descendant of Henri Quatre, as repeatedly refused to quit the field. "If," says a French historian, "the Dutch had now put themselves in movement, and joined the British, there would have been no resource, nay, no retreat for the French army, nor, in all probability, for the King and for his son (1)."

The French Marshal now determined to make one last effort to retrieve the day. The inactivity of the Dutch enabled him to call away the forces that held Fontenoy and Antoin: he drew together the Household Troops, the whole reserve, and every other man that he could muster, but foremost of all were the gallant Brigade of Irish exiles. Moreover, by the advice of the Duke de Richelieu, —the destined conqueror of Minorca—he placed and levelled a battery, of four pieces of cannon, against the very front of the advancing British column. A fierce and decisive onset ensued. The British, exhausted by their own exertions, mowed down by the artillery in front, and assailed by the fresh troops in flank, were overpowered. Their column wavered—broke—fell back. Yet,

(1) *Mém. de Noailles*, vol. vi. p. 112.(2) *Siccle de Louis XV.* ch. XV.

still there was neither cowardice nor confusion in their ranks, and their retreat was made slowly, step by step, with their face to their foes, and winning the highest admiration, even from those to whom they yielded. The Duke of Cumberland was the last in the retreat, as he had been foremost in the charge. He called to the troops, aloud, bidding them remember Blenheim and Ramillies; and seeing one of his officers running off, His Royal Highness drew a pistol against him. The cavalry, too, which had been unable to take part in the conflict, from the rugged nature of the ground, now came up and proved of essential service in protecting the further retreat. In this guise did they leave the field, and then, in conjunction with the Dutch, fall back to the ramparts of Ath (1).

In this battle of Fontenoy (for such is the name it has borne), the British left behind a few pieces of artillery, but no standards, and scarce any prisoners but the wounded. The loss in these, and in killed, was given out as 4041 British, 1762 Hanoverians, and only 1544 Dutch; while, on their part, the French likewise acknowledged above 7000. To the Allies, it should be deemed an abortive enterprise or a half-won victory—a disappointment rather than a defeat. The misconduct of the Dutch needs no comment; of the British officers it might, perhaps, be said that they showed, throughout, more courage than capacity. But, amongst the French, the highest praise is due to the Mareschal de Saxe. In him, it was but a feeble tie that bound together a sickly body with a fiery and invincible soul. At this period, so much was he wasted with sickness that he could scarcely travel; and Voltaire, who met him at Paris, avowed to him some apprehensions that, if he persisted in setting out, he would never live to reach the army. “The object now,” replied the Marshal, “is not to live, but to go!” When he had arrived, he was unable to bear the weight of a breast-plate: he sometimes sunk from his horse, and then was carried forward in an osier litter; but his genius triumphed over its earthly trammels: to him went every report—from him came every order; and his eagle glance (as was eloquently said of Condé’s (2)) saw through every thing in battle, and was never dazzled there!

After the battle, the siege of Tournay might still have delayed the French army some considerable time; but the treachery of the principal engineer, who deserted to the enemy, and the timidity of other officers in the garrison, produced a surrender of the city in a fortnight, of the citadel in another week (3). The important citadel of Ghent was next invested; a detachment sent to reinforce

(1) For this battle see especially the official account in the *Gazette*—Coxe’s *Pelham*, vol. i. p. 232—235.—Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XV.* ch. xv. —two letters printed in the *Culloden Papers*, p. 200—203, and two others from Mr. Yorke to Mr. Walpole, May 4. and 16. 1745, O. S., which will be found in the Appendix.

(2) “Ce coup d’œil d’aigle qui voit tout à la guerre et ne s’y éblouit jamais!” De Retz, *Mém.* vol. i. p. 184. ed. 1817.

(3) Mr. Yorke to Mr. Walpole, May 27. 1745. See Appendix.

the garrison, and headed by the Hanoverian General Molk, was worsted in a skirmish at Mêle; and the besieged capitulated. Equal success crowned similar attempts on Bruges, on Oudenarde, and on Dendermond, while the Allies could only act on the defensive, and cover Brussels and Antwerp. The French next directed their arms against Ostend, which, notwithstanding the arrival of two battalions from England in the harbour, yielded in fourteen days; the Dutch governor refusing to avail himself of the means of defence which the place afforded, by inundating the adjacent country. Meanwhile, the events in Scotland were compelling the British Government to withdraw the greater part of their force; and it was only the approach of winter, and the retreat of both armies into quarters, that obtained a brief respite for the remaining fortresses of Flanders.

King George, in spite of all remonstrances, had repaired to Hanover at the close of the Session, attended by Lord Harrington, who laboured, but at first very ineffectually, to mediate a peace between Prussia and Austria. Maria Theresa had formed sanguine hopes of the reconquest of Silesia, and had sent thither a large army under Prince Charles of Lorraine. The genius of Frederick, however, gained a signal victory over him at Friedberg, on the 3d of June (1). In the ensuing September, another battle at Sohr, near the sources of the Elbe, proved equally in favour of the Prussians. But some compensation appeared to Maria Theresa for this last disaster, since in the same month her husband was chosen Emperor at Frankfort, by all the Electoral votes except the Palatine and Brandenburg. She was present at the ceremony; and from her balcony, was the first to raise the cry "Long live the Emperor Francis the First!" a cry eagerly re-echoed by ten thousand glad voices below. From Frankfort she proceeded to visit her army at Heidelberg, amounting to 60,000 men: she was received by the Emperor himself, at the head of the troops, and passed between the lines, raising the highest enthusiasm by her beauty, her affability, and a donation which she directed of one florin to each soldier. Meanwhile the King of Prussia, in spite of his victories, was jealous of the French in Flanders, and sincerely desirous of peace. The Empress still rejected his overtures; but another battle which he gained over the Austrians and Saxons, combined, near Dresden, and which gave him possession of that city, overcame her hesitation, and a treaty was signed at Dresden on Christmas Day, confirming to Frederick the possession of Silesia, and, on the other hand, acknowledging on his part the recent Imperial election.

In Italy, the campaign proved as disastrous as in Flanders. A

(1) Frederick had very shortly before received from Louis the Fifteenth a notification of the battle in Flanders, and answered him in the following terms: "Monsieur mon frère, j'ai acquitté à

"Friedberg la lettre de change que vous avez tirée sur moi à Fontenoy." (Voltaire, Siècle de Louis XV. ch. xvi.)

French and Spanish army, again pouring down from the Alps, and headed by Don Philip and Mareschal de Maillebois, was reinforced by Count de Gages, and his troops, across the Apennines. They were still further strengthened by 10,000 men from Genoa ; a state deeply aggrieved by the cession of Finale under the treaty of Worms. These combined troops forced the passage of the Tanaro, and routed the King of Sardinia, compelling him to seek shelter under the walls of his capital. It was in vain that the British fleet, now commanded by Admiral Rowley, endeavoured to effect a diversion, by battering and burning some towns on the Genoese coast. Don Philip, advancing to Milan in triumph, received the homage of the neighbouring cities ; and the Queen of Spain already saw, in imagination, the Crown of Lombardy encircle the brow of her second son (1).

From America, at least, there came joyful tidings. The people of New England had formed a design for reducing Louisburg, the capital of Cape Breton, a French port of great importance, and sometimes termed the Dunkirk of America (2). The King's Government afforded its assistance to the enterprise. Early in the spring, about 4000 volunteers assembled at Boston : they were reinforced by a body of Marines, and supported by Admiral Warren, with a squadron of ten-ships of war. For their commander they chose Mr. Pepperel, a private gentleman, in whom courage and sagacity supplied the place of military skill. Landing with very slight loss at Gabarus, four miles from Louisburg, they invested the place by land while the fleet blockaded the harbour. The walls were newly repaired and the garrison mustered 1200 men, and a resolute resistance was encountered ; but nevertheless, on the 15th of June, after forty-nine days' siege, the town and the whole island were compelled to surrender to the British arms.

CHAPTER XXVII.

We are now arrived at the memorable period when the cause of the banished Stuarts flashed with brilliant lustre, then sunk into eternal darkness—when the landing of seven men could shake an empire—when the wildest dreams of fiction were surpassed by the realities of history—when a principle of loyalty, mistaken indeed, but generous and noble, impelled to such daring deeds, and was followed by such utter ruin—when so many gallant spirits, lately

(1) Coxe's *Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. III. p. 368.

(2) Tindal's *Hist.* vol. IX. p. 156.

exulting in hope or forward in action, were quenched in violent death, or wasted in the lingering agonies of exile (1).

The spring of 1745 found the young Pretender still at Paris, harassed by the discords of his own adherents, and weary of leaning on a broken reed—the friendship of Louis the Fifteenth. Since the failure at Dunkirk, the French professions of assistance were continued, but the reality had wholly disappeared. It seems that several protestant Princes—the King of Prussia more especially—had remonstrated against the support which France was giving to the Roman Catholic party in Great Britain (2), and that most of the French Ministers shrunk from offending their continental allies, while others wished every effort to be concentrated for Flanders. Even the Irish Brigade, though consisting of Charles's own countrymen and partisans, was not reserved for his service. Even a little money for his immediate wants, could only be obtained after repeated solicitation and long delay. Yet Charles's high spirit endured. He writes to his father: "I own one must have a great stock of patience to bear all the ill usage I have from the French Court, and the TRACASSERIES of our own people. But my patience will never fail in either, there being no other part to take (3)." And again, "Whatever I may suffer, I shall not regret in the least as long as I think it of service for our great object: I would put myself in a tub like Diogenes if necessary (4)!"

It had been intimated to Charles, through Murray of Broughton, and on the part of his principal Scottish friends, that they could do nothing in his behalf, nor even think themselves bound to join him, unless he came with a body of at least 6000 troops, and 10,000 stand of arms. These he had no longer any hope of obtaining, and he was therefore brought back by necessity to his first and favourite scheme, "having it always at heart," says he, in a later letter, "to restore my Royal Father by the means of his own subjects alone (5). He wrote to Scotland whither Murray had now returned, announcing his intention, at all hazards, to attempt the enterprise. Meanwhile he made every exertion for procuring arms, borrowed 180,000 livres from two of his adherents, and wrote to his father at Rome, concealing his real project, but requesting that his jewels might be pawned, and the money sent to him. "For our object," says he, "I would pawn even my

(1) Of the rebellion of 1745 there are three separate histories, which I have consulted and found of great service. First, Mr. Home's, published in 1802; it is meagre, unsatisfactory, and by no means worthy the author of Douglas, but it contains several valuable facts and letters. Secondly, Sir Walter Scott's, in the Tales of a Grandfather—an excellent and perspicuous narrative, but which being written for his little grandson, is, of course, not always as well adapted to older persons. Thirdly, Mr. Chambers'—very full and exact. The writer, though a warm partisan of the

Stuarts, is always fair and candid, and deserves much praise for his industry in collecting the remaining local traditions.

(2) *Mémoires de Noailles*, vol. vi. p. 22. This passage has hitherto been overlooked, in reference to the conduct of the French Court upon this subject, but fully accounts for it.

(3) Letter, January 16. 1745. Stuart Papers.

(4) Letter, January 8. 1745. Appendix.

(5) Instructions to Alexander Macleod, Edinburgh, September 24. 1745. See Home's History, Append. p. 324.

"shirt. . . . As for my jewels, I should, on this side the water, wear them with a very sore heart, thinking that there might be made a better use of them. . . . It is but for such uses that I shall ever trouble your Majesty with asking for money; it will never be for plate or fine clothes, but for arms and ammunition, or other things that tend to what I am come about to this country (1)."

The announcement of Charles's intentions excited equal surprise and alarm among his friends in Scotland; all, with the single exception of the Duke of Perth, condemned his project; they wrote dissuasive letters which, however, came too late (2), and they stationed Murray on the watch on the Highland coast, that if the Prince came, he might see him, and urge him to return. Murray remained on this station during the whole month of June, and then went back to his house in the south of Scotland, supposing the enterprise abandoned. But, on the contrary, the tidings of the battle of Fontenoy had decided Charles's movements, it seeming to afford a favourable opportunity, such as might never occur again. He made all his preparations with equal speed and secrecy. He was then at the Château de Navarre, near Evreux (3), formerly a favourite haunt of his great ancestor Henri Quatre, and, since Charles Stuart, again the refuge of fallen grandeur in the Empress Josephine. In 1745, it was the seat of the young Duke de Bouillon, between whom and Charles a romantic friendship had been formed (4). From Navarre, on the 12th of June, Charles wrote a most remarkable letter to his father, for the first time revealing his design. Here are some extracts:—"Let me mention a parable: a horse that is to be sold, if spurred it does not skip or show some signs of life, nobody would care to have him, even for nothing. Just so my friends would care very little to have me, if, after such scandalous usage from the French Court, which all the world is sensible of, I should not show that I have life in me. Your Majesty cannot disapprove a son's following the example of his father. You yourself did the like in the year Fifteen; but the circumstances now are indeed very different, by being much more encouraging. . . . This letter will not be sent off till I am on shipboard. . . . I have sent Stafford to Spain, and appointed Sir Thomas Geraldine to demand succours in my name to complete the work, and I have sent letters for the King and Queen. Let what will happen, the stroke is struck; and I have taken a firm resolution to conquer or to die, and to stand my ground as long

(1) Letter, March 7. 1745. Appendix.

(2) Examination of Mr. Murray of Broughton. August 13. 1746. Appendix.

(3) "Navarre, à une demi-lieue d'Évreux, bâti par Monseigneur le Duc de Bouillon, sur les ruines d'un château que les Rois de Navarre avoient fait faire pour la chasse." (Copied

from a MS., Bibliothèque du Roi, Paris.) Delille says, in *Les Jardins*,

"L'ombre du grand Henri chérit encor Navarre."

(4) See in the Culloden Papers, p. 1205., an intercepted letter from the Duke to Charles in Scotland, assuring him in the warmest terms of friendship that he may dispose of all his estate and blood.

“as I shall have a man remaining with me. . . . Whatever happens
 “unfortunate to me, cannot but be the strongest engagement to
 “the French Court to pursue your cause ; nay, if I were sure they
 “were capable of any sensation of this kind, if I did not succeed,
 “I would perish, as Curtius did, to save my country and make it
 “happy. . . . Your Majesty may now see my reason for pressing so
 “much to pawn my jewels, which I should be glad to have done
 “immediately, for I never intend to come back (1).”

To King Louis, or to the French Ministry, Charles gave no intimation whatever of his intended enterprise, having strong grounds to fear that he might ~~be~~ be forcibly detained. Nevertheless, he secured the assistance of one large French man-of-war, and had even hopes of a second. “It will appear strange to you,” writes he to James’s Secretary, “how I should get these things without
 “the knowledge of the French Court. I employed one Rutledge,
 “and one Walsh, who are subjects :” (they were merchants at Nantes;) “the first has got a grant of a man-of-war from the French
 “Court to cruise on the coast of Scotland, and is luckily obliged to
 “go as far north as I do, so that she will escort me without ap-
 “pearing to do it (2).” The ship of war thus obtained was named the Elizabeth, and carried sixty-seven guns : the vessel for Charles’s own conveyance was a brig of eighteen, the Doutelle (3), an excellent sailer, fitted out by Walsh to cruise against the British trade. The arms provided by the Prince—about 1500 fusées, 1800 broadswords, with powder, balls, flints, and twenty small field-pieces—were for the most part embarked in the Elizabeth : the money that he carried with him was less than four thousand Louis d’ors. It must be owned, that the charm of this romantic enterprise seems singularly heightened, when we find from the secret papers I have now disclosed, that it was undertaken not only against the British Government, but without, and in spite of, the French !

The Doutelle lay in the mouth of the Loire, and Nantes was the place appointed to meet at. The better to conceal the design, the gentlemen who were to embark with Charles travelled by various routes to the rendezvous ; while they remained there, they lodged in different parts of the town, and if they accidentally met in the streets, they took not the least notice of each other, nor seemed in any way acquainted if there was any person near enough to observe them (4). All things being prepared, Charles set out from Navarre, and, after being delayed for a few days by contrary winds, embarked on the 2d of July at seven in the evening, from Saint Nazaire, at the mouth of the Loire. At the island of Belleisle they were further

(1) Letter, June 12. 1745. Appendix.

(2) Letter to Mr. Edgar, June 12. 1745. Appendix.

(3) It is called *Le Du Belier* by Charles himself in his letter of August 2. 1745 (See Appendix) ; but

all other authorities agree in the name *La Doutelle*.

(4) *Jacobite Memoirs* of 1745, p. 2. ; a valuable work, compiled from the papers of Bishop Forbes, by Sir Henry Stuart of Allanton, and R. Chambers, Esq. 1834.

detained till the 13th, expecting the Elizabeth, but, on her arrival, proceeded in good earnest on their voyage. It was from Belleisle that the Prince bade a last farewell to his friends in Italy. "I hope in God we shall soon meet, which I am resolved shall not be but at home. . . . I am, thank God, in perfect good health, but have been a little sea-sick, and expect to be more so; but it does not keep me much abed, for I find the more I struggle against it the better (1)." As a disguise, he wore the habit of a student of the Scots College at Paris, and his rank was not known to the crew; and to conceal his person still more, he allowed his beard to grow until his arrival in Scotland.

On the fourth day after leaving Belleisle the adventurers fell in with a British man-of-war of 58 guns, called the *Lion*, and commanded by Captain Brett, the same officer who, in Anson's expedition, had stormed Paita. An engagement ensued between this ship and the Elizabeth, when after a well-matched fight of five or six hours, the vessels parted, each nearly disabled. The *Lion* found it necessary to put back to England, and the Elizabeth to France. As to the *Doutelle*, it had kept aloof during the conflict; Charles had earnestly pressed Mr. Walsh to allow him to engage in it, but Walsh, feeling the magnitude of his charge, exerted his authority, as owner of the vessel, and steadily refused, saying at last, if the Prince insisted any more he should order him down to the cabin (2)! The *Doutelle* now pursued her voyage alone; but the return of the Elizabeth lost Charles the greater part of the arms and stores he had so laboriously provided.

Two days afterwards the little bark that bore "Cæsar and his fortunes," was chased by another large vessel, but escaped by means of superior sailing, and was rapidly wafted among the Western Isles (3). After about a fortnight's voyage, it moored near the little islet of Erisca, between Barra and South Uist. As they neared the shore, an eagle that came hovering round the ship, delighted the adventurers by its favourable augury. "Here," said Lord Tullibardine, turning to his master, "is the King of Birds come to welcome your Royal Highness to Scotland!" Charles and his followers then landed and passed the night on shore. They learnt that this cluster of islands belonged to Macdonald of Clanranald, a young chief attached to the Jacobite cause,—that Clanranald himself had gone to the mainland; but that his uncle, and principal adviser, Macdonald of Boisdale, was then not far distant in South Uist. A summons from Charles

(1) To Mr. Edgar, July 12. 1745. In the proceedings abroad I always give the date according to the New Style, but in Great Britain according to the Old. The same is to be observed of Prince Charles's own letters.

(2) Narrative of Mr. Æneas Macdonald, one of

the Prince's companions. (Jacobite Memoirs, p. 7.)

(3) There is some discrepancy here as to the dates (compare the Jacobite Memoirs, p. 9. with the Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 479.), but it is of small importance. The day of Charles's landing in Moldart was certainly July 25. O.S.

brought Boisdale on board the *Doutelle* the next morning. But his expressions were not encouraging. He remonstrated with Charles against his enterprise, which he said was rash to the verge of insanity; and added, that if his nephew followed his advice he would take no part in it. In vain did Charles exert all his powers of persuasion: the old man remained inflexible, and went back to his isle in a boat, while Charles pursued his voyage to the mainland.

Arriving at this, Charles entered the bay of Lochnanuagh in Invernesshire, between Moidart and Arisaig. He immediately sent a messenger to Clanranald, who came to him on board, attended by several of his tribe, especially Macdonald of Kinloch Moidart. To them Charles addressed the same arguments as he had to Boisdale, imploring them to assist their Prince and their countryman, at this utmost need. In reply they urged, like Boisdale, that to take arms without concert or support could end in nothing but ruin. Charles persisted, argued, and implored. During the conversation they walked to and fro upon the deck; while a Highlander stood near them, armed at all points, as was then the custom of the country; he was a younger brother of Kinloch Moidart, and had come to the ship without knowing who was on board it; but when he gathered from the discourse that the stranger was the Prince of Wales, and when he heard his chief and his brother refuse to take arms with their rightful sovereign, as they believed him, his colour went and came, his eyes sparkled, he shifted his place, and instinctively grasped his sword. Charles observed his agitation, and with great skill availed himself of it. Turning suddenly towards him, he called out: "Will you, at least, not assist me?"—"I will! I will!" cried Ranald. "Though no other man in the Highlands should draw a sword, I am ready to die for you!"—Charles eagerly expressed his thanks to the warm-hearted young man, saying he only wished that all the Highlanders were like him. But, in very truth, they were like him. Catching his enthusiasm, and spurning all further deliberations, the two Macdonalds declared that they also would join, and use every exertion to engage their countrymen (1).

During this scene, the other kinsmen of Clanranald had remained with Charles's attendants in a tent, that had been pitched at the opposite end of the deck. One of these Macdonalds has left a journal, in which Charles's appearance is described: "There entered the tent a tall youth of a most agreeable aspect, in a plain black coat, with a plain shirt not very clean, and a cambrick stock fixed with a plain silver buckle, a fair round wig out of the buckle, a plain hat with a canvass string, having one end

(1) Home's History, p. 39.

“fixed to one of his coat buttons : he had black stockings and brass buckles in his shoes. At his first appearance I found my heart swell to my very throat. But we were immediately told that this youth was an English clergyman, who had long been possessed with a desire to see and converse with Highlanders (1).” It is remarkable that among these Macdonalds—the foremost to join Charles—was the father of Marshal Macdonald, Duke de Tarento, long afterwards raised to these honours by his merit in the French Revolutionary wars, and not more distinguished for courage and capacity than for integrity and honour.

Charles, being now sure of some support, landed a few days afterwards, on the memorable 25th of July, Old Style, in Lochnanuagh, and was conducted to Borodale, a neighbouring farm-house belonging to Clanranald. Seven persons came on shore with him, namely the Marquis of Tulibardine, who, but for the attainder of 1716, would have been Duke of Athol, and was always called so by the Jacobites—Sir Thomas Sheridan, who had been tutor to Charles—Sir John Macdonald, an officer in the Spanish service—Kelly, a non-juring clergyman, the same who had taken part in Atterbury’s plot (2)—Francis Strickland, an English gentleman—Æneas Macdonald, a banker in Paris and brother of Kinloch Moidart—and Buchanan, the messenger formerly sent to Rome by Cardinal Tencin. These were afterwards designated as the “Seven Men of Moidart;” and the subsequent fate of each has been explored by the Jacobites with mournful curiosity (3).

The first step of Charles was to send letters to such Highland chiefs as he knew, or hoped to be, his friends, especially to Cameron of Lochiel, Sir Alexander Macdonald, and Mac Leod. Lochiel immediately obeyed the summons; but he came convinced of the rashness, nay, madness of the enterprise, and determined to urge Charles to desist from it and return to France till a more favourable opportunity. On his way to Borodale he called upon his brother, Cameron of Fassefern, who concurred in his opinion, but advised him rather to impart it to the Prince by letter. “I know you,” said Fassefern, “better than you know yourself. If this Prince once sets his eyes upon you, he will make you do whatever he pleases (4).” Lochiel, however, persevered in going on; he saw Charles, and for a long while stood firm against both argument and entreaty. At length, the young adventurer tried one final appeal to his feelings : — “I am resolved,” he exclaimed, “to put all to the hazard. In a few days I will erect the Royal Standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain, that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the Crown of his ancestors, or perish in the attempt. Lochiel, who, my father has often told me,

(1) Macdonald’s Journal; Lockhart Papers, vol. II. p. 480.

(2) See Vol. I. p. 291.

(3) See Jacobite Memoirs. p. 3.

(4) Communicated, in 1781, by Fassefern himself to Mr. Home. (History. p. 44.)

"was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his Prince!" At these glowing words, the sturdy determination of the Chief dissolved like Highland snow before the summer sun. "Not so," he replied much affected; "I will share the fate of my Prince whatever it be, and so shall every man, over whom nature or fortune has given me any power." Such, observes Mr. Home, was the singular conversation, on the result of which depended peace or war; for it is a point agreed among the Highlanders, that if Lochiel had persisted in his refusal to take arms, the other chiefs would not have joined the Standard without him, and the spark of rebellion must have instantly expired.

The answer of Sir Alexander Macdonald and Mac Leod, removed as these were from the fascination of Charles's presence—was far less favourable. These two chiefs—perhaps the most powerful in the Highlands, could each have raised from 1200 to 1500 followers. They were then together in the Isle of Skye, where Clanranald had gone in person to urge them. But they alleged, as they might with truth, that their former promise of joining Charles was entirely contingent on his bringing over auxiliaries and supplies, and they also pleaded, as an additional motive for delay, that a great number of their men resided in the distant islands. Their object being to wait for events, and to side with the victorious, they professed zeal to both parties, but gave assistance to neither: thus, for instance, they wrote to the Government to communicate Charles's arrival in Scotland; but prudently postponed their news till nine days from his landing (1).

There were not wanting in Scotland many men to follow such examples: but Lochiel's feeling was that of far the greater number. The Scots have often been reproached with a spirit of sordid gain. The truth is merely—and should it not be matter of praise?—that by their intelligence, their industry, their superior education, they will always, in whatever country, be singled out for employment, and rise high in the social scale. But when a contest lies between selfish security or advancement on one side, and generous impulse or deep-rooted conviction on the other; when danger and conscience beckon onward, and prudence alone calls back; let all History declare whether in any age or in any cause, as followers of Knox or of Montrose, as Cameronians or as Jacobites, the men—ay, and the women—of Scotland, have quailed from any degree of sacrifice or suffering! The very fact that Charles came helpless, obtained him the help of many. They believed him their rightful Prince; and the more destitute that Prince, the more they were bound in loyalty to aid him. Foreign forces, which would have

(1) See Mac Leod's letter in the *Culloden Papers*, p. 203. He says in the postscript, "Young Clanranald has been here with us, and has given us all possible assurances of his prudence!"

In another letter of August 17, Mac Leod adds, "In my opinion it would be a very wrong step to draw many of the troops to Scotland, as there can be but little danger here!"

diminished the danger, would also have diminished the duty, and placed him in the light of a hostile invader rather than of a native sovereign. Moreover, Charles was now in the very centre of those tribes, which ever since they were trained by Montrose — such is the stamp that great spirits can imprint upon posterity! — had continued firm and devoted adherents of the House of Stuart. Macdonald of Keppoch, Macdonald of Glengarry, and many other gentlemen, sent or came with warm assurances of service, and after a hasty visit, went off again to collect their men; the 19th of August being fixed for the raising of the Standard and the muster of the forces. Charles, meanwhile, displayed great skill in gaining the affections of the Highlanders around his person: he adopted their national dress, and consulted their national customs, and soon learnt some words of Gaelic, which he used on public occasions (1), while all those who conversed with him in English, felt the influence of his fascinating manners. Having disembarked his scanty treasure and arms from the *Doutelle*, he employed himself in distributing the latter amongst those who seemed best able to serve him. The ship itself he sent back to France with an account of his landing. He paid a farewell visit to Mr. Walsh on board, and gave him a letter to James, at Rome, entreating that in reward for his service he should receive the patent of an Irish Earldom (2). By the same opportunity he informed his father of his progress: — “I am joined here by brave people, as I expected: as I have not yet set up the Standard I cannot tell the number; . . . but whatever happens, we shall gain an immortal honour by doing what we can to deliver our country in restoring our Master, or perish sword in hand (3).”

From Borodale, Charles proceeded in a few days by water to Kinloch Moidart, a better house, belonging to the chief of that name, and about seven miles further. There he remained till the raising of his Standard. There also he was joined by Murray of Broughton, who had hastened from his seat in the south, at Charles's summons, having first performed the perilous duty of having the manifestos, for future distribution, printed. He was appointed by Charles his Secretary of State, and continued to act as such during the remainder of the expedition.

During this time the English Governor at Fort Augustus, alarmed at the vague reports, but undoubted preparations, that were spreading around him, had determined to send a reinforcement to the advanced post at Fort William. On the 16th of August, two companies marched for this service, commanded by Captain Scott. The whole distance is thirty miles: for above twenty, the soldiers marched without molestation, when suddenly, in the

(1) See Macdonald's Journal, Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 482.

(2) Prince Charles to his father, August 2. 1745. Appendix. I believe the honour was accordingly

conferred, and I was formerly acquainted at Baden with Count Walsh, who was, as I understood, the descendant and representative of this gentleman.

(3) Letter, August 4. 1745. Appendix.

narrow ravine of High Bridge, they found themselves beset by a party of Keppoch's Highlanders. Assailed by a destructive fire from the neighbouring heights, and unable to retaliate upon their invisible enemies, they began a retreat; but more Highlanders of Lochiel coming up, and their strength and ammunition being alike exhausted, they were compelled to lay down their arms. Five or six of them had been killed, and about as many wounded: among the latter, Captain Scott himself. All the prisoners were treated with marked humanity, the wounded being carried to Lochiel's own house at Auchnacarrie; nay, more, as the Governor of Fort Augustus would not allow his surgeon to go forth and attend Captain Scott, the generous Chief sent the Captain to the Fort for that object on receiving his parole.

This success, though of no great importance in itself, served in no small degree to animate the Highlanders on the Raising of the Standard. The day fixed for that ceremony, as I have already mentioned, was the 19th of August; the place Glenfinnan, a desolate and sequestered vale, where the river Finnan flows between high and craggy mountains, and falls into an arm of the sea; it is about fifteen miles from Borodale, and as many from Fort William. Charles having left Kinloch Moidart on the 18th, proceeded to the house of Glenaladale, and early next morning embarked in a boat for the place of muster. On arriving, attended only by one or two companies of Macdonalds, he expected to find the whole valley alive with assembled clans; but not one man had come, and Glenfinnan lay before him in its wonted solitude and silence. Uncertain, and anxious for his fate, the Prince entered one of the neighbouring hovels, and waited for about two hours. At length the shrill notes of the pibroch were heard in the distance, and Lochiel and his Camerons appeared on the brow of the hill: they were above six hundred in number, but many without weapons; and they advanced in two lines of three men abreast, between which were the two English companies taken on the 16th, marching as prisoners, and disarmed. On being joined by this noble clan, Charles immediately proceeded to erect the Royal Standard; the place chosen being a little knoll in the midst of the vale. The Marquis of Tullibardine, tottering with age and infirmities, and supported by an attendant on each side, was, as highest in rank, appointed to unfurl the banner. it was of red silk, with a white space in the centre, on which, some weeks afterwards, the celebrated motto, "TANDEM TRIUMPHANS," was inscribed. At the appearance of this Standard, waving in the mountain breeze, and hailed as the sure pledge of coming battle, the air was rent with shouts, and darkened with bonnets tossed on high; it seemed, says an eye-witness, like a cloud (1). Tullibardine, after a little pause,

(1) Letter in the Culloden Papers, p. 387., derived from Captain Sydenham's description. On

read aloud the manifesto of the old Chevalier, and the Commission of Regency granted to Prince Charles. This was followed by a short speech from the Adventurer himself, asserting his title to the Crown, and declaring that he came for the happiness of his people, and had selected this part of the kingdom because he knew he should find a population of brave gentlemen, willing to live and die with him, as he was resolved at their head to conquer or to perish. Among the spectators, but no willing one, was Captain Swetenham, an English officer, taken prisoner a few days before in proceeding to assume the command at Fort William: he was now dismissed by Charles, after very courteous treatment, and with the words, "You may go to your General; say what you have seen; and add "that I am coming to give him battle!"

On the same day, but after the ceremony, arrived Keppoch with three hundred of his clan, and other smaller parties. Some gentlemen of the name of Mac Leod came to offer their services, expressing great indignation at the defection of their Chief, and proposing to return to Skye, and raise as many men as they could. The little army encamped that night on Glenfillan; O'Sullivan, an Irish officer who had lately joined the Prince, being appointed its Quartermaster-General (1). Next morning they began their march, Charles himself proceeding to Lochiel's house of Auchnacarrie, and he was joined by Macdonald of Glencoe with one hundred and fifty men; the Stuarts of Appin, under Ardsheel, with two hundred, and Glengarry the younger, with about the same; so that the united forces marching onwards soon amounted to upwards of sixteen hundred men.

While these things were passing in the Highlands, the established Government was neither prompt in its news, nor successful in its measures. It was not till the 30th of July, Old Style, that we find Lord Tweeddale, the Scottish Secretary of State in London, informed that the young Pretender had sailed from Nantes (2). This report was immediately transmitted to Edinburgh; yet, even so late as the morning of the 8th of August, nearly three weeks after Charles's first appearance on the coast, it was unknown to the authorities at that capital. "I consider the report of the "sailing as improbable," writes the Lord President on that day, "because I am confident that young man cannot with reason "expect to be joined by any considerable force in the Highlands (3)," and he then proceeds to show how much the Jacobite party was

the spot where the standard was raised, there now stands a monument with a Latin inscription. See note to Waverley, vol. i. p. 238. ed. 1839.

(8) There seems some uncertainty as to when Mr. O'Sullivan joined the expedition. It is supposed by some persons that he sailed with Charles in the *Doutelle*, and that Buchanan being considered the Prince's domestic was not included in the number of seven that came on shore. (*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 2.) But it is more probable

that O'Sullivan afterwards joined Charles on shore—one of several officers who came from France and landed on the east coast of Scotland. (See *Culloden Papers*, p. 398.)

(2) Lord Tweeddale to Lord Milton, July 30. 1745. *Home's History*.

(3) *Culloden Papers*, p. 204. See also p. 360. and 365., and the *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 405., on the diminution of the Jacobites since 1715.

reduced since 1715 : it had indeed died away like a fire for want of fuel, while the strength of prescription (the mightiest after all of any) had gathered round the Reigning Family. But then this inference suggests itself—if the Scottish Jacobites even thus diminished seemed scarcely a minority in 1745—what, under wise direction, might they not have been thirty years before?

At this period the persons in Edinburgh most relied on by the Government, were, first, the commander in chief, General Sir John Cope; secondly, the Justice Clerk Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton; and, thirdly, the Lord President, Duncan Forbes. The last has been highly, yet not too highly, extolled as a most learned and upright judge, a patriot statesman, a devoted and unwearied assertor of the Protestant succession. Few men ever loved Scotland more, or served it better. Opposing the Jacobites in their conspiracies or their rebellions, but befriending them in their adversity and their distresses, he knew, unlike his colleagues, how to temper justice with mercy, and at length offended, by his frankness, the Government he had upheld by his exertions (1). When, in 1715, the jails of England were crowded with Scottish prisoners, plundered, penniless and helpless, Forbes, who had lately borne arms against them in the field, set on foot a subscription to supply them with the means of making a legal defence; and when, on the same occasion, the exasperated Government proposed to remove these misguided but unhappy men from the protection of their native laws, to a trial in England, it was Forbes that stood forward to resist, and finally to prevent, this arbitrary measure. His seat lying in the north, (Culloden House, near Inverness,) he had always repaired thither in the intervals of the Court of Session; he had there cultivated a friendly intercourse with the principal Highland gentlemen, and gained a considerable mastery over the minds of many. He was the link that bound the false and fickle Lovat to the Government; it was mainly through him that Mac Leod, Sir Alexander Macdonald, and several other chiefs, were restrained to a prudent neutrality; it was he who inspired, guided, and directed the Sutherlands, the Mackays, and the other well affected clans in the north. Even before the news of Charles's landing was fully confirmed, he hastened from Edinburgh to Culloden, ready to perform every service that the exigency might demand.

Sir John Cope, on his part, sent orders for drawing together his troops at Stirling. He had two regiments of dragoons (Gardiner's and Hamilton's), but they were the youngest in the service; and the whole force under his command, exclusive of garrisons, fell short of three thousand men. There were also several companies of a Highland regiment, headed by the Earl of Loudon: these, however, besides the doubts of their fidelity, were not at hand for

(1) See some remarks on the character of Duncan Forbes in the *Quarterly Review*, No. xxviii, p. 321., I believe by Sir Walter Scott.

present action, being for the most part in the north, beyond Inverness. Nevertheless, with such force as he could muster, Cope was eager to march forward to the mountains, and crush the rising rebellion in its bud. This scheme he proposed in a letter to the Lords Justices in England, and it was warmly approved; nay, he even received their positive commands to carry it into execution. They also furnished him with a Proclamation, issued in the London Gazette several days before, offering a reward of 30,000*l.* to any person that should seize and secure the pretended Prince of Wales.

Thus instructed by the Government, but at the same time deluded by the Jacobites around him with a multitude of false advices, Sir John set out from Edinburgh on the 19th of August, the very day that Charles was raising his standard at Glenfillan. Next morning he commenced his march from Stirling, at the head of nearly fifteen hundred foot, but leaving behind the dragoons, who could not have afforded much service amongst the mountains, nor yet obtained sufficient forage. He took with him, however, a vast quantity of baggage, a drove of black cattle, to kill for food, when required, and about a thousand stand of arms, which he expected to distribute to native volunteers. Not one such appearing to join him, he sent back 700 of the muskets from Crieff. His march was directed to Fort Augustus, as a central post, from which he hoped to strike a decisive blow against the rebels; and as he advanced, being met by Captain Swetenham, he obtained the first certain accounts of their numbers and appearance. But on arriving at Dalwhinnie, he found the pass of Corry Arrack, that lay between him and Fort Augustus, already in possession of his enemy.

Corry Arrack is a huge precipitous mountain, ascended by a part of Marshal Wade's military road, which winds up in seventeen zig-zags or traverses, before it attains the rugged heights. The pass was known to the country people by the name of the Devil's Staircase, and afforded a most excellent position for defence. Charles, discerning its importance, had determined to occupy it as soon as he heard of Cope's approach; and made a forced march for that object, burning and destroying all incumbrances which could impede his progress, and, that his men might not complain, sacrificing his own personal baggage. Early on the 27th he stood on the north side of Corry Arrack, and hastened to ascend it, expecting an attack that afternoon, and exulting in the expectation. It is recorded, that as he put on his new Highland brogues that morning, he exclaimed with delight, "Before these are unloosed, I shall be up with Mr. Cope⁽¹⁾!" As he walked up he sent forward Macdonald of Lochgarry, and Secretary Mur-

(1) Mr. T. Fraser to the Lord President, August 29, 1745. Culloden Papers.

ray, expecting that they would see the British troops beginning their ascent on the opposite side. But when they reached the summit, instead of beholding the numerous windings filled with the ascending files of Sir John Cope's army, they gazed on utter solitude. Not a single man appeared. At length, they observed several Highlanders, whom they supposed some of Lord Loudon's, and the British van-guard; but who proved to be deserters, bringing the surprising intelligence that the General had entirely changed his course, and, avoiding the expected battle, was in full march for Inverness(1).

For this and for his subsequent conduct, Sir John Cope has sometimes been called a coward, and sometimes a traitor. He was neither. He was a plain, dull officer, of indisputable fidelity and courage, who had been previously in action, and behaved respectably under a superior; but endowed with very moderate abilities, and overwhelmed by the feeling of his own responsibility as chief(2). On this occasion he felt that it was in vain to attack the rebels upon Corry Arrack: to remain at Dalwhinnie seemed inactive, to return to Stirling ignominious. What other course then was left but a march to Inverness to join the well-affected clans, with the prospect that the insurgents must be drawn towards the same direction, and would not venture to descend upon the Lowlands while Cope remained in their rear? But Sir John did not trust to his judgment only; he adopted that favourite resource of incapable commanders—a Council of War. No officer was found to advocate remaining near Dalwhinnie; only one urged the alternative of a retreat to Stirling; all the others concurring with their General, gave their signs manual to the plan he proposed. Yet, it certainly was by far the worst of the three; and had the King's troops but kept their ground in front of the rebels, the latter would, probably, either have been checked in their advance, and cooped up in their mountains, or else been obliged to hazard a battle upon equal terms(3).

The news of Cope's flight (for such it was considered) filled the Highland host with exultation. The greater number wished to follow and give him battle—a less hazardous course, perhaps, than to march onwards, leaving his army unconquered, to cut off their retreat; but Charles, seeing the superior importance of a descent upon the Lowlands, wisely decided for the latter scheme. It was immediately put into execution. Two days carried him through the rugged mountains of Badenoch; on the third, he beheld the pleasant vale of Athol, expanding to his view. The Grants, of

(1) Tales of a Grandfather, vol. II. p. 270.

(2) On Cope's character, see Quarterly Review, No. lxxi. p. 177. and also the proceedings on Cope's trial.

(3) "The military men here think that, though it might not have been fit for his Majesty's service for Sir John Cope to attack the rebels, yet

"that he ought to have staid somewhere about Dalwhinnie; and, in that case, it would not have been easy for the rebels to have made such a progress into the south before him. But as the matter is now over, it is needless to enter into a discussion." (Lord Tweeddale to the Lord President, September 10. 1745.)

Glenmorrison, to the number of one hundred men, had already come in at Corry Arrack; and as the Highland army descended to the plain, they were joined, like one of their own rivers, by accessions of strength at the mouths of all the little glens which they passed (1). Charles was especially eager to secure Lord Lovat, and sent him the most pressing solicitations through Lochiel, together with his patents as Duke of Fraser, and Lord Lieutenant of the northern counties. But the wily old Chief still kept aloof and unengaged: on the one hand, continuing the strongest professions of his allegiance to his neighbour, the Lord President; and at the same time writing to Lochiel, "My service to the Prince; I will aid you what I can; but my prayers are all I can give at present (2)." Prayers! from such a saint of course doubly precious!—By this conduct, Lovat expected to reap profit whichever party prevailed; by this conduct did he ultimately bring his head to the scaffold, and his name to lasting disgrace. When will mankind become convinced that the dirtiest path is always the most slippery?

Charles, however, derived some compensation from one of his detachments, which, after an unsuccessful attempt on the barracks of Ruthven, carried off as a prisoner, perhaps no unwilling one, Lovat's son-in-law, Macpherson of Cluny, the head of a powerful clan. Cluny had been appointed by the Government Captain of an independent Company, but now, after several conversations with Charles, consented to return and raise his men in the Prince's cause. As an apology for his change, he declared to a friend that "even an angel could not resist such soothing, close, applications (3)!" Indeed, the fascination of Charles was acknowledged by every one around him. The Highlanders were delighted at his athletic form and untired energy; like one of Homer's heroes, he overtopped them all in stature (4), and they found that he never required from them any hardship or exertion that he was not willing to share. Thus, at Dalwhinnie, he slept with them upon the open moor, sheltered only by his plaid. Every day he marched alongside some one or other of their bands, inquiring into their national legends, or listening to their traditional songs. At table, he partook only of their country dishes, seeming to prefer them to all others: he wished to be, as he said, "a true Highlander," and his few phrases of Gaelic were used whenever occasion offered. On the other hand, the simple and enthusiastic Highlanders were prepared to find or to fancy every possible merit in their long expected Prince. Upon the whole, it might be questioned whether any chief has ever, in so short a period, so greatly endeared himself to his followers.

(1) Chambers' History, vol. i. p. 79.

(2) Lord Lovat to the Laird of Lochiel, September 1745.

(3) See Culloden Papers, p. 412.

(4) One of Sir John Cope's spies from Perth described to him the Chevalier, as "in a fine

"Highland dress laced with gold, wears a bonnet laced, wears a broadsword, had a green riband, but did not see the star; a well made man, taller than any in his company." (Sir John Cope to the Lord President, September 12. 1745.)

On the 30th of August, Charles reached Blair, the seat of the Duke of Athol, who hastily fled at his approach, while Tullibardine resumed possession of his paternal halls, and gave a stately banquet to his young master and his ancient vassals. Charles remained at Blair two days, during which he was joined by several gentlemen of note : Mr. Oliphant of Gask, Mr. Mercer of Aldie, Mr. Murray, brother of the Earl of Dunmore, Lord Strathallan, with his son, and Lord Nairn, the son of the Peer who had been attainted and condemned to death in 1716 (1). Still marching onwards, the vanguard of the insurgents arrived at Perth on the 3d of September, and the Prince made his public entry on horseback, and amidst loud acclamations, the next day. Unlike his father, he did not proceed to the neighbouring palace of Scone, but took up his residence at an antique house in the town, belonging, as Scone, to Lord Stormont. Here he remained a week to collect supplies and to muster his men. Of the 4000 louis-d'ors brought with him, he had remaining on the day he came to Perth but a single one, which he showed to Mr. Kelly, saying that he would soon get more (2). Accordingly, he sent out parties through Angus and Fife, who, while they proclaimed " King James the Eighth " in the principal towns, enlisted a few men and levied a little public money. From the city of Perth he obtained 500*l.*, and several voluntary offerings reached him from his partisans at Edinburgh. All the strangers, however, whom Charles found at Perth attending the fair, received his passports, to protect their persons and goods from depredation ; and with several of them he courteously conversed, amongst others with a linen-draper from London, whom he desired to inform his fellow-citizens that he expected to see them at St. James's in the course of two months. Nor was he less busily employed in bringing into some degree of order the ill-assorted elements of his little army ; one day he held a public review upon the North Inch, and could not suppress a smile at the awkwardness of some of the new recruits. Every morning he rose early to drill the troops ; and it is recorded that one night, when invited to a great ball by the ladies of Perth, he had no sooner danced one measure than he made his bow and withdrew, alleging the necessity of visiting his sentry posts. It is added, that the Perth ladies—thinking, of course, that no business could possibly be so important as their ball—were grievously surprised and offended at the shortness of his stay (3).

At this period Charles received two most valuable accessions to his cause, in the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray. The former brought with him about 200 of his men ; the latter was of great use in raising the tenantry of his brother, the Duke of Athol ; and both were created Lieutenant Generals in the Prince's service.

(1) See Vol. I. p. 140.

(2) Home's History, p. 75. note.

(3) Chambers' History, vol. i. p. 87.

James Drummond, titular Duke of Perth, was grandson of the Chancellor of James the Second in Scotland, and had received his education in France (1). His character was amiable rather than able, of courtly manners, conciliatory temper, and dauntless bravery, but very young, and unskilled either in politics or war. A warrant had been issued for his apprehension by the Government, as a suspected person, about the time of Charles's landing. Captain Campbell, who was charged with the execution of this warrant, had first, in a spirit very unlike a British officer's, procured for himself an invitation to dine at Drummond Castle, directing his men to draw as near as they could without raising the alarm, and then, at dessert, told His Grace that he was his prisoner. The Duke received the tidings very coolly, saying there was no help for it; but in leaving the apartment he made the Captain, as if in courtesy, pass before him, and then suddenly starting back and locking the door, escaped by a private staircase from the house into the wood. He was quickly followed and might perhaps have been retaken, had he not found a pony and leaped upon its back, without saddle or bridle, and only a halter on its head. By this means he made his way from his pursuers, and lay concealed in the neighbouring Highlands until, on the approach of Charles, he joined him with as many of his men as he could raise.

Lord George Murray was both an older and an abler man. With his brother Tullibardine he had taken part in the rebellion of 1715; he had been at the fight of Glenshiel in 1719, and had afterwards served for some years in the Sardinian army. Being then pardoned by the Government, he had since lived quietly on his estate in Scotland, had married, and was the father of a family (2): nay, as it is said, he had even solicited a commission in the British army, which was however refused. He was by far the most skilful officer that appeared with the insurgents in the whole course of this rebellion. His personal hardihood and bravery, however conspicuous, might be rivalled by many others; but none could vie with him in planning a campaign, providing against disasters, or improving victory. Yet so far was he from being a formal tactician or lover of strict rule, that he strongly advised the Prince to trust to the national weapons and mode of fighting of the Highlanders, with some improvements of discipline, rather than attempt to instruct them in any more scientific manœuvres. But the merits of Lord George, as a commander, were dashed by no small waywardness of temper, an impatience of contradiction, a blunt and supercilious address. A rivalry almost immediately sprung up be-

(1) "The Duchess of Perth carried off her sons to France (in 1720) as soon as she heard of the Duke their father's death." (Lockhart Papers, vol. II. p. 42.) She was a most vehement Roman Catholic. (Tindal's Hist. vol. ix. p. 165.)

(2) Lord George was the ancestor of the present

Duke of Athol. He has left a Military Memoir on the marches of the insurgent army, (printed in the Jacobite Memoirs, p. 29—130.) which is very clear and able, but dwelling a little too much on his own services. His letter on the battle of Culloden appears in Home's Appendix, p. 369—370.

tween him and the Duke of Perth ; which, as we shall find, afterwards ripened into a quarrel very hurtful to their common cause. In these broils the part of the Duke was always espoused by Secretary Murray, an able and active, but selfish and intriguing man, who expected to wield a greater influence over Perth than over the superior genius of Lord George. Sir Thomas Sheridan also, whom Lord George once or twice fiercely rebuked for his ignorance of the British Laws and Constitution, became of course his personal enemy ; and the Prince himself, who was equally ignorant upon those subjects, was often offended at his disrespectful tone.

From Perth, Charles dispatched a letter to the Earl of Barrymore in London, urging his party to strenuous exertions (1). He also caused to be printed, and circulated as widely as possible, his Father's Proclamations and his own. Besides those put forth at his landing, he had been prevailed upon to issue a reprisal for that of the Established Government, setting a price of 30,000*l.* upon his head. For several days Charles stubbornly refused to follow what he termed "a practice so unusual among Christian Princes ;" he only yielded, at length, to the necessity of conciliating his officers, and then insisted that the price in his Proclamation should be no more than 30*l.* Fresh importunities at last induced him to extend it to the same amount as in the Government (2) ; saying, however, he was confident no follower of his would ever think of doing any thing to merit such a reward. This generosity of Charles was more than once carried to a romantic extreme : thus, as we shall see hereafter, his reluctance to punish some acts or attempts of assassination, even to his own peril, provoked the discontent and murmurs of his army.

During their stay at Perth news reached the insurgents, that General Cope, deeply mortified at their descent into the Lowlands, was directing his march from Inverness to Aberdeen, with the intention of embarking his army, and returning with it for the protection of the capital (3). On these tidings Charles formed his plans—not like Lord Mar's, to stand at gaze and wait for others to help him—but to forestall his enemy's movement upon Edinburgh, by a movement of his own. Having completed his scanty preparations, he resumed his adventurous march on the 11th of September. It was found no easy matter to draw the Highlanders from their good quarters at Perth ; but the Prince went first with the vanguard, and the rest joined him at Dumblane. "It was in "this neighbourhood," observes one of the officers, "that many of "our fathers, and several of us now with the Prince, fought for

(1) Examination of Mr. Murray of Broughton, August 13. 1746. Appendix.

(2) See this document in the Collection of Declarations, etc. p. 22. signed Charles P. R. and countersigned John Murray. The concluding words are : "Should any fatal accident happen

"from hence, let the blame lie entirely at the "door of those who first set the infamous example."

(3) This intelligence is first mentioned in a letter of Lord George Murray's in the night of Saturday the 7th September. (Jacobite Memoirs.)

“ the same cause, just thirty years before, at the battle of Sheriff-muir (1).” On the 13th they proceeded to the Fords of Frew, about eight miles above Stirling; since they could not cross the Frith, where several of the King’s ships were stationed, nor yet the bridge of Stirling, which is commanded by the cannon of the castle. But at the Fords of Frew, the river being low at this season, they passed without difficulty; and Gardiner’s dragoons, who had been left behind by Cope, retired before them, designing to fall back upon the other regiment which was now lying at Leith. As the insurgents marched on, the sight of their Royal Standard provoked some cannon shot from Stirling Castle, aimed, it is said, at Charles himself, but without effect; the town however gladly opened its gates, and furnished its provisions. Every thing was paid for, discipline being strictly maintained by the exertions of the officers; and Lochiel, finding one of his men plunder in spite of his repeated orders, shot him dead upon the spot (2).

The army was now passing over the plain of Bannockburn: on the next evening, the 14th, they were quartered in the town of Falkirk, or lay in some broom fields near Callender House. Charles himself was entertained at that mansion by its owner, the Earl of Kilmarnock, who hailed him as his sovereign, and assured him of his future services. According to the information given by the Earl, Gardiner’s dragoons had intended to dispute the passage of Linlithgow Bridge next day, and the Prince, hoping to surprise them, sent forward before daybreak a detachment of a thousand Highlanders under Lord George Murray; but they found that the dragoons had decamped the evening before, and quietly took possession of the town and its ancient palace. A few hours later they were joined by the Prince in person, and his vanguard pushed forward to Kirkliston, only eight miles from Edinburgh. All the ground thus traversed by the insurgents is fraught with the brightest recollections of Scottish story. On that field of Bannockburn had Liberty and The Bruce prevailed—that palace of Linlithgow was the birthplace of the ill-fated Mary, and afterwards her dwelling in hours—alas how brief and few!—of peaceful sovereignty and honourable fame—those battlements of Stirling had guarded the cradle of her infant son—there rose the Torwood where Wallace sought shelter from the English invaders—yonder flowed the Forth, which so often had “bridled the wild Highland-man.” Surely even a passing stranger could never gaze on such scenes without emotion—still less any one intent on like deeds of chivalrous renown—least of all the youthful heir of Robert Bruce and of the long line of Stuart Kings!

Meanwhile the citizens of the capital, like a stormy sea tossing

(1) Macdonald’s Journal. (Lockhart Papers, vol. II. p. 486.)

(2) Chambers’ History, vol. I. p. 104.

with successive billows, had been agitated by every alternation, according to the rumours that reached them, of presumptuous confidence or of craven fear. But little concern appeared at the first news of the insurgents. None of the friends of Government doubted their speedy dispersion or defeat; while the Jacobites (there, as elsewhere in Scotland, a very considerable party,) concealed their secret hopes under an affected derision of the enterprise, and of all the measures adopted to quell it. But when the tidings came that Cope had marched to Inverness, and that Charles was descending from the mountains, the well-disposed inhabitants were struck with consternation, much heightened by the succeeding intelligence, that the Prince had already entered Perth. The Government newspaper indeed, the Edinburgh Evening Courant, continued to speak of the Highlanders in arms with most utter contempt, as “a pitiful ignorant crew, good for nothing, and incapable of giving any reason for their proceedings, but talking only of *SNISHING* (tobacco), *KING JAMESH, TA RASHANT* (the Regent), *PLUNTER*, and *NEW PROGUES* (1)!” But this confident language was belied by the activity with which the preparations for defending the city were now pursued. A few days later, however, the magistrates and the inhabitants reverted to their feelings of security from the arrival of one of Sir John Cope’s Captains, directing that transports for his embarkation might be immediately despatched to Aberdeen. These transports accordingly sailed on September the 10th; and from that time, says an eye-witness, the people of Edinburgh were continually looking up to the vanes and the weather-cocks (2), as conscious that their destiny hung suspended on the winds. But who shall describe their fresh panic, when they learnt that the young Pretender had not only passed the Forth, but that, driving the King’s dragoons before him, he was actually within a few miles of their walls!

Against this danger the Castle of Edinburgh stood secure in its inaccessible position, and held a sufficient garrison, commanded by General Guest, an intrepid veteran. The city, on the other hand, was protected only by an antique rampart of varying height, from ten to twenty feet, which was embattled, but with parapets in most places too narrow for mounting cannon, and on the whole but little stronger than a common garden wall. Some fortifications indeed, but hasty, slight, and incomplete, were added in this emergency, under the direction of Professor Mac Laurin, the celebrated mathematician (3). The defenders were still more contemptible than the defences. There was a Town Guard, of which the value may sufficiently be estimated from their conduct in the Porteous Mob (4). There were Trained Bands of militia; but these had never been called out since the Revolution, except for a yearly

(1) This extract is given in Mr. Chambers’ History, vol. I. p. 125. (2) Home’s Hist. p. 63.

(3) See Provost Stewart’s Trial, p. 39, etc.

(4) See Vol. I. p. 405.

parade on his Majesty's birth day, and a dinner afterwards. There were also some volunteers, who had offered their services at this crisis; but their number never exceeded four hundred, and they required to be taught the first elements of military discipline. All these forces were under the authority of the Lord Provost, Archibald Stewart, who was afterwards subjected to a long imprisonment and a harassing trial, for alleged breach of duty at this period. It is probable that his own principles were not free from a secret Jacobite bias; but nevertheless it was proved on the clearest evidence, and to the satisfaction of the jury, that he had honestly acted for King George, and had failed from want of means, or perhaps of capacity, but not from any traitorous design (1).

The dragoons of Colonel Gardiner having now retired before the rebels to Corstorphine, within three miles of the city, and resolving to make a stand, sent for the second regiment from Leith; and it was proposed that they should also be supported by the City Guard, and by the body of volunteers. To collect the latter, the fire-bell, an ominous signal, began to toll on Sunday, the 15th, in the midst of divine service; the churches were emptied in an instant, and the congregations pouring out into the streets beheld the volunteers arrive under arms, and Hamilton's regiment ride through on its way to Corstorphine. As the dragoons appeared the volunteers hailed them with loud huzzas, in token of their own alacrity, which the dragoons returned with similar shouts and with the clashing of their swords. At these warlike sights and sounds, the female friends and relatives of the volunteers were filled with consternation, and clung around the objects of their tenderness with tears and entreaties to consult their precious safety. Sir Walter Scott truly observes, that there is nothing of which men in general are more easily persuaded than of the extreme value of their own lives; and a further argument was supplied by a clergyman present, who declared that such valiant men ought not to sally forth, but reserve themselves for the defence of the city walls. The effect of these exhortations was soon apparent. When the regiment of volunteers was directed to move on, the files grew thinner and thinner; man after man dropped off; from hundreds they dwindled to tens, from tens almost to units; and at last, when their commander, Mr. Drummond, had passed the gates and looked round, he was amazed to find only one or two dozen in his train. One of their number, afterwards, in very sublime and suitable language, compared their march to the course of the Rhine, a noble river as it rolls its waves to Holland, but which, being then continually drawn off by little canals, becomes only a small rivulet, and is almost lost in the sands before reaching the ocean (2).

(1) See the proceedings of this trial, which began March 24. 1757, and which affords much minute and authentic information on the surrender of

the city. Stewart was certainly very harshly dealt with by the Government.

(2) See Quarterly Review, No. lxxi. p. 173. An-

On this occasion, however, the prudence of the soldier citizens was not destined to be shamed by any superiority in the regular troops. The command of the latter was assumed on Sunday night by Brigadier Fowkes, who had been despatched from London, and had just landed at Leith. By this new chief the dragoons and Town Guard were drawn up at the Colt Bridge, a little nearer the city than Corstorphine. There, on the Monday morning, they were, at Prince Charles's order, reconnoitred by a party of mounted gentlemen from the Highland army, who, as they rode up, discharged their pistols in the usual manner of skirmishers. Immediately, the dragoon piquets were seized with an unaccountable panic: that panic was communicated to the main body; and the officers, after vainly endeavouring to check, were compelled to share their shameful flight. Within half an hour the inhabitants of Edinburgh were dismayed or rejoiced according as their principles inclined them, to see these dragoons galloping along in the greatest confusion over the ground where the New Town at present stands. No sense of honour, no respect to orders could arrest them; they scarcely halted till they came to Preston, where they quartered for the night near the house and grounds of their own chief—the excellent and deeply afflicted Colonel Gardiner. But after dark one of the men going in quest of forage happened to fall into a disused coal-pit full of water, and his outcry for assistance was mistaken by his comrades for an alarm that the Highlanders were coming: upon which they instantly remounted their horses, and resumed their race through the night, never stopping till they reached the shores of Dunbar.

The “Canter of Coltbrigg,” as this disgraceful flight has been popularly called, might well have damped much stouter hearts than now remained for the defence of Edinburgh. Even previously, they had been greatly alarmed at a message brought them by one Mr. Alves, who stated that having approached the rebel army by accident, he had there seen the Duke of Perth, to whom he was personally known. “The Duke,” continued Mr. Alves, “desired me to inform the citizens of Edinburgh, that if they opened their gates their town should be favourably treated; but that if they attempted resistance they must expect military execution; and his Grace ended by addressing a young man near him with the title of Royal Highness, and desiring to know if such were not his pleasure, to which the other assented.” This message being publicly delivered, (for which piece of imprudence, or of treachery, Mr. Alves was committed to prison,) seemed to produce a general feeling of aversion to any further measures of defence; an aversion speedily heightened into panic terror by the rout of

other volunteer, a writing master, assumed for his march what has been termed “a professional cuirass,” namely, two quires of long foolscap paper, which he tied round his vallant bosom; but still, for fear of accidents, wrote upon them as follows: “This is the body of John MacLure; pray give it Christian burial!”

the dragoons. In this emergency the Provost called a meeting of the magistracy that same afternoon, and sent also for the Crown officers to require their advice; but these, with infinite prudence, had already quitted the city.

The magistrates having met, and many unauthorised persons pressing in amidst the general confusion, the question, "Defend, " or not defend the town?" was put, and but very few voices declared in favour of the former. But in the height of the debate, or rather of the din, a letter addressed to the Provost and Town Council was handed in at the door, and, being opened, appeared subscribed "Charles P. R." The Provost rose and protested against reading any such letter: it was read nevertheless, and was found to contain a summons to surrender, with a promise to preserve all the rights and liberties of the city, and the property of every individual. "But," it added, "if any opposition be made " to us, we cannot answer for the consequences, being firmly resolved, at any rate, to enter the city; and if any of the inhabitants " are found in arms against us, they must not expect to be treated " as prisoners of war (1)." This letter, though it increased the cry against resistance, did not lead to any definite resolution; and it was at length agreed, as a middle course, to send out a deputation to the Prince, entreating a suspension of hostilities, and time for full deliberation.

Scarcely had the deputation set forth on their errand, when the citizens were once again inclined towards warlike counsels, by the arrival of an express, with news that Cope's transports were already in sight of Dunbar, and that the General would immediately proceed to land his men, and march for the relief of the city. It appeared, therefore, that a few hours of delay or of defence might be sufficient to save the capital of Scotland; and various measures for that object were submitted to General Guest, and to the magistrates—all, however, on examination rejected as impracticable.

About ten o'clock at night the deputation returned: they had found the young Chevalier at Gray's Mill, within two miles of the city, and brought back another letter from him, appealing to his own and to his father's Declarations, as sufficient security, and demanding a positive reply before two in the morning. Thus pressed for time the bewildered magistrates could think of no better expédient than to send a second deputation to Gray's Mill, with renewed entreaties for delay. This deputation, however, the Prince refused to admit into his presence, and they were obliged to return without any answer.

During this anxious night Charles slept only two hours, without taking off his clothes. Fully conscious of the value of time at this crisis, and afraid that the negotiation would lead to no result, he

(1) This letter was produced at Provost Stewart's trial, (p. 113.), and is printed in Home's History, p. 92.

resolved to storm or surprise the city at daybreak; and sent forward Lochiel and Murray of Broughton with five hundred Camerons, to watch any favourable opportunity. They carried with them a barrel of powder, to blow up one of the gates, if necessary. Arriving, without discovery, close to the Netherbow Port, they lay in ambush near it; when, as it happened, about five in the morning, the hackney coach which had conveyed the second deputation to Gray's Mill drove up to the gate from within, the coachman having completed his business, and wishing to return to his stables in the suburb of Canongate. The sentinels, knowing that the man had been that night engaged in the service of the magistrates, readily opened the gate to let him go home. But no sooner were the portals disclosed, than the foremost Highlanders rushed in, overpowered and secured the watchmen, and seized the guard-house. Immediately sending parties round the inner circuit to the other gates, they secured these also, without bloodshed or disturbance. It passed as quietly, says a person present, as one guard relieves another; and when the inhabitants of Edinburgh awoke in the morning, they found that the Highlanders were masters of their city (1).

At the first break of dawn the Camerons were marched up to the Cross, where they stood (so strictly was discipline maintained!) from six o'clock till eleven, in perfect order, refusing the whiskey that was offered them, and refraining from all plunder, though in a city taken, as it were, by storm, and surrounded by so many objects of temptation. At noon the old Cross—already so renowned in the Scottish annals—became the scene of another striking ceremony. The Heralds and Pursuivants, arrayed in their antique and glittering dresses of office, were compelled to proclaim King James the Eighth, and to read the Royal Declarations and Commission of Regency, while the bagpipes were not wanting in their music, nor the populace in its acclamations; and a thousand fair hands, from the neighbouring windows and balconies, waved white handkerchiefs in honour of the day. One lady of distinguished beauty, Mrs. Murray of Broughton, sat on horseback, beside the Cross, raising a drawn sword in one hand, and with the other distributing the white ribbons that denoted attachment to the House of Stuart. The old days of Scottish chivalry appeared to have returned.

At nearly the same hour of the same memorable 17th of September, Charles, till then at the head of his advancing troops, set forth to take possession of the palace of his ancestors. To avoid the fire of the Castle, he made a considerable circuit to the south; he entered the King's Park by a breach which had been made in the wall (2), and approached Holyrood House by the Duke's Walk, so

(1) Home's History, p. 96.

(2) Lockhart Papers, vol. II. p. 446.

termed because it had been the favourite resort of his grandfather, as Duke of York, during his residence in Scotland. His march had begun on foot, but the enthusiastic crowd which pressed around him, eager to kiss his hand, or even to touch his clothes, nearly threw him down : he therefore mounted his charger, having on his right the Duke of Perth, on his left Lord Elcho, who had joined him the night before. His noble mien and his graceful horsemanship could not fail to strike even the most indifferent spectators; and they were scarcely less pleased at his national dress—a tartan coat, a blue bonnet with a white cockade, and the star of the order of St. Andrew. With fonder partiality, the Jacobites compared his features to those of his ancestor Robert Bruce, or sought some other resemblance in that picture-gallery at Holyrood, which, according to their boast, contains so many undoubted originals of Kings who lived so many centuries before the invention of painting. On this occasion, indeed, the joy of the Jacobites knew no bound; and their feelings, long dissembled or pent in, from compliance with the times, now burst forth in exuberant and overflowing transports. The air resounded with their rapturous acclamations, and as Charles rode onwards, his boots were dimmed with their kisses and tears (1).

As Charles came in front of Holyrood House, the garrison of the Castle, informed of his progress, and eager if possible to arrest it, fired a cannon ball with such direction as to make it descend upon the palace. It did, however, but little injury, striking obliquely a part of James the Fifth's Tower, and falling into the court yard, followed by a quantity of rubbish. The Prince, undismayed at this accident, was about to enter the porch, when a gentleman stepped from the crowd, drew his sword, and raising it aloft marshalled the way up stairs. This was James Hepburn of Keith, who had taken an active part in the rebellion of 1715; and had ever since continued devoted to the Stuart cause. His main motive was abhorrence of the Act of Union; while even his political enemies, admiring him as “a model of ancient simplicity, manliness, “and honour,” lamented that he should sacrifice himself to a visionary idea of Scottish independence (2).

In the evening the long-deserted chambers of the palace were enlivened with a splendid ball, and, as on the eve of another great battle—“bright the lamps shone o'er fair women and brave “men,” and “a thousand hearts beat happily (3).”—Charles showed that neither the fatigue of the previous march, nor the anxiety of the coming conflict, could impair his natural vivacity and powers of pleasing; and the ladies were loud in his praises, many of the younger, perhaps, thinking that the cause of so hand-

(1) Chamber's History, vol. I. p. 136.

(2) Home's History, p. 101.

(3) I need scarcely quote—for who does not

know and admire?—the beautiful stanzas on the Duchess of Richmond's ball at Brussels in 1814. Childe Harold, canto III.

some a Prince and so graceful a dancer could not possibly be wrong.

Next morning was devoted to more serious cares. The Standard had lately been joined by several persons of distinction, the Earl of Kellie, Lord Balmerino, Sir Stuart Threipland, Sir David Murray, Lockhart the younger of Carnwath, (his grandfather, James's correspondent, had died in 1732,) and several other Lowland gentlemen. From the magazine of Edinburgh Charles obtained about a thousand muskets, which served to arm many of his Highlanders, still leaving however several unprovided. He also laid upon the city a requisition for tents, targets, shoes and canteens. Few of the burghers showed any inclination to enlist in his service; but on the next day after his entry Lord Nairn, who had been left in the north to gather reinforcements, came up with five hundred men, consisting of the clan Mac Lauchlan, with their chief and other Highlanders from Athol. All these forces—the new and the old—were passed in review at the camp before the Prince, and he announced his resolution to lead them forward against Sir John Cope, and give him battle—a courageous measure, to which he obtained the consent of all the officers.

The leisure left to Charles for repose or preparation at Edinburgh was only one entire day, the 18th: on the night of Thursday, the 19th, he came to the village of Duddingstone, and the troops lay upon their arms. Calling a council of war, the Prince proposed to march next morning, and meet the enemy half-way; this being agreed to, he next asked the chiefs how they thought their men would behave. The chiefs desired Keppoch to answer for them, since he had served in the French army, and was well acquainted with the difference between Highlanders and regular troops. Keppoch said, that as the country had been long at peace, few or none of the private men had ever seen a battle, and it was not very easy to say how they would behave; but he would venture to assure His Royal Highness that the gentlemen would be in the midst of the enemy, and that the private men, as they loved the cause and loved their chiefs, would certainly follow them. Charles then declared that he would lead them on himself, and charge in the first ranks. But here a general outcry ensued: the chiefs exclaimed that they were ruined and undone, for if any accident befell His Royal Highness, a defeat or a victory must be the same to them; and on Charles's persisting they said they would then return home, and make the best terms they could for themselves. The Prince was therefore compelled to yield, declaring, however, that at least he would lead the second line.

Early on the morning of the 20th, the Highlanders began their march in a single narrow column, and with joyous anticipations of victory. As Charles put himself at their head, he drew his sword, and said to them, "Gentlemen, I have flung away the scabbard," which was answered by loud cheers. Their cavalry scarcely

amounted to fifty, being only some gentlemen and their retainers on horseback; but their numbers altogether were about 2500 (1). They had but a single piece of artillery, an iron gun, which was fired as the signal of march, but was useless for any other military purpose. Charles had expressed a wish to leave this encumbrance behind him; but to his surprise the Highland chiefs interposed, pleading the prejudices of their followers in favour of the "Musket's Mother," as they termed any cannon; and accordingly it followed the march, drawn by a long string of Highland ponies. The DUNNIE WASSAILS, and the best men in each clan, were excellently armed; but even after the supply from Edinburgh, several of the inferior followers could only boast a single weapon, a sword, a dirk, a pistol, or even a scythe-blade, set straight upon the handle. Besides the Royal Standard, each clan displayed its banner inscribed with its gathering words, such as those of Clanranald, *DHAND-DEON CO HERIGHA* (Gainsay who dares), of Mac Gregor, "E'en do "and spare not," or of Athol, "Forth Fortune, and fill the Fetters." In this guise did the men march on, interrupted only by some straggling shots from the Castle, and soon disappearing beyond its reach.

I must now advert to Sir John Cope's proceedings. That General was landing his army at Dunbar the same day that his enemy's entered Edinburgh: his disembarkation, however, was not completed till the 18th. He had been re-inforced at Inverness by 200 of Lord Loudon's men, and was joined at Dunbar by the runaway dragoons, in number 600, so that his whole force was upwards of 2200 men. A very few gentlemen from the Lowlands also came to him as volunteers, but brought no accession of force; the principal of them, the Earl of Home, being attended only by two servants. Even so late as 1633, the Earl of Home of that day had come to greet Charles the First at the head of 600 well-mounted men, his relations and retainers. The change was, no doubt, mainly owing to the decline of feudal power; but it also, in some degree, denotes the state of popular feeling in Scotland, and the difference between raising men for or against the House of Stuart.

The King's troops at Dunbar became likewise the refuge of the Judges and other Crown Officers who had fled from Edinburgh before its capture, but who expected to be soon and triumphantly restored. One of the volunteers—Mr. Home, afterwards the author of Douglas—had remained a little longer in the capital to observe the force and appearance of the rebel army, and now brought Cope an accurate report of it. Sir John's own forces, besides being very nearly equal to the enemy's, were well equipped and in high spirits, the infantry seeming eager to augment, and the dragoons

(1) See the answers of Mr. Patullo, Master-master General to the Rebel Army, and Mr. Home's note in his Appendix, p. 331. See also a long and

valuable note (by the editor) to *Johnstone's Memoirs*, p. 29., octavo ed.

to retrieve, their reputation. He had six pieces of artillery,—a most effective arm against Highlanders; and not only the country people, who flocked from all quarters to gaze on the array, but many of the Royal officers were convinced that there would be no battle, but only a pursuit, as soon as their strength was seen and understood by their opponents (1).

Beginning his march on the 19th, Sir John Cope encamped that night near Haddington, and resumed his advance next morning. He expected that the Highlanders—if indeed they awaited his approach—would be met along the common highway; but, on the contrary, after passing the bridge of Musselburgh, they had turned inland to their right, to obtain the advantage of the rising ground; and they occupied the brow of Carberry Hill, the spot marked in former years by the surrender of the unhappy Mary. The English General, hoping to obtain early intelligence of their movements, had sent forward two of the Edinburgh volunteers; who however proved as incompetent for this as for every other military duty (2). Cope received no report; and thus, on the 20th, after having marched about eight miles, while he continued to look out for the rebels to the west, he suddenly saw them appear on the ridge to the southward. Immediately he changed his front, and drew up his troops in order of battle, his foot in the centre, with a regiment of dragoons and three pieces of artillery on each wing. His right was covered by Colonel Gardiner's park wall and by the village of Preston; at some distance on his left stood Seton House; and the sea, with the villages of Preston Pans and Cockenzie, lay upon his rear.

When the Royal troops first perceived the insurgents they set up a loud shout of defiance, which was promptly answered by the Highland yell. The two armies were less than a mile apart; the Prince's occupying the ridge beyond the little town of Tranent, with a gentle descent and a deep morass between them and their enemy. It was now about three in the afternoon (3), and Charles was desirous to indulge the impatience of his troops by an onset the same day. First, however, to reconnoitre the ground, he sent forward one of his officers, Ker of Gradon, who, mounted upon a little white pony, rode down the hill in front of the enemy with the utmost coolness. Disregarding several shots that were fired at him in the discharge of his duty, he examined the ground with great care and in several directions; and on coming to one or two walls of dry stone that intersected it, he deliberately alighted, pulled

(1) Home's History, p. 107. He adds, "It is doubtful whether the people who talked in this manner really thought so; but such was the tone of the army, and whoever did not hold the same language was looked upon as a lukewarm friend."

(2) See a minute account of their adventures, Quarterly Review, No. lxxi. p. 177. It seems that

these two doughty warriors could not resist the temptation of some excellent oysters and sherry at a well-remembered public house, and were both taken prisoners by a young lad, an attorney's clerk.

(3) Macdonald's Journal (Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 489.). Mr. Chambers, on less good authority, says noon.

down gaps and led his horse over them. He then returned to the Prince and assured him that the morass was deep and difficult, and could not be passed to attack the English in front without risking the loss of the whole army (1). Charles accordingly desisted from his purpose, to the great dissatisfaction of the common Highlanders, who supposed that the enemy intended to escape from them as before at Corry Arrack; nor were they appeased until Lord Nairn with 500 men was detached to the westward, so as to prevent Sir John Cope from stealing off towards Edinburgh, had he so designed, unperceived and unopposed.

Meanwhile the English General being satisfied with the strength of his position, damped the spirit of his men by remaining thus cautiously on the defensive. In vain did Colonel Gardiner urge upon him the necessity of bolder measures; the only aggression of the King's troops that afternoon was to fire a few cannon shots and dislodge a party of Highlanders from the churchyard at Tranent. The two armies lay that night (it proved dark and cold) upon their ground; Cope, however, retiring to more comfortable quarters at Cockenzie, but Charles sleeping amidst his soldiers in a field of pease made up into ricks (2).

But earlier in that evening the young Adventurer and his principal followers had met in council, and agreed, at all hazards, to make their attack next morning opposite Tranent, where the morass seemed less impervious; and for many hours did their minds continue to revolve their hazardous determination. Amongst them was Anderson of Whitburgh, a gentleman well acquainted with the neighbouring country, who, in the middle of the night, suddenly bethought himself of a path that from the heights where they lay wound to their right by the farm of Ringan Head, avoiding in a great measure the morass, and leading to the plain below. This important fact he imparted first to Hepburn of Keith, and then to Lord George Murray, who immediately went with him to awaken Charles. The Prince sat up on his bed of pease-straw, and heard with joy the tidings that assured him of speedy battle, more especially when Anderson undertook to act as his guide. He sent for Lochiel and some other chiefs; and finding their opinion concur with his own, he prepared at once (for by this time the night was well nigh spent) to execute the scheme. An aide-de-camp having been sent to recall Lord Nairn and his detachment, the troops got under arms, and began to move forward with equal silence and speed, Anderson leading the way. The path was found lonely

(1) Compare Home's History, p. 111., with the Lockhart Papers, vol. II. p. 448.

(2) It was long remembered at Tranent, that late that afternoon Prince Charles, attended by the Duke of Perth and another officer, went into the little inn of that village to dine. They had some coarse *kail*, or broth, and then the meat from which it had been made; but as the landlady had

previously concealed her little service of pewter for fear of the Highlanders, they had only two wooden spoons among the three, and one butcher's knife to cut the meat, which they then ate with their fingers. (Chambers's History, vol. I. p. 168.) A curious picture of a Prince on the eve of a victory.

and unguarded, and the morass was passed without much difficulty, though even in this selected place several Highlanders sunk knee deep, and the Prince himself stumbled and fell. Soon, however, they reached the firm ground, concealed from the enemy first by the darkness, and when day began to break, by a frosty mist. On the plain, however, the dragoon outposts heard the sound of their march, and firing their pistols, galloped off to give the alarm; but as a surprise had formed no part of the insurgents' scheme, they were not discomposed, and only hastened to form themselves in line of battle. There had been some warm discussion as to which clan should obtain the honours of the right: it was claimed by the Macdonalds, and in prudence, but reluctantly, was yielded by the Camerons and Stuarts. Charles put himself at the head of the second line, which was close behind the first, and addressed them in these words:—"Follow me, gentlemen, and by the blessing of God, I will this day make you a free and happy people!"

On the other part Sir John Cope lost no time in disposing his troops, his order of battle being nearly the same as when he first saw the enemy on the previous day, except that the men's faces were now turned in the opposite direction, towards the east instead of towards the west. His infantry stood in the centre, Hamilton's dragoons on his left, and Gardiner's, with the artillery before them, on his right next the morass. The mists now rolling away before the rising sun revealed to each army the position of the other. But the Highlanders did not long stand at gaze. First, with uncovered heads, uttering a short prayer, they pulled their bonnets over their brows, and as the pipers blew the signal, they rushed forward, each clan a separate mass, and raising a war-cry that gradually rose into a terrific yell.

The first reached was the Royal Artillery, which was not served by regular gunners, but by some seamen whom Cope had hastily collected from the fleet. The Camerons and Stuarts, running straight on the muzzles of the cannon, took them by storm, while the scared artillerymen dispersed in all directions. Colonel Gardiner now commanded a charge upon the advancing enemy, encouraging both by voice and example his dragoons. But these receiving a heavy rolling fire from the Highlanders, and seeing them come on with their broad-swords, wavered—gave way—and struck with a panic, galloped off in all directions. On the right, at nearly the same time, and in nearly the same manner, did the Macdonalds scatter Hamilton's regiment before them. The English infantry now remained uncovered at both flanks, but yet undismayed, and poured upon the Highland centre a steady and well-directed fire, before which several of their best men fell. Amongst these was James Mac Gregor, a son of the well-known Rob Roy; who, though struck by five wounds, still continued from the ground to call out and animate his men. But on coming to close

quarters, the Highlanders parried with their targets the soldiers' bayonets, and the separate masses of the clans broke through on several points the extended line of the King's army; by which means the whole of the latter was thrown into confusion, while the inclosures and park wall of Preston impeded their retreat. So rapid was this Highland onset, that in five or six minutes the whole brunt of the battle was over.

Never was a victory more complete. There was scarce any cavalry, indeed, to pursue the dragoons; but not above 170 men of the infantry escaped; all the rest being either killed or taken prisoners. The whole number of slain in the Royal army was nearly four hundred; and of these none was more lamented than Colonel Gardiner. When forsaken by his horsemen in battle and left almost alone, he saw a party of the foot who were then fighting bravely close by, but who had no officer to head them; "These brave fellows," said he, "will be cut to pieces for want of a commander," and riding up, he cheered them on to the charge; but, in a few moments, he was cut down by a Highlander with a scythe, and dispatched with several wounds, close to his own park wall (1). Thus died a gallant soldier and a worthy man. In his youth he had been drawn to ardent devotion, by a miracle as he believed it;—while awaiting an assignation with a married woman, he saw, or thought he saw, the Saviour on the Cross, surrounded on all sides by a glory, and calling him to repentance—a call which he obeyed ever afterwards by a most exemplary life (2).

The insurgents' loss in this conflict was only thirty killed and seventy wounded. The Highlanders wreaked their whole fury on such dragoon horses as they could reach, believing, in their ignorance of cavalry, that these animals were trained to bite and tear in battle. But as to their vanquished enemies, Charles, who had been scarcely fifty paces behind the vanguard, immediately exerted himself, and, in a little while with success, to command and enforce mercy. In fact, his moderation in his victory, whether proceeding from temper or from policy, has been universally acknowledged (3). He remained on the field till midday, giving orders for the relief of the wounded of both armies, without any distinction of friend or foe. It is recorded, also, that one of his officers coming up to congratulate him, and saying, "Sir, there are your enemies at your feet;" the Prince, far from exulting, expressed only his compassion for what he termed his father's deluded subjects (4).

No sooner was the victory decided, than most of the victors dis-

(1) Dr. Doddridge's *Remarkable Passages in the Life of Colonel Gardiner*, p. 187. Gardiner was carried senseless to the manse of Tranent, where he expired a few hours afterwards, and was buried close to his children in his own, the village, church.

(2) *Ibid.* See a note to *Waverley*, revised ed. vol. i. p. 72.

(3) *Home's History*, p. 122.

(4) MS. *Memoirs of James Maxwell of Kirkconnell*. See a note to *Waverley*, revised ed. vol. ii. p. 273.

banded for plunder. The standards and other trophies, and the military chest, containing about 2,500*l.*, were brought to the Prince, but all other spoils were reserved by the captors for themselves. Unaccustomed to luxuries, the rude mountaineers looked half in scorn and half in wonder on the refinements of civilized life. A quantity of chocolate taken was afterwards cried in the streets of Perth under the name of "Johnnie Cope's salve!" One man, who had got a watch, very soon sold it for a trifle, observing, with great glee, that "he was glad to be rid of the creature, for she "lived no time after he caught her"—the machinery having in fact stopped for want of winding up! Another man exchanged a horse for a horse-pistol! Uncouth old Highlanders were seen strutting about in the officers' fine clothes; others appeared hurrying away with a large military saddle upon their backs; and a great number immediately set off without leave or notice to their mountains on purpose to secure their spoil (1).

Of the dragoons who had fled from the field of battle a small party made their way to Edinburgh, where they rode up the High Street at full gallop, and with prodigious confusion and uproar. They continued their race up the hill to the Castle as their surest place of refuge; but the Governor, so far from admitting them, sent them word to begone, or he would open his guns upon them as cowards who had deserted their colours. Scared at this new peril, they turned their horses, and pursued their flight towards the west. But the greater number having been collected, though not rallied, by Sir John Cope and the Earls of Loudon and Home, were seized with a fresh panic the same morning, and in spite of every exertion of their chiefs, went off again at full speed towards Coldstream. Even at Coldstream they did not feel secure, but after a night's rest sought shelter behind the ramparts of Berwick. There they arrived in the most disgraceful disorder; and Sir John was received by his brother officer Lord Mark Kerr with the sarcastic compliment, that he believed he was the first general on record who had carried the tidings of his own defeat!

This battle, called of Preston, or sometimes of Preston Pans, by the well-affected party, received the name of Gladsmuir from the insurgents, out of respect, as it would seem, to certain ancient predictions. "On Gladsmuir shall the battle be,"—says a Book of Prophecies printed at Edinburgh in 1615; but Gladsmuir—a large open heath—lies a full mile to the east of the actual scene of conflict.

(1) Chambers's Hist. vol. i. p. 196.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

At the news of the growing insurrection, King George had set out from Hanover, and on the 31st of August arrived in London. He found that the Regency in his absence had not neglected any measure of precaution; even on the mere apprehension of the troubles a warrant (though, as we have seen, in vain) was issued against the Duke of Perth; and with better success were Sir Hector Maclean and two or three others brought prisoners to England (1). A requisition had been sent to the Dutch for the 6000 auxiliaries they were bound to furnish; a resolution taken to recall some of the English regiments from Flanders. Marshal Wade had likewise been directed to collect as many troops as he could at Newcastle, and the militia of several counties was called out. But the spirit of the people in no degree responded to the efforts of the government; they remained cold lookers on, not indeed apparently favouring the rebellion, but as little disposed to strive against it. A member of the administration, and a man of no desponding temper, Henry Fox, in his confidential letters at this period, admits and deplores the passive state of public feeling: "England, Wade says, "and I believe, is for the first comer; and if you can tell whether "the 6000 Dutch, and the ten battalions of English, or 5000 French "or Spaniards will be here first, you know our fate (2). . . . "The French are not come, God be thanked! But had 5000 "landed in any part of this island a week ago, I verily believe the "entire conquest would not have cost them a battle (3)."

On the King's return moreover the factions of the Court aggravated the difficulties of the country. His Majesty's whole confidence was centered on the fallen minister Granville, who awaited only some favourable opening to drive the Pelhams from power, and who, from rivalry to them, continued till the battle of Preston to make light of the rebellion. According to Horace Walpole, "Lord "Granville and his faction persist in persuading the King, that it "is an affair of no consequence—and for the Duke of Newcastle, "he is glad when the rebels make any progress, in order to confute "Lord Granville's assertions (4)."—It was amidst such feuds and jealousies that the ministry had to make their preparations for re-

(1) Tindal's Hist. vol. ix. p. 171.

(2) To Sir C. H. Williams, Sept. 5. 1745.

(3) To the same, Sept. 19. 1745. Coxe's Lord Walpole of Wolterton.

(4) To Sir H. Mann, September 20. 1745. He

adds seven days later, after the battle, "Lord

"Granville still buoys up the King's spirits....

"His Majesty uses his ministers, as ill as possible.

"and discourages every body that would risk

"their lives and fortunes with him."

trieving the lost battle, and for meeting the Parliament which was summoned for the 17th of October.

On departing from France without permission from its Government, Charles had left a letter of apology and solicitation for the King, which was delivered after he had sailed, and was seconded by the warm entreaties of his friend the Duke de Bouillon (1). Still more effectual were the tidings of his first success. Louis became well disposed, both in self-interest and generosity, to aid him, and continued to despatch several small supplies of arms and money, some of which were intercepted by the English cruizers, while others safely reached their destination. But another far more important diversion in his favour was meditated by the Court of France. His young brother, Henry of York, having arrived from Rome, it was designed to put him at the head of the Irish regiments in the French service, and of several others, and enable him to effect a landing in England; and already were preparations for that object in active progress in Dunkirk.

Charles, conscious how much his final success would depend upon French succour, had determined to lose no opportunity of pressing it. On his victory at Preston he sent over Mr. Kelly with letters to the Court of Versailles and to his father (2); three weeks later Sir James Stewart was despatched. Both these emissaries succeeded in safely arriving at Paris; Kelly, however, narrowly escaping arrest from the British consul at Camp Weer in Zealand. But neither of them throve in his negotiations. Cabals were already at work against the intended expedition; some pretext of delay was always invented, some obstacle always interposed. Even the warmest partisan of the Stuarts, Cardinal Tencin, complained to Kelly of the backwardness of the English Jacobites, and insisted, as a pledge of their sincerity, that before the armament sailed, Sir John Hinde Cotton should resign his office at Court. In vain did Kelly reply that Cotton could not reasonably be expected to incur that useless risk, since his resignation, at such a crisis, would at once be followed by his arrest and committal to the Tower (3).—Thus did the French Government long defer, and finally lose the fairest opportunity it had ever seen since the Revolution of establishing its influence and principles in Britain.

Prince Charles's first wish and design upon his victory was to march immediately towards London, at the head of his little army. On the very next morning he despatched an agent into Northumberland, with instructions to stir up the country and prepare the way for his coming (4). Had Charles really been able to push onwards

(1) Gulloden Papers, p. 306.

(2) See these letters in the Appendix. I am surprised that Mr. Chambers should have been imposed upon by a clumsy forgery, which he inserts in his History, vol. i. p. 188.

(3) Secret examination of Murray of Broughton.

August 13. 1746, Appendix. These and many other curious particulars were suppressed in his public evidence.

(4) This agent's name was Hickson; he was discovered and arrested at Newcastle. See his instructions in the Appendix, dated Sept. 22. 1746.

with a body of two or three thousand men, there is strong reason to believe, from the state of things I have described in England—the previous apathy—and the recent terror—the want of troops—and the distraction of councils—that he might have reached the capital with but little opposition, and succeeded in at least a temporary restoration. There was no fortified place upon his way beyond the Tweed, except Newcastle, and even at Newcastle his arms had struck the deepest dismay. We learn from Wesley, who was there at the time, “The walls are mounted with cannon, and all things prepared for sustaining an assault, but our poor neighbours on either hand are busy in removing their goods; and most of the best houses in our street are left without either furniture or inhabitants(1).” If such was the feeling behind ramparts, what must it have been in open and defenceless towns?

On the other hand, the Prince’s Scottish advisers were nearly unanimous against an expedition into England. It was urged, as a reason for at least delaying it, that he might triple or quadruple his army by reinforcements from the Highlands, and obtain the advantage of the French supplies that were beginning to arrive at Montrose, Dundee, and other points of the eastern coast. But the motive, which more than any other weighed with Charles to forego his resolution, was the number of Highlanders who were already hastening towards their mountains in order to secure their plunder; so that, had he marched on from the field of battle, he could scarcely perhaps have mustered 1500 men beneath his standard.

Accordingly the young Adventurer, having passed the night of his victory at Pinkie House, returned next evening to fix his residence for some time at Holyrood. On the same day his army marched back into Edinburgh with every token of triumph, displaying the prisoners, the spoils, and the standards they had taken, while the multitude greeted them with repeated acclamations, and the pibrochs struck up the old Cavalier tune, “The King shall enjoy his own again.” Amidst the exulting licence of this tumultuous entry, many of the Highlanders fired their pieces into the air; but one of them having been accidentally loaded with ball, it grazed the forehead of Miss Nairn, an enthusiastic Jacobite, who was waving her handkerchief from a neighbouring balcony. She was stunned for some moments, but on coming to herself, her first words were not of concern at the pain, or of resentment at the carelessness: “Thank God,” she exclaimed, as soon as she could speak, “that the accident has happened to me, whose principles are known. Had it befallen a Whig, they would have said it was done on purpose(2)!”

The battle of Preston made the Prince master of all Scotland, except some districts beyond Inverness, the Highland forts, and

(1) Wesley’s Journal, September 23. 1745.

Miss Nairn survived so long as to be an acquaintance of Sir Walter Scott in his younger days.

(2) Note to Waverley, revised ed., vol. li. p. 202.

the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. In almost every town was the Pretender proclaimed as "King James the Eighth," while the public money was levied for his service. On the city of Glasgow, at once the richest and the least friendly to his cause, an extraordinary payment of 5000*l.* was imposed. The late public authorities either fled to England or skulked in privacy, while the Jacobites, throwing off the mask, took no pains to dissemble their rapturous joy, and loudly vaunted of their young Prince, who, according to their own phrase at the time, "could eat a dry crust, and sleep on pease-straw, take his dinner in four minutes, and win a battle in five (1)!"

Meanwhile this idol of their affections was exercising at Holyrood all the attributes of sovereignty, and making every exertion to confirm and heighten the popular feeling in his favour. He forbade all public rejoicings for his victory, stating as his reason the loss which his father's misguided subjects had sustained. The Banking Companies having retired into the Castle, to the great public inconvenience, he invited them to return by a proclamation; assuring them of full protection, but none obeyed the summons. The clergy of Edinburgh were in like manner exhorted in another proclamation to resume their religious duties; with a timidity, however, for which they were afterwards censured by their own party, they persisted in absenting themselves. One only, MacVicar by name, the minister of the West Church, appeared as usual in his pulpit, and even continued to pray for King George. Charles was urged to punish this boldness, but wisely refused to disturb him; and Mr. MacVicar, perhaps in gratitude for the toleration, added to his prayer on the next occasion, "As for the young man that 'is come among us to seek an earthly Crown, we beseech thee in 'mercy take him to thyself, and give him a Crown of glory!"

Forbearance in such a case was easy, but in that of Edinburgh Castle it involved a heavy sacrifice. Having drawn a close blockade around the fortress, and being informed that the garrison had only a six weeks' stock of provisions, Charles might reasonably hope that this important strong-hold must ere long fall into his hands. General Guest, however, wrote as Governor to the magistrates of Edinburgh, that unless the communication were re-opened he would fire upon the city and lay it in ashes. The affrighted townsmen obtained a day's respite in order to lay the letter before Charles at Holyrood. The Prince's answer was likewise given in writing; he declared that he was surprised at the barbarity of an officer who could threaten ruin to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, for not doing what it was out of their power to do; that, if even compassion should make him raise the blockade of the Castle, the Governor might next with equal reason require him to leave the city with his troops, and resign all the advantages of victory; and that, if

any wanton mischief were attempted, he would make full reprisal upon the estates of the officers in the Castle, "and even upon all "who are known to be open abettors of the German Govern-
 "ment (1)." This answer being transmitted by the citizens, they obtained from the General a suspension of his threatened cannonade until the return of an express, which was sent to London for orders. Meanwhile the Governor expected that nothing should be attempted against his garrison. But this condition not being clearly understood by the common Highlanders, they, a few days afterwards, fired at some people whom they saw carrying provisions up the hill. Upon this General Guest opened his own fire; the streets were swept with cartridge shot, and several of the inhabitants as well as Highlanders were killed. A new and most earnest appeal was now made to Charles's mercy, and he either found it necessary, or felt it desirable to yield in his second answer. "As we have threatened we might justly proceed
 "to use the powers which God has put in our hands to chastise
 "those who are instrumental in the ruin of this capital, by re-
 "prisals upon the estates and fortunes of those who are against
 "us; but we think it no way derogatory to the glory of a Prince
 "to suspend punishment, or alter a resolution, when thereby the
 "lives of innocent men can be saved. In consequence of this sen-
 "timent the blockade of the Castle is hereby taken off (2)." From this time forward, therefore, supplies were freely allowed to pass into the fortress, its cannonade ceased, but all hopes of its reduction disappeared.

In another transaction of this time, however, the Prince's generosity excited no small discontent among his followers. It had been proposed to send one of the prisoners of Preston to London, in order to demand of that Court a cartel for the exchange of prisoners taken, or to be taken, in war, and to declare that if this were refused, and if the Prince's friends, falling into the enemy's hands, were put to death as rebels, the Prince would be compelled to treat his captives in the same manner. It was evident that a cartel would be of the utmost advantage to Charles's cause, as his well-wishers would be far more ready to declare for him if they had only to fear the chances of war in the field; and it was argued that a few severe examples would induce the English officers to remonstrate, and the English Government to comply: but to this scheme, however plausible, and however warmly urged, Charles stubbornly refused his assent. "It is below me," he said, "to make
 "empty threats, and I will never put such as these into execution;
 "I cannot in cold blood take away lives which I have saved in the
 "heat of action (3)."

(1) Charles's answer (Sept. 30. 1745) is printed in the Collection of his State Papers. p. 29.

(2) Charles's Proclamation, Oct. 8. 1745.

(3) MS. Memoirs of Maxwell of Kirkconnell; from a copy in possession of Sir Walter Scott.

According to Charles's orders great clemency was shown to the prisoners of Preston. Within a few days the officers were liberated on parole, and permitted to live at large in the town, and scarcely more restraint was imposed upon the common men. But one officer breaking his parole and escaping into the Castle, both officers and privates were sent into temporary custody at, or near, Perth, where, however, it was found both difficult and expensive to confine them. Some few were persuaded to enlist in the Prince's army, and the greater number were released on taking an oath not to serve against the House of Stuart for one twelvemonth; an engagement which is alleged, though not perhaps on adequate authority, to have been broken by many.

The first thought of Charles had been to summon a Scottish Parliament at Edinburgh, but the practical difficulties of that scheme were so great that he relinquished it. He published a proclamation, however, on the 9th of October, denouncing "the pretended Parliament of the Elector of Hanover," summoned at Westminster for the 17th, warning the English not to attend, and declaring it high treason for the Scotch. Another longer and more important proclamation, issued by Charles on the 10th, was designed as a pledge of his future conduct, and an incentive to popular support. He had observed that the measure most obnoxious on the north of the Tweed was the Act of Union; it was still clamoured against as a fatal blow to the national independence; and no saying was more common among the Jacobites, than that they were bound to restore, not merely the King, but the kingdom, of Scotland (1). In his proclamation, therefore, Charles takes care to announce that his father would never ratify this "pretended Union;" but, "with respect to every law or act of Parliament since the Revolution, so far as in a free and legal Parliament they shall be approved, he will confirm them." He also touches upon the delicate subjects of the public funds and the Protestant religion, and repels the various imputations that had been urged against his cause. "We must further declare the sentiments of our Royal Father with regard to the national debt. That it has been contracted under an unlawful government nobody can disown, no more than that it is now a most heavy load upon the nation; yet in regard that it is for the greatest part due to those very subjects whom he promises to protect, cherish, and defend, he is resolved to take the advice of his Parliament concerning it. . . . Our present attempt is not undertaken to impose upon any a religion which they dislike, but to secure them all the enjoyment of those which are respectively at present established among them, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland. . . . And this security for your religion, properties, and laws, we ratify and confirm in our own

(1) See for example the Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 201.

“ name before Almighty God, upon the faith of a Christian and the honour of a Prince.

“ Let me now expostulate this weighty matter with you, my father’s subjects. Do not the pulpits and congregations of the clergy, as well as your weekly papers, ring with the dreadful threats of Popery, Slavery, Tyranny, and Arbitrary Power, which are now ready to be imposed upon you by the formidable powers of France and Spain? Is not my Royal father represented as a bloodthirsty tyrant, breathing out nothing but destruction to all those who will not immediately embrace an odious religion? Or have I myself been better used? But listen only to the naked truth.—I with my own money hired a vessel, ill-provided with money, arms, or friends; I arrived in Scotland attended by seven persons; I publish the King my father’s declaration, and proclaim his title with pardon in one hand, in the other liberty of conscience, and the most solemn promises to grant whatever a free Parliament shall propose for the happiness of the people. I have, I confess, the greatest reason to adore the goodness of Almighty God, who has in so remarkable a manner protected me and my small army through the many dangers to which we were at first exposed, and who has led me in the way to victory, and to the capital of this ancient kingdom, amidst the acclamations of the King my father’s subjects. As to the outcries formerly raised against the Royal Family, whatever miscarriages might have given occasion for them have been more than atoned for since, and the nation has now an opportunity of being secured against the like for the future. That our family has suffered exile during these fifty-seven years every body knows. Has the nation during that period of time been the more happy and flourishing for it? Have you found reason to love and cherish your governors as the fathers of the people of Great Britain and Ireland? Has a family, upon whom a faction unlawfully bestowed the diadem of a rightful Prince, retained a sense of so great a trust and favour? Have you found more humanity and condescension in those who were not born to a Crown, than in my Royal forefathers? Have they, or do they, consider only the interest of these nations? Have you reaped any other benefit from them than an immense load of debts? If I am answered in the affirmative, why has their government been so often railed at, in all your public assemblies? Why has the nation been so long crying out for redress?

“ The fears of the nation from the powers of France and Spain appear still more vain and groundless. My expedition was undertaken unsupported by either. But indeed when I see a foreign force brought by my enemies against me, and when I hear of Dutch, Danes, Hessians, and Swiss, the Elector of Hanover’s allies being called over to protect his government

“against the King’s subjects, is it not high time for the King
 “my father to accept also of assistance? Who has the better
 “chance to be independent of foreign powers—he who with
 “the aid of his own subjects can wrest the government out of the
 “hands of an intruder, or he who cannot, without assistance
 “from abroad, support his government, though established by
 “all the civil power, and secured by a strong military force,
 “against the undisciplined part of those he has ruled over for
 “so many years? Let him, if he pleases, try the experiment :
 “let him send off his foreign hirelings, and put all upon the
 “issue of a battle, and I will trust only to the King my father’s
 “subjects (1) !”

This spirited proclamation was not, we may presume, without effect in drawing more recruits to Charles’s standard—the great object to which all his measures were directed. Many volunteers joined him from the Lowlands, and new tribes of Highlanders poured down from their mountains. Lord Ogilvie, eldest son of the Earl of Airly, brought 600 men, mostly of his own name, from Forfar. Another regiment of 400 from the hills of Aberdeenshire came under Gordon of Glenbucket. In the same country Lord Lewis Gordon, brother of the Duke, declared for Charles, and undertook to raise the vassals of his house. Macpherson of Cluny, having gone from Perth to levy his followers, returned with about 300. Lord Balmerino, a bold, bluff, hard-drinking veteran, of the old Scottish stamp, took up arms again, as he had in 1715. Another still more important accession was gained in Lord Pitsligo, a man also in advanced years, of gentle temper, and peculiar wariness and prudence. “I always observed him,” says Dr. King, “ready to defend any other person who was ill-spoken
 “of in his company. If the person accused were of his acquaintance, my Lord Pitsligo would always find something good to say
 “of him as a counterpoise. If he were a stranger and quite unknown to him, my Lord would urge in his defence the general
 “corruption of manners, and the frailties and infirmities of human
 “nature (2) !” From this cautious temper, which he was known to possess, the gentlemen of his neighbourhood in Banffshire deemed him a safe leader, and were the more easily persuaded to join him when he espoused the Stuart cause ; they formed with their retainers about 150 cavalry under his command ; besides which, he also brought a small body of foot.

With Sir Alexander Macdonald and MacLeod the Stuart cause found less favour. Only three days after the battle Charles had despatched to them a messenger, exhorting them, but in vain, to

(1) Murray of Broughton, in his secret examination (August 13. 1748), says, that this proclamation was drawn up by Sir Thomas Sheridan and Sir James Stewart. No doubt it may have been corrected as to the language, and must have been as

to the spelling ; but the style appears to me very much to resemble that of Charles’s letters, allowing for the difference between a studied and a hasty composition.

(2) Anecdotes of his own Time, p. 145.

join his standard (1). Lovat likewise, though strongly urged in Charles's letters, continued to waver between his hopes and fears. For some time he brooded over a scheme of collecting a new Highland army at the Corry Arrack, which should affect neutrality, and side at last with the victorious. But finding this impracticable, and afraid of losing all credit with the Pretender's party, he finally adopted the dastardly middle course, of exposing his son's life to protect his own. He privately directed that son, the Master of Lovat, to march towards the Prince at the head of seven or eight hundred of his clan, protesting all the while to his neighbour, the Lord President, that the march was made to his infinite sorrow and against his repeated orders. But his previous hesitation had lasted so long, that the Frasers did not arrive at Perth until after the Prince had entered England. And it may be alleged, with great show of truth, that the defection or delay of these three chiefs, MacLeod, Macdonald, and Lovat—who could, had they heartily engaged, have brought a further force of 4000 men,—turned the nearly balanced scale against the success of the English expedition, and the triumph of the Jacobite cause.

Notwithstanding these drawbacks Charles's army, within six weeks after his victory, mustered nearly 6000 men. These were encamped at Duddingstone, and supplied with tents, partly from the requisition upon Edinburgh, and partly from the spoils of Cope. The hardy mountaineers, however, were not easily prevailed upon to sleep otherwise than in the open air, and only yielded at length, as they said, out of respect to the Prince's orders. Charles came daily to visit or review them, and sometimes passed the night in the camp, lying down without taking off his clothes. He formed the cavalry, besides Lord Pitsligo's, into two troops as guards; the first to be commanded by Lord Elcho, the second by the Earl of Kilmarnock. Great pains were taken in like manner to equip and discipline the infantry; their rations being punctually supplied, and their pay fixed at sixpence a day for the common men, and a shilling for those of the front ranks in the Highland regiments. But with every care the camp still presented an irregular and uncouth appearance. A spy, who was sent from England about the middle of October, reports as follows: "They consist of an odd medley of
"grey beards and no beards,—old men fit to drop into the grave,
"and young boys whose swords are near equal to their weight,
"and I really believe more than their length. Four or five thousand may be very good determined men; but the rest are mean,
"dirty, villanous-looking rascals, who seem more anxious about
"plunder than their Prince, and would be better pleased with
"four shillings than a Crown (2)."—Yet we may observe that, in

(1) See his Instructions in Home's Appendix, p. 324. Prince as a pretended partisan, and was asked

(2) MS. Report quoted in Chambers's Hist. vol. i. many questions as to the number of troops and p. 214. This spy obtained an audience of the the state of public feeling in England.

spite of such forbidding looks, their acts of outrage or depredation to the country-people were at this time extremely few. It was not uncommon, indeed, for them to stop some respectable portly citizen as he passed along, levelling their muskets at him with savage and threatening gestures; but on being asked by the trembling townsman what they wanted, they usually answered, "a baubee," that is, a half penny! Several more serious robberies that had been at first imputed to them were soon clearly traced to some professed thieves—a class abounding the more, since the insurgents had every where opened the public jails, and who now assumed the Highland dress and the white cockade as a convenient disguise for their misdeeds. Against these mock Highlanders Charles issued a proclamation (1), and succeeded in recovering and restoring a part of the stolen property.

Money was scarcely less needful than men to the young Pretender, and this he obtained in three modes; free gifts, forced contributions, and foreign supplies. Several gentlemen, too aged or too timid to take up arms, displayed their zeal for him in purse instead of person; thus, for example, the old Earl of Wemyss sent 500*l*. The public revenues and the King's-land rents were levied throughout the greater part of Scotland, as by a regular and established government, and all arrears of them called in (2). Forced loans, also, were imposed upon some places, as Glasgow; and the factors of the estates forfeited in 1715 were commanded to render their accounts and pay their balances (3); all under the threat of military execution, with fire and sword. The goods in the Custom-houses at Leith and other ports having been seized, Charles forthwith converted them into money, by selling them back to the smugglers, from whom they had been taken. Less invidiously was his treasury replenished from a French ship, which anchored at Montrose, with 5000*l*. on board. Three other ships coming to the same coast brought 1000*l*. more; they also conveyed about five thousand stand of arms, a train of six field-pieces, and several French and Irish officers. With these came over, likewise, M. de Boyer, called the Marquis d'Eguilles, and brother of the well-known Marquis d'Argens, who was entrusted with a letter of congratulation to Charles from Louis the Fifteenth. This was the principal business of his mission; but the Prince, with excellent policy, insisted on calling him "Monseigneur de Boyer (4)," and receiving him with studied ceremony, as the accredited ambassador from the King of France to the Prince Regent of Scotland. This belief, together with the promise of a French landing in Charles's favour,

(1) Collection of Declarations, p. 33. It is amusing to find the Jacobite newspaper allege the jails flung open by themselves as a proof of public virtue. "Among the observables of this time, one is that there is not in the city jail one single prisoner for crime, debt, or otherwise. The like,

"perhaps, never could have been said before!"—*Caledonian Mercury*, October 2. 1745.

(2) Proclamation, October 15. 1745.

(3) Circular letter to the Factors, September 30. 1745.

(4) *Caledonian Mercury*, October 16. 1745.

tended in no small degree to raise or to sustain the spirits of his partisans.

To carry on these and his other measures with an air of Royalty, Charles had named a council, consisting of the two Lieutenant-Generals, the Duke of Perth, and Lord George Murray; the Quarter-master-General, O'Sullivan; the Colonel of the Horse Guards, Lord Elcho; Secretary Murray, Lords Ogilvie, Nairn, Pitsligo, and Lewis Gordon, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and all the Highland chiefs. This council he appointed to meet him at ten o'clock every morning in his drawing-room. It was then his custom, first to declare his own opinion, and afterwards to ask that of every other member in their turn. The deliberations were often protracted and discordant, and embittered by rivalry between the Scotch and Irish officers. According to Lord Elcho, "there was one third of the council whose principles were, that Kings and Princes can never think wrong, so in consequence they always confirmed whatever the Prince said;" and he moreover alleges, that "His Royal Highness could not bear to hear any body differ in sentiment from him, and took a dislike to every body that did (1)." We should not forget that Lord Elcho wrote thus in exile, after a violent quarrel and total estrangement between him and the Prince; yet, on the whole, from his and other testimony, we may clearly conclude, that Charles was too fiery in his temper and too fixed in his opinions.

Before the council, Charles always held a levee; when the council rose, he dined in public with his principal officers, and then rode out with his Life Guards, usually to his camp at Duddingstone. On returning in the evening, he held a drawing-room for the ladies of his party; and not unfrequently closed the day by giving them a ball in the old picture-gallery of Holyrood. His affability and constant wish to please were neither relaxed by his good fortune nor yet clouded by his cares: at table he often combined a compliment to his followers with a sarcasm on his rival, by saying, that, after his restoration, Scotland should be his Hanover and Holyrood House his Herrenhausen (2). At his camp he talked familiarly even to the meanest Highlanders (3). At his balls he was careful to call alternately for Highland and Lowland tunes, so as to avoid showing an invidious preference to either,—to such minute particulars did his anxiety to please descend! The fair sex in general, throughout Scotland, became devoted to his cause;—those who conversed with him, won by his gaiety and gallantry; those in a remoter sphere, dazzled by his romantic enterprise and situation, and moved by the generous compassion of a woman's heart. The heir of Robert the Bruce come to claim his birthright, and animated, as they

(1) Lord Elcho's MS. Memoirs: a large extract, inserted in the *Tales of a Grandfather*, vol. iii. p. 34—56.

(2) Chambers's Hist. vol. i. p. 311.

(3) Report of the spy sent from England, October. 1745.

fondly believed, by a kindred spirit!—the master of a kingdom, yet reigning beneath the cannon of a hostile fortress!—an exile two months before!—a conqueror to-day!—perhaps a monarch, or perhaps again an outcast and fugitive, to-morrow!

Charles, having now collected as large an army as his present means allowed, was eager to employ it in an expedition to England. His Scottish counsellors, on the contrary, argued, that he ought to content himself with the possession of their ancient kingdom; to think only of defending it against the English armies when they marched against him, but to run no hazard in attempts at further conquest (1). A strange and thoughtless advice, evidently founded on traditional feelings, rather than on sober reason! With better judgment the young Prince perceived, that in his circumstances to await attack was to ensure defeat, and that his only hope of retaining Scotland lay in conquering England. It might indeed, with more ground, be objected to his enterprise, that his present force was wholly insufficient for it, and would expose both his cause and his person to imminent peril. Yet still, considering that the English could hardly be incited to an insurrection, nor the French to a descent, without Charles's personal appearance, and that further delay would probably strengthen the established government in a far greater proportion than himself, the course of present danger was undoubtedly the best for final safety and success. At three several councils did Charles accordingly propose to march into England and fight Marshal Wade, whose army, consisting partly of the Dutch auxiliaries and partly of English regiments, was gathered at Newcastle; but as often was his proposal over-ruled. At length he declared, in a very peremptory manner, "I see, Gentlemen, you are determined to stay in Scotland and defend your country, but I am not less resolved to try my fate in England, though I should go alone."

Thus pressed in honour, the chiefs reluctantly yielded; limiting their consent, however, to a march a little way across the Border. It was then urged by Lord George Murray, that since they needs must enter England, it should be on the Cumberland rather than on the Northumberland side: for, if Marshal Wade advanced towards Carlisle to give them battle, he must harass his troops by a fatiguing march through a difficult country, and the Highlanders would fight to advantage among hills not unlike their own. If, on the contrary, the Marshal remained inactive, the Prince would be at liberty to move where he pleased, and more time would be afforded for the French to land or the English to rise. This scheme, which seems a great improvement on Charles's first idea, was finally re-

(1) See these views vehemently maintained by Chevalier Johnstone; *Memoirs*, p. 48. 8vo ed.; a work that may be consulted for opinions, though not trusted for facts. He adds, "By fomenting the natural hatred which the Scots have at all times

"manifested against the English, the war would have become national; and this would have been a most fortunate circumstance for the Prince."

solved upon; the secret, however, was well kept, it being generally given out and believed that they were to march straight against Wade. To mislead the English as long as possible, the Chevalier adopted another suggestion of Lord George, that the army should proceed in two columns, both to join on a day appointed near Carlisle; the first, with the baggage and incumbrances, to go by the direct road of Moffat, but the second and lighter one, under the Prince in person, to pass by Kelso, as if with the design of pushing on into Northumberland.

At this period, however, the English Government was no longer, as after Preston, unprepared or defenceless: their regiments had arrived from Flanders, their auxiliaries from Holland. Besides Wade's army at Newcastle, which amounted already to near ten thousand men, another under the Duke of Cumberland was forming in the midland counties. The militia had been raised in many districts, and the Duke of Bedford, with thirteen other noblemen, had undertaken to raise each a new regiment of his own. The House of Commons, moreover, had voted not merely loyal addresses but liberal supplies; and consented to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act. On their part, all the ruling statesmen had begun to open their eyes to the magnitude of the impending danger; and the Chancellor, starting as from a lethargy, remarked, that he had thought lightly of the Highlands, but now saw they made a third of the island in the map (1). Every exertion was used to rouse and stimulate the people, not only by a just representation that their religion and liberties were in peril, but also by lower, and, probably, more effectual arts. Thus, for example, the butchers were reminded that the Papists eat no meat in Lent (2); and the Highlanders were held forth as brutal savages, from whom the worst excesses might be feared. I have now lying before me a pamphlet, "by a British Lady."—"Let every mother," says the fair authoress, "consider, if this inundation is not stopped, her prattling boys, the pledges of her love and the darlings of her heart, may be torn from her sight, and slavery, the French galleys, and the Spanish Inquisition be their portion. What may be the fate of her girls, whom she watches over with so much tender care, I have already hinted, and think the subject too horrible to resume — indeed too horrible even but to mention: what then must be the reality (3)?"

It may be doubted, however, whether, with all these exertions and exaggerations, much effect was produced upon the great body of the people. The county of York seems to have been the only

(1) Earl of Marchmont's Diary, October 7. 1745.

(2) The placard was as follows:—"TO ALL JOLLY BUTCHERS: My bold hearts, the Papists eat no meat on Wednesdays, Fridays, Saturdays, nor during Lent. Your friend, JOHN STEEL."—H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, October 4. 1745.

(3) Epistle from a British Lady to her Countrywomen, 1745. p. 11. At p. 13. she bids them emulate "the courage of the women in the reign of Rómulus!"

one where the gentry and yeomen, headed by their Archbishop, made a public and zealous appearance. The fourteen promised regiments all vanished in air or dwindled to jobs :—"These most "disinterested Colonels," writes Horace Walpole, "will name "none but their own relations and dependents for the officers who "are to have rank (1)." Great lukewarmness, to say the least of it, appeared in the ranks of Opposition. Lord Bolingbroke told Marchmont, that he thought this was the time when people should endeavour to keep themselves cool ; and that unless there was a third party for the Constitution, there was none worth fighting for (2)! And at a still later period he says, "I wait with much "resignation to know to what lion's paw we are to fall (3)." In like manner, the great Scottish peers of King George's side, from whom much had been expected, promised little and did nothing. Thus, the Duke of Montrose thought it a right opportunity to complain that Argyle had always been preferred before him :—"My grandfather," added he, "lost his estate at the head of a "party—and I will not lose mine at the tail of one (4)!" But, on the other hand, the faction of the Jacobites in England seemed still more inactive and benumbed, taking no apparent measures to rise in arms, and to counteract the immense superiority of regular troops which their Prince must have to overcome.

Charles, having now matured and fixed his plans, set out from Holyrood on the last day of October, and at six in the evening. That night he slept at Pinkie-house, as after Preston ; next day his army, dividing into two columns, began its march. The whole force fell short of six thousand men, of whom about five hundred were cavalry : they were well clothed and equipped, and had horses to carry their baggage, and four days' provisions (5). But a march into England was nearly as distasteful to the common Highlanders as to their chiefs, and they began to desert in great numbers on the way. One morning Charles is said to have passed an hour and a half before he could prevail upon any of the men to go forward (6) : the weather, too, was so unfavourable, that it would have prevented any troops less hardy than the Highlanders from marching.

Charles's column halted for two days at Kelso, and sent forward orders to Wooller to prepare their quarters ; thus alarming Wade for himself, and diverting his attention from Carlisle, the real object of attack. By a sudden march to the westward and down Lid-disdale, they entered Cumberland on the evening of the 8th of November. As the clans crossed the Border they drew their swords, and raised a shout in pledge of their future resolution ; but Lochiel, in unsheathing his weapon, happened to cut his hand, and the

(1) To Sir H. Mann, November 4. 1745.

(2) Lord Marchmont's Diary, September 24. 1745.

(3) Lord Bolingbroke to Marchmont, December, 1745. Marchmont papers, vol. ii. p. 348.

(4) Lord Marchmont's Diary, October 7. 1745.

(5) Chambers' Hist. vol. i. p. 249.

(6) Ibid. p. 255.

Highlanders,—the same men whom a drawn sword in battle never terrified,—turned pale at the evil omen (1). Next day both columns of the army, joining, proceeded together to the investment of Carlisle.

Carlisle, the ancient bulwark of England on this frontier, was overtopped by an old and massy castle, and begirt by a mouldering wall. In the castle there was only one company of invalids as garrison, commanded by Colonel Durand; but the city was held by a considerable body of Cumberland militia; and, however unfit to stand a regular siege, might, perhaps, resist an enemy who had no other cannon than a few four-pounders to bring against it. Accordingly both Colonel Durand and the Mayor took measures for defence, and returned no answer to Prince Charles's summons; the Mayor merely issued a proclamation to the inhabitants, informing them of the important fact as to his own name and birth-place, that he was not Paterson from Scotland, but Pattieson, a true-born Englishman, determined to hold out the town to the last (2).

The Prince had already given orders to break ground, when he received intelligence that Marshal Wade was marching from Newcastle to relieve the city. Upon this, relinquishing his operations, he judged it best to advance with the greater part of his forces to Brampton, so as to engage the enemy with the advantage of hilly ground. But at Brampton he ascertained that the news respecting Wade was false; and he then sent back the Duke of Perth with several regiments to resume the siege.

On the 13th, Perth began to raise a battery on the east side of the town, his Grace himself, and Tullibardine, working in the trenches without their coats, in order to encourage the men. At the sight of these works, the valiant Mayor, Englishman though he was, felt his courage ooze away: he hung out a white flag, and requested a capitulation for the town. An express was sent, referring the question to the Prince, who refused to grant any terms unless the castle were included; and the result was that both town and castle surrendered. The conditions imported, that the garrison and militia might retire where they pleased, delivering up their arms and horses, and engaging not to serve against Charles for the space of one twelvemonth. The whole siege cost the Highland army only one man killed, and another wounded; yet it added no small lustre to their arms, and terror to their name. On the 17th the Chevalier himself made a triumphal entry into the place. Few, if any, of the inhabitants showed any affection to his cause; but they all acknowledged with gratitude the generous treatment of the Duke of Perth.

As for Marshal Wade, the march to Kelso had succeeded in completely blinding him: he did not move from Newcastle until

(1) *Lockhart Papers*, vol. II. p. 455.

(2) *Tales of a Grandfather*, vol. III. p. 79.

the day after Carlisle had yielded; but hearing of that event at Hexham, and finding the mountain roads very difficult from a fall of snow, he thought it proper to return whence he came, leaving the insurgents at full liberty to push forward if they pleased.

The advantage which Charles derived from the reduction of Carlisle was balanced by a feud which it produced among his generals. Lord George Murray, envious of the reputation which Perth had won, and of the favour he enjoyed, wrote to the Prince, in no very conciliatory terms, resigning his own commission (1). At the same time he secretly set on foot a petition from several other officers, praying the Prince that he would be pleased to dismiss all Roman Catholics from his councils (this was aimed against the Duke of Perth and sir Thomas Sheridan), and to reinstate Lord George Murray in his command. Charles was disposed to support his own friends, and his own faith: but Perth, seeing the evil of discord, generously insisted on waiving his pretensions to command; and the insurgents thus continued to enjoy the benefit of Murray's far superior military skill.

The news, moreover, received from Scotland was not favourable. On leaving that country, Charles had appointed Lord Strathallan Commander-in-chief, and directed him to collect as many reinforcements as he could at Perth. Strathallan had so far succeeded, that by the arrival of the Master of Lovat, of the Earl of Cromarty, of Mac Gregor of Glengyle, and of detachments from various other clans, he could muster between two and three thousand men. Lord Lewis Gordon, too, had raised three battalions in Aberdeenshire. But, on the other hand, the friends of Government, under the Earl of Loudon and the Lord President, were gathering in considerable force at Inverness: to the south, the towns of Glasgow, Paisley and Dumfries had resumed their allegiance, and levied their militia for the House of Hanover; and even at Perth and Dundee the populace had insisted on celebrating King George's birth-day, and a few shots or blows had been exchanged between them and their Jacobite garrisons. The city of Edinburgh had been re-entered by the Crown officers, in solemn procession, on the departure of the Highland army; and two regiments of cavalry had been sent forward by Marshal Wade to their support. On the whole, the tidings proved how frail and brief was the tenure of the young Pretender's sway.

Under these circumstances Charles sent the Chief of Mac Lauchlan back to Scotland, with orders to Lord Strathallan to march, and join him in England with his whole force, and with the utmost speed: but Strathallan, seizing some of those pretexts that are never wanting for inaction, delayed his movements until a period when they became far less useful and important to his cause.

(1) See this letter in the Jacobite Memoirs, p. 50. It draws an invidious distinction between Charles and his father.

“to-night. They say we are to have the Pretender to-morrow. They are dressed in plaids and bonnets. The serjeant has a target!” The letter of next day (November 29) is as follows:—“The two Highlanders who came in yesterday and beat up for volunteers for him they called His Royal Highness Charles, Prince of Wales, offered five guineas advance; many took on; each received one shilling, to have the rest when the Prince came! They do not appear such terrible fellows as has been represented. Many of the foot are diminutive creatures, but many clever men among them. The guards and officers are all in a Highland dress, a long sword, and stuck with pistols; their horses all sizes and colours. The bellman went to order all persons charged with excise, and innkeepers, forthwith to appear, and bring their last acquittance, and as much ready cash as that contains, on pain of military execution. It is my opinion they will make all haste possible through Derbyshire, to evade fighting Ligonier. I do not see that we have any person in town to give intelligence to the King’s forces, as all our men of fashion are fled, and all officers under the government. A party came in at 10 this morning, and have been examining the best houses, and fixed upon Mr. Dicconson’s for the Prince’s quarters. Several thousands came in at two o’clock: they ordered the bells to ring; and the bellman has been ordering us to illuminate our houses to-night, which must be done. The Chevalier marched by my door in Highland dress, on foot, at three o’clock, surrounded by a Highland guard; no music but a pair of bagpipes. Those that came in last night demanded quarters for 10,000 to-day (1).”

Next day, during which the troops halted, above 200 men were enrolled and embodied with the others who had joined in England; the whole taking the name of the Manchester regiment, and commanded by Mr. Francis Townley, a Roman Catholic of a very old family in Lancashire, one of the few volunteers upon the march. Such accessions, however, were far, very far inferior to what the insurgents had expected, or their predecessors had experienced in 1715. At that period Lancashire was nearly all devoted to the Stuart cause; but it is evident that the lapse of thirty years had quenched the flame of Jacobitism amongst the common people, and that even in the minds of the gentry it burned only with a dim and wavering light.

The disappointment of the Highland chiefs was aggravated by the news they now received of the formidable numbers and movements of their enemy. From behind, Marshal Wade had begun to advance against them through Yorkshire. In front lay the Duke of Cumberland, with his head quarters at Lichfield, and with

(1) These letters are now in the State Paper Office, SCOTLAND, 1745. vol. lvi.

a force of scarcely less than 8,000 soldiers. A third army, for the protection of London, was forming at Finchley, composed of the Royal Guards, and of other but newly raised troops, which the King declared that, in case of need, he would command in person. To prevent a French invasion, or even French supplies, Admiral Vernon had been appointed to cruise in the Channel; and Admiral Byng with a smaller squadron blockaded the east coast of Scotland. Large bodies of militia had been raised in several districts; and close to the rebels, the city of Chester had been secured by the Earl of Cholmondeley, and the town of Liverpool by the zeal of its own inhabitants (1). As if these discouragements were not sufficient of themselves, it was also learnt that the bridges over the Mersey, and some others in front, had been broken down by order of the Duke of Cumberland. Charles, with an undaunted spirit, was still for moving onwards, saying he was certain of more support as he advanced. His principal officers, however, remonstrated with Lord George Murray on their alarming situation, when Lord George advised them to offer no further opposition to the will of his Royal Highness until they came to Derby, hoping that by that time they might be joined by the English Jacobites in considerable numbers; but promising that, if not, he would undertake, as General, to propose and enforce a retreat.

Before leaving Manchester, the Prince gave orders for repairing a small bridge near the town, and issued a proclamation on the subject, with a sneer at Marshal Wade (2). Resuming his march on the 1st of December, Charles, at the head of one division, forded the Mersey near Stockport, with the water up to his middle; the other division, with the baggage and artillery, passed lower down at Cheadle on a kind of rough bridge, made by choking up the channel with the trunks of poplar trees. Both divisions joined that evening at Macclesfield. It is said (the tale is traditional, and I heard it in conversation from the late Lord Keith,) that, on the opposite bank of the Mersey, Charles found a few of the Cheshire gentry drawn up ready to welcome him, and amongst them Mrs. Skyring, a lady in extreme old age. As a child, she had been lifted up in her mother's arms to view the happy landing at Dover of Charles the Second. Her father, an old Cavalier, had afterwards to undergo not merely neglect, but oppression, from that thankless monarch; still, however, he and his wife continued devoted to the Royal cause, and their daughter grew up as devoted as they. After the expulsion of the Stuarts, all her thoughts, her hopes, her prayers, were directed to another Restoration. Ever afterwards she had with rigid punctuality laid aside one half of her yearly income to remit for the exiled family abroad; concealing

(1) Tindal's History, vol. ix. p. 204.

(2) Proclamation, November 30. 1745. See Appendix.

only the name of the giver, which, she said, was of no importance to them, and might give them pain if they remembered the unkind treatment she had formerly received : she had now parted with her jewels, her plate, and every little article of value she possessed ; the price of which, in a purse, she laid at the feet of Prince Charles, while, straining her dim eyes to gaze on his features, and pressing his hand to her shrivelled lips, she exclaimed, with affectionate rapture, in the words of Simeon, “ Lord ! now lettest thou thy “ servant depart in peace ! ” It is added that she did not survive the shock when, a few days afterwards, she was told of the retreat. Such, even when misdirected in its object, or exaggerated in its force, was the old spirit of loyalty in England ! Such were the characters which history is proud to record, and fiction loves to imitate — that Major Coleby, who, devoting family and fortune to the Royal cause, joined Charles the Second on his march to Worcester with his four sons and one hundred and fifty men ; — that Lady Alice, who, when the same monarch, after his defeat, was tracked by his pursuers to her house, sent forth her son and her servants to make good, at the cost of their lives, one hour’s respite for his Majesty’s escape ; and who, when she saw her child brought home a prisoner, and mortally wounded, could yet read in his expiring glance the safety of their rescued King ! How greatly have we now improved upon those unphilosophical times ! How far more judicious to value Kings and governments, like other articles, only according to their cheapness or convenience ! How much safer always to acknowledge the reigning sovereign as the rightful one ! With what scorn must a modern Doctrinaire look down upon an ancient Cavalier — one of those sage Deputies, for example, who, in July, 1830, lurked in garrets and cellars while the brave populace was fighting, and who emerged when all was over, equally ready to depose the tyrant, or to hang the rebels, according as victory might have declared ! — Noble-minded men, who fling their allegiance to the winds, to be wafted to and fro by any gust of fortune, and who never know to-day what principles they shall maintain to-morrow !

Notwithstanding, however, the respect which fidelity to misfortune claims, we must acknowledge that, in 1745, our countrymen would have done well and wisely to prefer a Protestant, a tolerant, an enlightened, and enlightening Government, to the dreams, however bright, of the olden time. But in that year the most common feeling throughout England was indifference. As Charles advanced from Manchester, he found the people very little inclined to favour or assist him, and displaying no sympathy or fellow-feeling with the “ wild petticoat men,” as they called the kilted Highlanders. On the other hand, they showed an equal unconcern to the interest of the Reigning Family ; and looked coolly on the struggle, as they might upon a game, forgetting that they them-

selves formed the stake of the players. The poet Gray writes from Cambridge, "Here we had no more sense of danger than if it were the battle of Cannæ. I heard three sensible middle-aged men, when the Scotch were said to be at Stamford, and actually were at Derby, talking of hiring a chaise to go to Caxton (a place on the high-road) to see the Pretender and Highlanders as they passed (1)."

From Macclesfield, Lord George Murray, by a dexterous manœuvre, succeeded in completely misleading his enemy. He advanced with his column of the army to Congleton, where he dislodged and drove before him the Duke of Kingston and a small party of English horse, pursuing them with his vanguard some way on the road to Newcastle. Thus he impressed the Duke of Cumberland with a full belief that the insurgent troops were on their march in that direction, either to give him battle, or to join their partisans in Wales. Accordingly the Duke hastily pushed forward with his main body to Stone, ready either to intercept or to fight them, as circumstances might require. But Lord George, having meanwhile obtained accurate intelligence of the Duke's numbers and position from Mr. Weir, one of Cumberland's principal spies, whom he captured at Congleton, and whom the Prince saved from hanging (2), suddenly turned off to the left, and, by a forced march, gained Ashbourne. There the Prince's column likewise arrived along the direct road. Pursuing their progress next day, they both entered Derby, Lord George in the afternoon, and Prince Charles in the evening of the 4th of December; having thus skilfully gained two or three marches upon the Duke of Cumberland, and interposed between his army and London.

Charles took up his quarters at the Earl of Exeter's, since that time Mr. Crompton's, but at present Mr. Mousley's, one of the best houses in the town. He arrived in high spirits, reflecting that he was now within a hundred and thirty miles of the capital (3), and that neither Wade's nor Cumberland's forces any longer lay before that object of his hopes. Accordingly, that evening, at supper, he studiously directed his conversation to his intended progress and expected triumph—whether it would be best for him to enter London on foot or on horseback, in Highland or in English dress. Far different were the thoughts of his followers. Early next morning, he was waited upon by Lord George Murray, with all the commanders of battalions and squadrons; and, a council being formed, they laid before him their earnest and unanimous opinion for an immediate retreat to Scotland. They had marched

(1) Gray to H. Walpole, February 3. 1746. (Orford's Works, vol. v. p. 338.)

(2) Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 453.

(3) There seems to be a sort of tradition or rooted belief among the Scots, that the Prince, at Derby, was within 100 miles of London. Sir Walter Scott repeatedly calls the distance 90

miles (as in *Tales of a Grandfather*, vol. iii. p. 101.), and Mr. Chambers makes it exactly 100. (*Hist.* vol. i. p. 274.) Yet it is, I believe, as certain, as any fact in geography can be, that the actual distance is 127. So much easier is it to repeat than to inquire!

thus far, they said, on the promise either of an English rising or a French descent; neither had yet occurred, neither could any longer be safely awaited. They asked if the Prince could produce even a single letter from any Englishman of distinction or of influence, received upon their march, and advising them to persevere in it. What was their own force? barely 5000 fighting men, a number insufficient to give battle to any one of the three armies by which they were surrounded; nay scarcely adequate even to take quiet possession of London, were there no camp at Finchley to protect it. What was their enemy's force? perhaps not much less than 30,000 men, were it all combined. If even they should elude the Duke of Cumberland's division, and gain a battle against George the Second, under the walls of London, it would not be gained without loss; and how, with still further diminished numbers, could they gather any fruits of victory? But supposing a defeat, would a single man of their army be able under such circumstances to escape? Would not the Prince's own person, even if he were not killed in the action, fall into the hands of his blood-thirsty enemies? Or how, if Wade's and Cumberland's armies should combine and close in upon them from the rear? How much wiser, then, to retreat while it was yet time, to support and be supported by their friends in Scotland! Already, continued Lord George (and here he pointed to despatches which had reached the Prince that very morning), we learn that Lord John Drummond has landed at Montrose, with the regiment of Royal Scots and some piquets of the Irish Brigade, so that the whole force under Lord Strathallan ready to join us from Perth is not less than three or four thousand men (1).

Charles listened to these arguments with impatience, and replied to them with warmth. He expressed his firm reliance on the justice of his cause, and on the Providence which had hitherto so signally protected him. He owned that there was some danger in advancing, but to retire was equally dangerous, and, besides, disgraceful. As to his personal risk, he would never allow that to weigh with him. "Rather than go back," he cried, "I would wish to be twenty feet under ground (2)!" He proceeded at some length to argue on the probability that the French would yet land in Kent or Essex,—that his friends could not fail to join him as he advanced,—that defections must be expected, even from the English ranks,—that boldness and enterprise would supply the want of numbers, and distract the councils of the enemy. Finding that his arguments made no impression, he resorted to entreaties, imploring his friends not to forsake their Prince at his utmost need; and at last, as a middle course, he proposed that they should

(1) See Lord George Murray's own summary of his advice in this council. (*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 54.)

(2) *Memoirs of Captain Daniel*, a volunteer who

joined in Lancashire, and attached himself to the Duke of Perth. His MS. has been very obligingly communicated to me by Lady Willoughby d'Eresby.

march into Wales, to give their partisans in that country an opportunity of joining. But the council still continued firm in pressing a retreat to Scotland. Only the Duke of Perth, though retaining his own opinion, was moved by his master's vehemence, and wished to yield to it. Some of the Irish officers were also willing to go on; but then, as the Scots invidiously observed, they did not run equal risk, since, being in the French service, they were sure, at the worst, of being honourably treated as prisoners of war, instead of being tried and hanged as traitors. After several hours of stormy debate, Charles broke up the council without having formed any decision, the army halting that day for rest at Derby. Meanwhile the lower officers and soldiers, animated with very different wishes from their chiefs, and eager for the expected conflict, were employed, some in taking the Sacrament at the different churches (1), others thronging the cutlers' shops to renew the edge of their broad-swords (2).

During the whole day, the Prince continued to expostulate with some of his officers singly, in hopes of changing their opinion. Finding them inflexible, he was at length strongly advised by those he most confided in—Sir Thomas Sheridan and Secretary Murray—to yield to the prevailing sentiment, since they were sure the army would never fight well when all the chiefs were against it. Accordingly, at another council, summoned the same evening, Charles sullenly declared his consent to a retreat; but added that, in future, he would call no more councils, since he was accountable to nobody for his actions, excepting to God and his father, and would therefore no longer either ask or accept their advice.

Next day, the 6th of December, the insurgents began their retreat. As they marched in the grey of the morning the inferior officers and common men believed that they were going forward to fight the Duke of Cumberland, at which they displayed the utmost joy. But when the day-break allowed them to discern the surrounding objects, and to discover that they were retracing their steps, nothing was to be heard throughout the army but expressions of rage and indignation. "If we had been beaten," says one of their officers, "the grief could not have been greater (3)."

Thus ended the renowned advance to Derby—ended against the wishes both of the Prince and of the soldiers. It certainly appears to me, on the best judgment I can form, that they were right in their reluctance, and that, had they pursued their progress, they would, in all probability, have succeeded in their object. A loyal writer, who was in London at the time, declares that "when the Highlanders, by a most incredible march, got between the Duke's army and the metropolis, they struck a terror into it, scarce to be credited (4)." An immediate rush was made upon the Bank

(1) Lord George Murray's Narrative. (Jacobite Memoirs, p. 76. (2) Chambers' Hist. vol. i. p. 272.

(3) Chevalier Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 73, 8vo. ed. (4) Fielding, in the True Patriot.

of England, which it is said only escaped bankruptcy by paying in sixpences, to gain time. The shops in general were shut, public business for the most part was suspended, and the restoration of the Stuarts, desired by some, but disliked by many more, was yet expected by all as no improbable or distant occurrence. The Duke of Newcastle, at his scanty wits' soon-reached end, stood trembling and amazed, and knew not what course to advise or to pursue; it has even been alleged (a rumour well agreeing with his usual character, but recorded on no good authority (1)), that he shut himself up for one whole day in his apartments, considering whether he had not better declare betimes for the Pretender. Nay, I find it asserted that King George himself ordered some of his most precious effects to be embarked on board his yachts, and these to remain at the Tower quay, ready to sail at a moment's warning. Certain it is, that this day of universal consternation—the day on which the rebels' approach to Derby was made known—was long remembered under the name of BLACK FRIDAY (2). Had, then, the Highlanders continued to push forward, must not the increasing terror have palsied all power of resistance? Would not the little army at Finchley, inferior in numbers, and with so convenient a place for dispersing as the capital behind it, have melted away at their approach? Or, had they engaged the Duke's army, who can doubt the issue, if the victory of Falkirk had been gained on English ground? It is probable also, from the prevalence of Jacobite principles amongst the gentry at this period, that many officers in the Royal army were deeply tainted with them, and might have avowed them at the decisive moment. It is certain, at least, that many would have been suspected, and that the mere suspicion would have produced nearly the same effect as the reality—bewilderment; distrust, and vacillation in the chiefs. Even the high personal valour of the King and of the Duke could hardly have borne them safe amidst these growing doubts and dangers. I may add, that, in the opinion even of the Duke of Cumberland's principal officers, there were but scanty hopes of arresting the Highlanders (when once at Derby), in their progress to London. The Duke of Richmond, who commanded the cavalry, writes as follows to Sir Everard Fawkener, from Lichfield, at eight in the morning of the 5th of December:—"I am just going to march for Coventry to-day, " and Northampton to-morrow, according to His Royal Highness's

(1) Chevalier Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 77. 8vo. ed.

(2) See a note to H. Walpole's letters to Mann, vol. ii. p. 98. The day was the 6th of December. I may observe that the Jacobite party was very strong in London, and had at its head one of the City members, Alderman Heathcote, as appears from the Stuart Papers. Thus, a secret letter, transmitted to Rome by Lord Sempill, and dated London, October 21. 1745, says, "Alderman " Heathcote and several more have been with Sir

" Watkin Wynn to assure him that they will rise
" in the City of London immediately upon a land-
" ing; and to beg that arms and ammunition be
" brought with the troops." And Lord Sempill
adds (November 13. 1745), "Mr. Heathcote has
" been reckoned, especially since the base defec-
" tion of Pulteney, one chief leader of the patriot
" Whigs, not in the City of London only, but in
" the nation. He opened himself, above two
" months ago, to Sir John Hinde Cotton."

“orders, but I have had no other orders of any kind. I know very well what I am to do if the enemy comes up to me, but what am I to do if advised of their approach? For as to sending out guards or outposts it will be impossible after two such days’ march, as from here to Northampton: the men might do it, but horses absolutely cannot; and now they have got over the Trent, there is no pass to defend; and if they please to cut us off from the main army, they may, and also if they please to give us the slip, and march to London, I fear they may before even this avant-garde can come up with them; and if we should, His Royal Highness knows best what can be expected from such an inconsiderable corps as ours: however, we will do our best, and are ready to obey what orders he will please to send us (1).”

It appears, moreover, that the coasts of Kent and Essex were but feebly guarded by the British cruisers, and that the French ministers were now in the very crisis of decision as to their projected expedition. The preparations for it were completed at Dunkirk; and had Charles, by any forward movement, seemed to show that he scarcely needed it, it would undoubtedly (such policy is but too common with allies!) have been ordered to sail. Nor were the Jacobites in England altogether as supine as was supposed; they had already, it seems, taken measures for a rising. A letter of the young Pretender, many months afterwards, mentions incidentally, in referring to Mr. Barry, that he “arrived at Derby two days after I parted. He had been sent by Sir Watkin Wynn and Lord Barrymore to assure me, in the name of my friends, that they were ready to join me in what manner I pleased, either in the capital, or every one to rise in his own country (2).”

I believe, then, that had Charles marched onward from Derby he would have gained the British throne; but I am far from thinking that he would long have held it. Bred up in arbitrary principles, and professing the Romanist religion, he might soon have been tempted to assail—at the very least he would have alarmed—a people jealous of their freedom, and a Church tenacious of her rights. His own violent though generous temper, and his deficiency in liberal knowledge, would have widened the breach; some rivalries between his Court and his father’s might probably have rent his own party asunder; and the honours and rewards well earned by his faithful followers might have nevertheless disgusted the rest of the nation. In short, the English would have been led to expect a much better government than King George’s, and they would have had a much worse. Their new yoke could neither have been borne without suffering nor yet cast off without convulsion; and it therefore deserves to be esteemed among the most signal mercies of Providence, that this long train of dissensions and

(1) State Paper Office, Vol. IV. SCOTLAND, 1745.

(2) Prince Charles to his father; Avignon, February 12. 1747. (Stuart Papers.)

disasters, this necessity for a new revolution, should have been happily averted by the determination to retreat at Derby.

The Highland army pursued their retreat by the same track as they had come, but by no means with the same order. Disappointed and humbled in their own estimation, and with their bonds of discipline relaxed, they committed numerous acts of outrage, some in vengeance, others for plunder. Thus at a place near Stockport, the inhabitants having shot at a Highland patrol, his comrades in retaliation set fire to the village. The consequence was, that their stragglers or the sick whom they left behind, were either killed or taken prisoners by the country people. At Manchester, so friendly a few days before, a violent mob opposed their vanguard, and, though dispersed, again hung upon their rear when they marched away. The Prince, much offended at this unexpected reception, imposed and exacted a fine of 5000*l.* upon the town. His own behaviour on the retreat tended still further to dishearten his men; he took no pains to conceal his grief and resentment, but, on the contrary, affected to show that he was no longer commander of the army. Instead of being, as formerly, earliest in the morning, and foremost in the march, he now lingered at his quarters till eight or nine o'clock, so as to delay the rear-guard, and then, mounting his horse, dejectedly rode on to his column.

Charles had designed to halt his army a day at Manchester, but was dissuaded by Lord George Murray, who argued that the men had no occasion for it, and that it was only giving so much time for the enemy to overtake them. Next morning, accordingly, they pursued their rapid retreat. As they were going out of the town of Wigan, some zealot formed a plan for the prince's assassination; but, mistaking his person, shot at Mr. O'Sullivan. "Search was made for him," says one of their officers, "but in vain: and no great matter for any thing he would have suffered from us; for many exercised their malice merely on account of the known clemency of the Prince, which, however, they would not have dared to do if he had permitted a little more severity in punishing them. The army, irritated by such frequent instances of the enemy's malice, began to behave with less forbearance, and now few there were who would go on foot if they could ride; and mighty taking, stealing, and pressing of horses there was amongst us! Diverting it was to see the Highlanders mounted, without either breeches, saddle, or any thing else but the bare back of the horses to ride on—and for their bridle only a straw-rope! In this manner did we march out of England (1)."

On learning that the rebels were at Derby, the Duke of Cum-

(1) MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel. He also bitterly complains of the Prince's clemency on another previous occasion—the barbarous murder of a young English volunteer, by a woman and

her son, near Manchester: they were seized and brought to Charles, and they confessed their crime; but he would not allow them to be put to death.

berland had fallen back from Stone in all haste for the protection of the capital; and he was already at Meriden Moore, close to Coventry, when he was assured of their retreat. He immediately commenced a pursuit at the head of his cavalry, and of a thousand foot, whom he mounted upon horses supplied by the neighbouring gentry. But with all his despatch he found, on coming to Macclesfield, that the enemy were full two days' march ahead of him. Continuing, however, to press forward, he was joined at Preston by another body of horse, detached and sent across the country from the army of Marshal Wade; but it was not until the county of Westmoreland that he came up with the insurgents. On the evening of the 17th their main body, headed by Charles, had entered Penrith, but the rear-guard, under the command of Lord George Murray, having been delayed by the breaking down of some baggage waggons, could proceed no further than Shap. Early next morning Lord George resumed his march; but on coming to the village of Clifton, about three miles from Penrith, he found several parties of cavalry, volunteers of that neighbourhood, drawn up to intercept him. These, however, he dispersed with one charge of Glengarry's men, and made several prisoners; among the rest, a footman of the Duke of Cumberland, who said that his Royal Highness was already close in the rear with 4000 horse. Lord George sent the man to be examined by the Prince, at Penrith; at the same time requesting orders for his own direction. Charles, with great courtesy, dismissed the servant to his master; and, for the support of Lord George, despatched two regiments—the Stuarts of Appin, and the Macphersons of Cluny.

The sun was just setting when the Duke's advancing forces first appeared in sight of Lord George; and they slowly formed upon Clifton Moor and the high road; on one side the stone fences of the village, on the other the enclosures of Lord Lonsdale's princely domain. It was now nearly dark; but the moon shone out at intervals from among the clouds, and by this light Lord George saw a body of men—dismounted dragoons, or rather infantry, who had resumed their proper mode of warfare—gliding forward to surprise him along the stone fences. He immediately cried CLAYMORE! and rushed on, sword in hand, followed by the Macphersons and Stuarts; and, losing his bonnet in the fray, continued to fight bareheaded among the foremost. In a few minutes the English were completely repulsed, their commander, Colonel Honeywood, being left severely wounded on the field, and their total number of killed or disabled exceeding a hundred men, while the insurgents lost but twelve. It was with great difficulty that the Highlanders could be recalled from the pursuit, they exclaiming that it was a shame to see so many of the King's enemies standing fast upon the moor without attacking them. Lord George also was desirous of maintaining his position with further rein-

forcements; but receiving the Prince's repeated orders to the contrary, drew off his men to Penrith. So effectual, however, was the check he had given, that the Duke of Cumberland forebore any further attempts to harass the Highlanders in their retreat.

Pursuing this retreat, Charles and his troops arrived early next day, the 19th, at Carlisle. Here they thought it requisite to leave a garrison, so as to secure this key of England for them in a second, and, as they hoped, a speedy invasion of that country; yet the same object might have been attained by blowing up the works. Besides a few French and Irish, and some men from a Lowland regiment, who consented to remain, we learn from an officer present, that "Mr. Townley, Colonel of the English, petitioned the Prince, not only in his own name, but in the name of all the officers of the Manchester regiment, to be left, though the latter never assented to or desired it, many of them wishing to undergo the same fate as their Royal master. However, on Colonel Townley's coming back, and telling them that it was the Prince's pleasure that they should remain at Carlisle, they all, taking it as coming from the Prince, most willingly acquiesced (1)." Yet the result was most fatal to them, and the determination to leave them most unwise. No sooner had Charles departed than they were invested by the Duke of Cumberland. They supposed (and this seems to have been Charles's own opinion, when he left them,) that the Duke had no battering artillery at his disposal: some, however, was unexpectedly brought from Whitehaven; and on the 29th it began to play upon the mouldering walls. The besieged then desired to capitulate but could obtain no other terms from his Royal Highness, than that "they should not be put to the sword, but reserved for his Majesty's pleasure"—a stipulation which to many of them was only death deferred.

On the 20th of December, the Prince's birthday, the Scottish army left Carlisle, and re-entered their own country by fording the Esk. That river was swollen with winter floods and rains to the depth of four feet; yet nearly all the men crossed safely, wading arm in arm, and supporting each other against the violence of the current. Charles, with his horsemen, rode through a little below the place where the rest of his army passed; and, while in the midst of the water, saw one or two of the men, who had drifted from the hold of their comrades, and were carried down the stream. With great intrepidity and presence of mind, Charles sprung forward, and caught one poor soldier by the hair, at the same time calling out, in Gaelic, COBHEAR! COBHEAR! that is, Help! help! and supporting him until he could receive assistance. This

(1) MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel. It is scarcely worth while to notice a calumnious and absurd insinuation of the Chevalier Johnstone, that Charles left this unfortunate garrison behind, "in a spirit of vengeance against the English nation," for not more effectually supporting him!

proof of his compassion and care for his followers greatly tended, it is said, to enhance his popularity amongst them.

The main body of the insurgents stopped that night at Annan, and the next at Dumfries. This town had always been remarkable for its attachment to the Protestant succession; and a report having lately reached it of some defeat or disaster to the Highland army, a general rejoicing had ensued. When the Highlanders marched in, they found the candles of the illumination still in the windows, and the bonfires unextinguished (1). They imposed a fine of 2000*l.* upon the place; and, receiving only 1100*l.*, carried off the Provost and another magistrate as security for the remainder. From hence they proceeded by different routes to Glasgow, marking their track by numerous acts of plunder and depredation. Charles himself went by way of Hamilton Palace, where he allowed his troops a day of rest, and himself a day of shooting in the Park. His forces were now reduced to about 3600 foot and 500 horse. On the 26th he entered Glasgow, thus completing one of the most extraordinary marches recorded in history. From Edinburgh to Derby, and from Derby back again to Glasgow, they had gone not less than 580 miles in fifty-six days (2), many of these days of halt; yet one of Charles's personal attendants complains, that, during this whole time, he was able but once, at Manchester, to throw off his clothes at night (3).

Glasgow had already given strong proofs of its hostility to Charles, having raised many hundred men against him in his absence. His appearance made no impression in his favour; nay, one fanatic even snapped a pistol at him, as he rode along the Salt-Market (4). A most heavy requisition to refit the Highland army was now laid upon the citizens; for which they afterwards claimed, and received a compensation from the established Government. How strange the contrast between Manchester and Glasgow! The most commercial town in England the most friendly—the most commercial town in Scotland the most adverse—to the Stuarts!

(1) MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel.

(2) Reckoning the distance from Carlisle to Derby, through Wigan, 181 miles (twice over); from Edinburgh to Carlisle and Brampton, through Kelso, perhaps 110; from Carlisle to Glasgow about the same,—the total will be 392. But this is only an approximation.

(3) See some notes of conversation with Mr. Gih, the Prince's *Major Domo*, in the Jacobite Memoirs, p. 194.

(4) Chambers' History, vol. i. p. 285. It appears that, as usual, no punishment followed.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Having refreshed and new clothed his army, by eight days' residence at Glasgow, Charles again set forth, on the 3rd of January 1746, and marched to Stirling, where, according to orders he had sent, he was joined by the forces under Lords John Drummond and Strathallan. There came also the detachment of Lord Lewis Gordon, which only a few days before had worsted the Earl of Loudon's levies in a skirmish at Inverury, and driven them back towards Inverness. By these accessions, the total force under Charles's banner was augmented to nearly nine thousand men, being the largest that he ever mustered in the course of these campaigns. With this he now undertook the siege of the Castle of Stirling; the more readily, since Lord John Drummond had brought both battering guns and engineers from France, and since he was eager to secure a constant and easy communication between the Highlands and the Lowlands.

Stirling Castle, however, stood secure in its craggy height, a good garrison, and an experienced governor, General Blakeney. By this time, also, the army of Marshal Wade had advanced into Scotland, and was reinforced by the Duke of Cumberland's cavalry. The Duke himself had been recalled from Carlisle, and his infantry from Lichfield, to guard the southern coast, and provide against the still apprehended French invasion. But though absent himself, he was requested to name the commander of the army in Scotland in the room of Marshal Wade, whose talents, never of the brightest, had sunk beneath the torpor of age, and whose inactivity had justly been complained of during the last campaign. In his place, the Royal Duke recommended General Henry Hawley, an officer of some experience, who had served in the battle of Sheriffmuir as major of dragoons: but destitute of capacity, and hated, not merely by his enemies, but by his own soldiers, for a most violent and vindictive temper. Both he and his Royal patron were signal exceptions to the rule, that brave men are never cruel. —Once, in Flanders, a deserter being hanged before Hawley's windows, the surgeons begged to have the body for dissection. But Hawley was reluctant to part with the pleasing spectacle; "at least," said he, "you shall give me the skeleton to hang up in the guard-room (1)!" —One of his first measures, on arriving

(1) H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, January 17. 1746. In another respect: it contains this phrase, about his burial: "My carcase may be put any where..... He adds that the soldiers' nickname for Hawley was, "the Lord Chief Justice." His own will, "The priest, I conclude, will have his fee; let the dated March 29. 1749, is most discreditably to him "puppy have it!"

at Edinburgh to take the chief command, was to order two gibbets to be erected, ready for the rebels who he hoped might fall into his hands; and with a similar view he bid several executioners attend his army on its march. Such ferocity sinks Hawley very far below a man he often scoffed at,—his predecessor at Preston,—and appears altogether alien from the true military character: in one word, Cope was no general; but Hawley was not even a soldier!

The disposable force of Hawley being augmented by a few Yorkshire volunteers, by a similar body from Glasgow, and by some Argyleshire recruits under Colonel Campbell, was nearly the same as that of Charles,—between eight and nine thousand men. At the head of these he marched from Edinburgh to raise the siege of Stirling, and, as he confidently boasted, drive the rebels before him. On the other hand, Charles, hearing of his approach, left a few hundred men to continue the blockade of the Castle, and with the remainder advanced to meet the enemy. On the 16th of January he drew up his men on Bannockburn, a field, as he remarked, of happy augury to his arms, and awaited an attack; but found the English remain wholly inactive at Falkirk. His cavalry, whom he sent out to reconnoitre close to Hawley's camp, brought word that they could see no appearance of movement. Next morning he again drew up his army, and again awaited an attack; but still in vain; upon which, with characteristic ardour, he determined that his own troops should move forwards that same day, and become the aggressors in the battle.

Hawley, meanwhile, filled with an ignorant contempt of the "Highland rabble," as he termed them, believed that they would disperse of themselves at the mere news of his approach, and neglected the most common precautions for security; such as sending out patrols. On the forenoon of that very day, the 17th, he allowed himself to be detained at Callender House, some distance from his men, by the courtesy and good cheer of the Countess of Kilmarnock, whose husband was in the insurgent army, and who had therefore strong motives for retarding and misleading the hostile chief. Only the second in command, General Huske, remained at the camp in front of Falkirk; he was a good officer, but had no authority to direct any decisive movement. His attention also was diverted by a well concerted stratagem of the Highland army: for while Charles, with his main body, marched round considerably to the south of the English camp (a route he had calculated so as to give his troops the advantage of the wind in the battle), he detached Lord John Drummond with all the cavalry towards the other extremity of Hawley's line, and along the straight road from Stirling to Falkirk. This detachment, having in its rear the ancient forest of the Torwood, was directed to display the Royal Standard and other colours so as to produce an impression that the

whole army was behind, and advancing from that quarter. So successful was this feint, that General Huske's attention became wholly engrossed by the evolutions of these distant squadrons; during which time Charles, with his main army, had already passed the river Carron, beyond Dunnipace, and was only separated from the enemy by the Falkirk Muir, a rugged and ridgy upland, now well cultivated, but then covered with heath.

It was now between one and two o'clock, and the English soldiers were preparing to take their dinner, when some country people, hastily running in, brought an account that the Highlanders were near at hand; and their report was confirmed by two of the officers mounting a tree, and through a telescope discovering the enemy in motion. The drums instantly beat to arms, and a pressing message was despatched to Hawley at Callender House, while the troops were formed in line in front of their camp. Frequent, and surely not unfounded murmurs might now be heard amongst the men:—"Where is the General?—what shall be done?—we have no orders (1)!"

Startled at these tidings, Hawley soon galloped up, in breathless haste, and without his hat; he immediately ordered his three regiments of dragoons to advance with him, full speed, to the top of Falkirk Muir, so as if possible to anticipate the Highlanders; and the foot he commanded to follow with their bayonets fixed. They pushed forward, with a storm of wind, to which heavy rain was now added, beating full in the faces of the soldiers. For some time it appeared like a race between the dragoons and the Highlanders, which should first attain the summit of the hill. The mountaineers, however, prevailed in that object; and the English, then halting, drew up on somewhat lower ground. There was a rugged ravine, that began at the centre between the two armies and deepened towards the plain on the right of the King's forces; and the whole position, thus hastily chosen by Hawley, was far from favourable to the evolutions of regular troops. The English artillery, also, stuck fast in a morass, which formed part of the plain, and it could not be extricated; but, as the Highlanders had also left theirs behind, neither force had in that respect any advantage above the other.

Each of the armies now formed; the Prince's in two lines; his right commanded by Lord George Murray, and his left by Lord John Drummond, who as soon as he saw the enemy take the alarm, had desisted from his feint, and rejoined the main body of his countrymen. Charles himself took his station, as at Preston, in the second line, or rather close behind it, on a conspicuous mound, still known by the name of CHARLIE'S HILL, and now overgrown with wood. For the English, their cavalry remained as they had

(1) Home's History, p. 167.

come, in front, and their infantry drew up, like the insurgents, in two lines; while in the rear of all, stood a reserve, consisting of the Argyle militia and the Glasgow regiment. General Hawley commanded in the centre, and Huske on the right; and the cavalry were under Colonel Ligonier, who on the death of Gardiner had succeeded to his regiment.

These arrangements being completed, Hawley sent orders to Ligonier to charge with all the horse on the enemy's right. The insurgents in that station, chiefly the Macdonald clans, seeing the dragoons come on, reserved their own fire, with the utmost steadiness and composure, until the English were within ten yards distance; they then, at Lord George's signal, gave a general discharge, so close and well aimed, that a very large number of the hostile horsemen were seen to reel and fall from their saddles, and the survivors were completely broken. Two of the dragoon regiments; the same that had fled at the Coltbridge and at Preston, being now well skilled and experienced in that military operation, repeated it on this occasion. The third regiment, Cobham's, stood firmer, but was likewise compelled to yield, after heavy loss. It was now Lord George Murray's endeavour to bring back the Macdonalds into regular line; but their victorious ardour was not to be controlled; running forward and loading their pieces as they ran, they fell upon the flank of Hawley's two columns of foot, which at the same moment were furiously assailed in front; the Highlanders, after their fire, dropping their muskets and charging sword in hand. The English, on their part, nearly blinded by the wind and rain, and dispirited by their previous inaction, could not stand firm against this combined assault; in vain did their General attempt to animate them by his personal courage; his white head uncovered, and conspicuous in the front ranks of the combatants: the whole centre gave way in confusion, and betook themselves to flight. But on the extreme right of the Royal army the result had meanwhile been very different. The three regiments there, protected by the rugged bank of the ravine, maintained this natural fortification, and kept aloof the Highlanders from their favourite close onset, sword in hand. Nay more, being reinforced by Cobham's dragoons, who rallied in their rear, they not only checked the pursuit on their flank, but spread confusion into the ranks before them, of the Prince's left, many Highlanders scampering away from the field, under the belief that the day was lost, and spreading these disastrous tidings in their rear. Thus it might be said, that, of the Royal army, three fourths had been defeated, and one fourth victorious.

Charles seeing, from his commanding station, this state of things, immediately put himself at the head of his second line, and, advancing against the enemy's right, arrested their momentary triumph. They were now compelled, like their comrades, to

withdraw from the field; but theirs was a retreat, and not like their comrades', a flight: they marched in steady order, their drums beating, and colours displayed; and protected the mingled mass of other fugitives. Had the Highlanders, nevertheless, pursued at this critical moment, there seems little doubt that the King's army must have been utterly destroyed. But the night was now setting in, early at this winter season, and the earlier from the violent storm which blew; and they deemed it imprudent to push forward in the darkness, suspecting, as they did, some stratagem or ambuscade. Lord John Drummond especially, who was a general officer in the French service, entertained and expressed that apprehension, when he saw the Scots Royal fly: "These men," said he, "behaved admirably at Fontenoy—surely "this must be a feint!" Thus the insurgents remained for a considerable time upon the field, irresolute, disordered, and ignorant of their own success, until some detachments sent forward by Charles, brought him the news that the English had already retreated from Falkirk. The Prince then (it was late in the evening, and the rain continued to fall in torrents,) made his entry into the town, and was conducted by torch-light to a lodging which had been prepared for him. Hawley, meanwhile, did not stop that night until Linlithgow, nor the next day until Edinburgh, where his troops arrived in much disorder and dejection. His only consolation was to make use of the gibbets erected for the rebels to punish his own soldiers; that is, such of them as had grossly misbehaved in the action. No less than four were executed in one day. On the field of battle he left about four hundred, dead or dying, with a large proportion of officers, amongst whom were Sir Robert Munro of Foulis, three Lieutenant Colonels, and nine Captains. The insurgents' loss was estimated by themselves at only forty men (1); but was, probably, triple that number. There were also about one hundred prisoners taken from the Royal army; one of them John Home, afterwards the historian of this conflict. Three standards, and all the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, fell into the hands of the insurgents, who might exult that an attempt made by Hawley to set fire to his tents before he left them, was baffled by the rain. At Linlithgow, further on in the retreat, the English army succeeded better in their attempts at conflagration: some troops which had been quartered in the Royal Palace, next morning, before their departure, deliberately set it on fire, by raking the live embers from the hearths into the straw pallets, thus reducing the venerable pile to a blackened and desolate ruin, as it still remains (2).

All that night, stormy though it was, the unwearied Highlanders

(1) Collection of Declarations, etc. p. 72.

2) Chambers' Hist. vol. II. p. 52., and Scott's Provincial Antiquities, art. LINLITHGOW. But Grose

ascribes the fire to accident. (Antiquities of Scotland, p. 232.)

employed themselves in plundering the camp, and stripping the dead bodies. This last work they performed so effectually, that a citizen of Falkirk, who next morning surveyed the slain from a distance, used to say that he could only compare them to a large flock of white sheep at rest on the face of the hill (1). The prisoners of the Glasgow regiments were roughly handled, as volunteers and eager partisans, but the others had better treatment; and the greater number, for safe custody, were sent to the castle of Doune, all seeming much amazed at their disaster, when a triumph over the "Highland rabble" had been so confidently promised them. One prisoner (an Irishman perhaps) was even overheard to mutter to his comrades, "By my soul, if Charlie goes on in this way, Prince Frederick will never be King George (2)!"

But this victory brought the Pretender no fruit, but barren laurels; nay, it may be said without a paradox, that it proved hurtful instead of advantageous to his cause. Among the officers, it raised an angry dissension; each lamenting that the destruction of the enemy had not been completed; Lord George Murray inveighing against Lord John Drummond, and Lord John retaliating upon Lord George. The common Highlanders, loaded with plunder, went off as usual to their mountains to secure it; and thus was the army deprived for a time of several hundreds, nay thousands, of its men. An unfortunate accident also, which occurred the day after the battle, tended in no small degree to increase this desertion. One of Clanranald's clansmen was examining a musket, a part of his booty, as he stood at an open window, when the piece went off, and by mischance killed a son of Glengarry who was passing in the street. Charles, foreseeing the ill effects that might ensue, exerted himself to show every respect to the memory of the deceased, attending the funeral himself as chief mourner. The tribe of Glengarry, nevertheless, far from being appeased, loudly demanded life for life; and Clanranald having reluctantly agreed to surrender his follower, the poor man was immediately led out and shot dead with a volley of bullets,—his own father joining in the fire, that his sufferings might end the sooner. But even this savage act of vengeance was not sufficient to satisfy the offended clan; and the greater number, yielding to their grief or rage, forsook the Prince's standard, and withdrew to their mountain home.

On the evening after his victory Charles again encamped on Bannockburn, where he employed a press, which he had brought from Glasgow, to print a quarto sheet, containing an account of the battle (3). This proved to be the last of his Scottish Proclamations or Gazettes. He now resumed the siege of Stirling Castle,

(1) Chambers' History, vol. II. p. 17.

(2) MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel.

(3) Collection of Declarations, etc. p. 69—72.

deeming it derogatory to his arms to relinquish any enterprise of danger once begun, and thus leaving his enemies full leisure to recover from their recent defeat.

When the tidings of the battle of Falkirk reached the Court of St. James's (it was on the day of a Drawing-Room), every countenance, it is said, appeared clouded with doubts and apprehension, except only the King's, whose heart was inaccessible to fear, and Sir John Cope's, who rejoiced to have at last a partner in his misfortune or misconduct (1). The Duke of Cumberland, in conversation with the Earl of Marchmont, "laid the blame of the "affair of Hawley on want of discipline, and said, were he there "he would attack the rebels with the men that Hawley had "left (2)." This determination was speedily put to the proof; for the fear of a French invasion having now subsided, and the want of another general in Scotland being manifest, his Royal Highness was appointed to the chief command in that country, and was earnestly requested to set out immediately. Travelling night and day, he arrived most unexpectedly at Holyrood House on the morning of the 30th of January, — a day, as usual, of ill augury to the house of Stuart, — and he chose for himself the same apartments, nay even the same bed, in the palace, which had lately been occupied by Charles.

The Royal Duke destined to wield so decisive an influence over the fortunes of his cousin and competitor, was of very nearly the same age, being only four months younger. He had not, however, the same graces of person, being corpulent and unwieldy to a remarkable degree, and in his manner rough and displeasing. His character was adorned by considerable virtues; honesty of purpose, adherence to his promises, attachment to his friends. He was a dutiful son, and a liberal patron; as a soldier, he was enthusiastically fond of his profession; he had closely studied its details, and might even be lauded for capacity in an age which, to England at least, was singularly barren of military merit. His unwearied activity and his high personal courage would, however, at any period have justly claimed applause. But, as one of his own friends complains, "his judgment is too much guided "by his passions, which are often violent and ungovernable (3)." Against his foreign adversaries he displayed no undue asperity, and towards his soldiers he could sometimes show compassion; thus, for instance, on arriving at Edinburgh he immediately arrested the course of Hawley's savage executions: yet even his own army often murmured at his harshness and rigour; and as to any rebel, he treated him with as little mercy as he might a wolf. Never

(1) See Quarterly Review, No. lxxi. p. 180. An abstracted Scottish Peer, at this Drawing Room, addressed Sir John by the title of General Hawley, to the no small amusement of the company.

(2) Lord Marchmont's Diary, January 28. 1746.

(3) Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs, p. 23.

perhaps did any insurgents meet a more ungenerous enemy. From the deeds of blood in Scotland,—committed by his own order in some cases, and connived at in many more,—his contemporaries branded him with a disgraceful by-word — *THE BUTCHER*; and the historian who cannot deny the guilt, must repeat and ratify the name.

The Duke of Cumberland remained but thirty hours at Edinburgh: on the 31st he set forward with his army to give the insurgents battle; his favourite Hawley still acting under him as one Lieutenant-General; and the other was the Earl of Albemarle. Officers and soldiers were in high spirits, and confident of victory under their new commander. But on approaching Falkirk his Royal Highness was informed that the rebels had already commenced their retreat; the causes of which I shall now proceed to detail.

In the siege of Stirling, Charles had employed as his engineer one M. Mirabelle, a vain volatile Frenchman, who had come over with Lord John Drummond. So ignorant was this man of his profession, that the batteries he constructed with great labour were entirely commanded and soon silenced by the fire of the Castle. Still, however, the Prince persevered, taking only the advice of his favourite counsellors, Secretary Murray, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and the Quarter-Master-General. But the other chief officers, mortified both at their loss of confidence since the Derby retreat, and at the slow and doubtful progress of the present siege, determined to assert their authority by holding a consultation of their own. The result was a memorial signed by many influential names, and sent to the Prince by Lord George Murray, who was no doubt the secret mover of the whole design. This memorial is still preserved (1): after lamenting the number of Highlanders gone home, and the unequal chances of another battle, it proceeds: “We are therefore humbly of opinion that there is no way to extricate the army out of the most imminent danger but by retiring immediately to the Highlands, where we can be usefully employed the remainder of the winter by taking and mastering the forts of the North, and we are morally sure we can keep as many men together as will answer that end; and hinder the enemy from following us into the mountains at this season of the year; and in spring we doubt not but an army of 10,000 effective Highlanders can be brought together, and follow your Royal Highness wherever you think proper.”

This remonstrance, coming from such persons, and armed with all the force of a command, struck the Prince with astonishment and grief. Lord George had been with him but the day before, and shown him a plan he had drawn for the intended battle, which

(1) Home's Hist. Append. No. 33. Those who signed it were Lord George Murray, Lochiel, Meppoch, Clanranald, Ardschiel, Lochgarry, Scot-house, and Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat.

Charles had approved and corrected with his own hand. In the same view, likewise, had the sick and wounded of the army already been sent to the rear at Dumblane. When, therefore, he read the paper disclosing such different designs, he could scarcely believe his eyes : he passionately exclaimed, "Good God! have I lived to see this?" and dashed his head against the wall with so much violence that he staggered. He sent Sir Thomas Sheridan to argue with the chiefs against their project; but finding them firm, had no alternative but a sullen acquiescence (1).

The insurgents accordingly began their retreat on the 1st of February, first spiking their heavy cannon, and blowing up their powder magazine at St. Ninian's. So ill was this last operation contrived, that the explosion destroyed, together with the magazine, the neighbouring church, and lost the lives of several country people; nor did party spirit fail to impute this accident to deliberate and malignant design. The best proof to the contrary will be found in the fact, that some of the insurgent soldiers themselves, and particularly the man who fired the train, were amongst the killed. Very little, however, of discipline or regularity was observed in the retreat. Charles, with a frowardness and recklessness that seem to have been part of his character, whenever he was thwarted, had either neglected to give the needful orders, or suddenly changed them after they were given, and much confusion and loss of baggage ensued (2). The direction of the retreat was to Crieff, where the army separated in two divisions; nor did they reunite for some weeks; both, however, making their way by different roads towards Inverness. They were pursued, but not overtaken, by the Duke of Cumberland, who, fixing his headquarters at Perth, sent out detachments to reduce the neighbouring districts.

While such were the events in the North, the Court of St. James's was agitated by a short but singular ministerial revolution. The Royal favour had been for some time engrossed by Lord Granville: the Pelham brothers found themselves treated with coldness and reserve, and apprehended that in carrying the supplies this winter they would only be paving the way for their own dismissal at the end of the session. To them, the unquelled rebellion appeared, not as a motive of forbearance, but only as a favourable opportunity for pushing their pretensions. They determined, therefore, to bring the question to an issue, and to concentrate their demands on one point—an office for Pitt—to whom they were bound by their promises, and still more by their fears. The King, however, guided by Lord Granville, and under Granville by Lord Bath, and

(1) John Hay's Account of the Retreat from Falkirk (Home's Appendix, p. 355.).

(2) At a council of war, called near Crieff, there was great complaint and recrimination amongst the officers, as to the disorder of the retreat.

Charles ended their quarrel by saying very handsomely, that he would take all the blame on himself. (Lord George Murray's Narrative; Jacobite Memoirs, p. 190.)

mindful of Pitt's old philippics against Hanover, steadily refused his assent to this arrangement. On the 6th of February, Lord Bath, coming from the Royal closet, said frankly to Lord Harrington, that he had advised the King to negative Mr. Pitt's appointment and to pursue proper (he meant Hanoverian) measures on the Continent. Lord Harrington coldly replied, "They who dictate in private should be employed in public (1)." A resignation was now resolved upon by nearly all the ministers. In this affair the Pelhams prudently shrunk from the front ranks; the van therefore was led by Harrington, he being the first, on the 10th, to give up the seals, and thus drawing on himself the King's especial and lasting resentment. He was followed on the same day by the Duke of Newcastle, on the next by Mr. Pelham. Other self-denying placemen now poured in, with their white staves and gold keys. His Majesty immediately sent the two seals of Secretaries of State to Lord Granville (who was indisposed), that he and Lord Bath might form an administration as they pleased. "Thus far," says Horace Walpole, "all went swimmingly; they had only forgotten one little point, which was to secure a majority in both Houses (2)." Scarce any man of weight or reputation was found willing to join them. Chief Justice Willes declined to be their Lord Chancellor, and Sir John Barnard to be their Chancellor of the Exchequer. After various offers and repeated refusals, this ministry of forty hours was dissolved, and Lord Bath announced its failure to the King, who bitterly complained of his painful situation, and cried shame that a man like Newcastle, who was not fit, said he, for a chamberlain to a petty Court in Germany, should be forced on him and the nation as Prime Minister. His Majesty had, however, no other choice than to reinstate his former servants, and admit whatever terms they now required. It was agreed to dismiss from place the remaining adherents of Bath and Granville, amongst others the Marquis of Tweeddale, whose office as Secretary for Scotland was again abolished. Pitt became—not indeed Secretary at War, as was asked at first—but Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and soon afterwards, on the death of Winnington, Paymaster of the Forces. The opposition grew still weaker from their weakness being so signally tested and disclosed, and dwindled for some time to a scarcely perceivable minority. Yet Lord Granville's high spirits never forsook him; he continued to laugh and drink as before, owning that the attempt was mad, but that he was quite ready to do it again (3).

In Scotland the war languished for several weeks. Charles, on approaching Inverness, found it rudely fortified with a ditch and palisade, and held by Lord Loudon's army of about 2000 men. In

(1) Coxe's *Memoirs of Horace Lord Walpole*, p. 296.

(2) To Sir H. Mann, February 14, 1746.

(3) H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, February 14, 1746. Duke of Newcastle to the Earl of Chesterfield, February 18, 1746. Coxe's *Pelham*.

the first instance, therefore, the Prince halted ten miles from the town, at Moy Castle, the seat of the chief of Mac Intosh. The Chief himself was serving with Lord Loudon, but Lady Mac Intosh remained to raise the clan for the opposite party, and rode in their front as commander, with a man's bonnet on her head, and pistols at her saddle-bow. The neighbourhood of Moy Castle, however, and the security in which Charles was living, incited Lord Loudon to a sudden night-march, in hopes to seize his person. But this well-concerted scheme was baffled by no more than six or seven of the Mac Intoshes, who, meeting the King's troops, dispersed themselves in different parts of the wood, and fired upon the advancing columns, at the same time imitating the war-cries of Lochiel, Keppoch, and other well-known clans, and thus producing an impression that the whole Highland army was at hand. The King's troops, astonished and doubtful from the darkness, hastily turned back to Inverness, where they arrived in so much confusion that their retreat was afterwards known by the name of the Rout of Moy.

Next morning, the 17th of February, the Chevalier assembled his men, and on the 18th advanced to Inverness to repay Lord Loudon his unfriendly visit. The Earl, however, did not wait his coming; he embarked with the Lord President and with his soldiers in boats, and rowed across the Moray Frith to Cromarty. He was afterwards pursued by the Earl of Cromarty and some Highland regiments marching round the head of the inlet, and was compelled to cross the Great Ferry into Sutherland. Here, still followed by Cromarty, his army disbanded. But Lord Cromarty, too confident in his first success, was surprised in his turn, and taken prisoner with his officers at Dunrobin Castle, by a body of the Sutherland militia. This last event, however, did not occur till the day before the battle of Culloden, and had therefore no influence upon the main events of the campaign.

Having occupied the town of Inverness, Charles applied himself to the siege of the citadel, which surrendered in a few days. Another of his parties reduced and destroyed Fort Augustus, but was less successful before Fort William, as they could not prevent its communications by the sea. Lord George Murray likewise failed in taking the Castle of Blair, which a doughty veteran, Sir Andrew Agnew, maintained with some regular troops; and this failure greatly tended to heighten the suspicions, though most unjust ones, which Charles already entertained of Lord George's fidelity. A rough draught in Charles's writing, and amongst the Stuart Papers, declares that "when Lord George Murray undertook the attack of the post of Blair Castle, he took an officer, whom he sent back without so much as consulting the Prince—a thing so contrary to all military practice, that no one that has the least sense can be guilty of it, without some private reason

"of his own." Such doubts and jealousies amongst the chiefs hastened and embittered the decline of their cause, and still more severely did they suffer from the failure of money and provisions. They were now cooped up in barren mountains, and debarred from their Lowland resources: and though the supplies of France were frequently despatched, they could seldom at this period reach their destination. Several ships were captured by the British cruisers, others steered back to the French ports: one, the *Hazard*, having on board 150 soldiers and 10,000*l.* in gold, ran ashore on the north coast of Sutherland, and both crew and cargo were taken by the tribe of the Mac Kays. Thus Charles's little treasury was soon reduced to 500 Louis d'ors, and he was compelled to pay his troops in meal,—to the desertion of many, to the discontent and indiscipline of those that remained (1). Nor were even these supplies of meal certain and invariable; the men were often pinched with hunger, and unavoidably dispersed over the country for subsistence, while, according to the report of an English prisoner, even the best officers were glad when they could procure a few leaves of raw cabbage from the farmers' gardens (2).

During this time the Duke of Cumberland's army was, on the contrary, well supplied and powerfully reinforced. In February, there landed at Leith Prince Frederick of Hesse Cassel, with 5000 auxiliaries from his country, who had been hired, with consent of Parliament, in the place of the Dutch troops. For these last being the same that had capitulated at Tournay and Dendermond, and been set free under parole not to serve against any soldiers of France, Lord John Drummond had, immediately upon his landing, despatched a message to their commander, stating his own commission in the French service, and his arrival at the head of a French regiment, and requizing therefore that the Dutch troops should withdraw from the contest,—a summons which they had accordingly obeyed. The Hessians now served to garrison and secure the south of Scotland for the Duke of Cumberland, thus enabling him to draw together his whole native force against the rebels. After a visit to Edinburgh for a consultation with the Prince of Hesse, he had fixed his headquarters at Aberdeen, where it was commonly believed that he intended to remain till summer. But they who thought thus, knew not the daring and active energy of that Royal Chief (3).

On the 8th of April, the Duke set forth from Aberdeen, at the head of about 8000 foot and 900 cavalry. His march was directed

(1) "Our army had got no pay in money for some time past, but meal only, which the men being obliged to sell out and convert into money, it went but a short way for their other needs, at which the poor creatures grumbled exceedingly, and were suspicious that we officers had detained it from them." Macdonald's Journal, Lockhart Papers, vol. II, p. 409.

(2) Chambers' Hist. vol. II. p. 82.

(3) According to H. Walpole, "the Duke complains extremely of the *loyal* Scotch; he says "he can get no intelligence, and reckons himself "more in an enemy's country than when he was "warring with the French in Flanders." To Sir H. Mann, March 21. 1746.

to Inverness, with the intention to offer his enemy a battle; and proceeding along the coast, he was attended and supplied by the fleet. At Banff he seized and hanged two Highland spies, employed, according to their primitive manner, it notching the numbers of his army upon a stick (1). There now lay before him the Spey, a deep and rapid mountain stream, where he apprehended some resistance to his passage. Several weeks before, Charles had despatched Lord John Drummond with a strong party to defend the fords; and some batteries had accordingly been raised upon the left bank. But as the Duke brought up cannon sufficient to command these imperfect works, Lord John justly considered his position as untenable, and fell back to Inverness, while the Royal army forded the Spey in three divisions on the 12th, and on the 14th entered Nairn. Beyond this town some skirmishing ensued between the Highland rear and the English van; but Charles coming up suddenly to support the former with his guards from Inverness, the latter in their turn retired.

Charles and his principal officers lodged that night at Culloden House, the seat of his ablest enemy in Scotland, President Forbes. His troops lay upon the moor, where the heath, as one of the subalterns remarks, "served us both for bedding and fuel, the cold "being very severe (2)." Early on the 15th they were drawn out in battle order, and expected an attack; but no enemy appearing, Lord Elcho was sent forward with his cavalry to reconnoitre, and brought word that the Duke of Cumberland had halted at Nairn, and that this being his birthday, his troops were passing it in festivity and mirth. The provision from their ships was abundant; the insurgents, on the other hand, were so ill supplied that only a single biscuit could be served out to each man during the whole of the 15th. In numbers they were scarcely less deficient: notwithstanding every exertion, some of their best regiments had not been able to rejoin them; thus Cluny, Lord Cromarty, and the Master of Lovat were absent, so that barely 5000 men could be mustered on the field.

Charles's spirit, however, was still undaunted. He had declared, two days before, that he was willing to attack, had he but a thousand men (3). He now, on Lord Elcho's report, assembled a council of war, with a secret design to compensate for his inferiority of numbers by a night march, so as to surprise the Duke in his camp at Nairn, the distance being about twelve miles. In the council, he found Lord George Murray suggest this very scheme: Charles then rose and embraced him, and acknowledged the project as his own; upon which, by common consent, orders were immediately given for its execution (4). By the Prince's directions, the

(1) Chambers' Hist. vol. II. p. 82.

(2) MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel.

(3) Letter of Lord George Murray, August 8. 1746, printed in Home's Appendix.

(4) The account of this transaction is derived from a very rough draught or fragment in Charles's writing preserved amongst the Stuart Papers. It states: "When the enemy was so

heath was set on fire, that the light might convey an idea of his troops being still in the same position : the watchword he assigned, was " King James the Eighth." But meanwhile numerous stragglers had left the ranks, repairing to Inverness and other places in quest of food ; and they told the officers sent after them, to shoot them if they pleased, rather than compel them to starve any longer. From this cause some precious hours were lost, and many good soldiers missed, and it was not till eight at night that every preparation was completed. Charles then appointed Lord George Murray to command the first column, put himself at the head of that which followed, and gave the signal to march.

The night was dark, and so far favourable to the project of surprise ; but for the same reason it misled the guides and retarded the progress of the troops. Exhausted with privations, they could not display their wonted energy ; slowly and painfully did they toil through waste or marshy ground, many men dropping altogether from the ranks, and the rear falling considerably behind the van. Under these disadvantages it was two in the morning before the head of the first column passed Kilravock House, within four miles of the English camp. This was the very hour for which the attack had been designed ; and Lord George pointed out to his officers that it was now no longer possible for them to reach the enemy before the dawn should expose them to his observation. Several gentlemen—Hepburn of Keith above all—still vehemently adhered to the first project, saying that the Highland broad-sword would not be the worse for a little daylight to direct its operations. But notwithstanding this flourish, it was plain that all hopes of a surprise had ended, and that the object of the night-march had failed. During the discussion, Mr. O'Sullivan came up with a message from the Prince, that his Royal Highness would be glad to have the attack made ; but that, as Lord George was in the van, he could best judge whether it could be done in time or not. Thus empowered, Lord George gave orders for retreat ; Charles afterwards riding up, was convinced by his reasoning of the unavoidable necessity ; and the troops, sadly retracing their steps, took up their original position on Drummossie, or Culloden Moor (1).

" much approaching, and seeming to be determined to attack us lastly at Inverness, if we did not them, the Prince called a council of war, when all the chiefs were assembled and Lord George Murray. The Prince let every one speak before him. Lord George Murray was the last, and he proposed to attack that night as the best expedient ; this was just what the Prince intended, but he kept it in his breast. The Prince then embraced Lord George Murray, approved it, and owned it was his project. It was agreed upon ; but then it was question of the manner. It is to be observed, that the Prince proposed to keep Fort Augustus, and to make it serve as a place of rallying in case of a defeat. But that was unanimously rejected by the chiefs ; so it was blown up."

(1) Lord George was afterwards accused (most unjustly) of treachery, and of commanding the retreat without orders. There is some discrepancy, which in my narrative I have attempted to reconcile, between his own account (Letter, August 5. 1749), and an answer to a query sent to Charles in Italy, nearly thirty years later. (Home's Appendix, No. 44.) Lord George's recollection is likely to be the more correct so shortly after the transaction. But it is singular and very honourable to both the parties concerned that Charles's account acquits Lord George still more completely than Lord George does himself, of the alleged crime of acting without orders.

Thus on the morning of April the 16th the Highlanders were harassed and hungry, and without any neighbouring stores of provision; even for the Prince himself no refreshment beyond a little bread and whiskey could be found. It was now the wish of Lord George Murray and other skilful officers that the army thus unfitted for exertion should retire, and take up a position beyond the river Nairn, where the ground was high and inaccessible to cavalry, so that the Duke of Cumberland could not have engaged them but at great disadvantage to himself. Charles, on the other hand, like his forefather at Flodden, was embued with the chivalrous idea, that he ought never to decline a battle on fair ground, nor enable his enemies afterwards to say, that his victory had not been owing to his valour. Besides, as Lord George Murray complains, "His Royal Highness had so much confidence in the bravery of his army, that he was rather too hasardous, and was for fighting the enemy on all occasions (1)." It appears moreover that the counsellors on whom he most relied, instead of checking his romantic rashness, rather urged him forward. According to another officer who was present, "when proposals were made to retire over the river Nairn, which might have been done with great facility, Sir Thomas Sheridan and others from France having lost all patience, and hoping no doubt for a miracle, in which light most of them had considered both the victory at Preston and that at Falkirk, insisted upon a battle, and prevailed, without reflecting that many were then absent, and those on the spot spent and discouraged by a forced march during a long dark night, whereas upon the other two occasions the men were in full vigour and spirits (2)."

The insurgents were now drawn up for battle in two lines: on the right the Athol brigade, the Camerons, the Stuarts, and some other clans under Lord George Murray; on the left, the Macdonald regiments, under Lord John Drummond. "But we of the clan Macdonald," says one of their officers, "thought it ominous that we had not this day the right hand in battle, as formerly at Gladsmuir and at Falkirk, and which our clan maintains we had enjoyed in all our battles and struggles since the battle of Bannockburn (3)." The right flank on this occasion was covered by some straggling park walls; to the left began a gentle slope leading down towards Culloden House. Thus placed, it was about eleven o'clock when the Highland out-posts first observed the horizon darken with the advancing masses of the Duke of Cumberland's army. The Duke on approaching formed his army with great skill in three lines, cavalry on each wing, and two pieces of cannon between every two regiments of the first

(1) See Jacobite Memoirs, p. 122.

(3) Macdonald's Journal. (Lockhart Papers, vol.

(2) Answers of Mr. Pattullo, Muster-master-General of the Insurgent Army. (Home's Appendix, p. 332.)

line. To obviate the effect of the Highland target he had instructed his soldiers, that each of them in action should direct his thrust, not at the man directly opposite, but against the one who fronted his right hand comrade. He now again addressed his troops, saying that he could not suppose that there was any man in the British army reluctant to fight, but if there were any, who either from disinclination to the cause, or from having relations in the rebel army would prefer to retire, he begged them in the name of God to do so, as he would rather face the Highlanders with 1000 determined men at his back, than have 10,000 with a tithe who were lukewarm (1)." He was answered by loud huzzas and repeated shouts of "Flanders! Flanders!" It being nearly one o'clock before his arrangements were completed, it was proposed to His Royal Highness that he should allow the men to dine before the battle. "No," he replied, "they will fight more actively with empty bellies, and besides, it would be a bad omen. You remember what a dessert they got to their dinner at Falkirk!"

The battle began with a cannonade on both sides, by which (so different was the skill of their artillerymen!) the Royal army suffered little, but the insurgent greatly. Of the rival princes, William at once took up his position between the first and second lines; Charles, before repairing to his, rode along the ranks to animate the men. His little party soon became a conspicuous mark for the enemy's cannon; several of his guardsmen fell, and a servant, who held a led horse, was killed by his side, the Prince himself being covered by the earth thrown up by the ball. Not discomposed, however, he coolly continued his inspection, and then, as at Falkirk, stationed himself on a little height just behind the second line. Meanwhile a storm of snow and hail had begun to fall, but unlike that at Falkirk, blowing full in the faces of the Highlanders. At length Lord George Murray, finding his division of the right lose so much more than they inflicted from the cannonade, sent Colonel Ker of Gradon to the Prince requesting permission to attack. This being granted, the right wing and the centre, with one loud shout, rushed furiously forward, sword in hand; they were received with a rolling fire, both of cannon and grapeshot, but yet so resistless was their onset that they broke through Monro's and Burrel's regiments in the first line, and captured two pieces of cannon. But the Duke foreseeing the chance of this event, and with the view to provide against it, had carefully strengthened and stationed his second line; it was drawn up three deep, the front rank kneeling, the second bending forward, the third standing upright. These, reserving their fire till the Highlanders were close upon them, poured in a volley so well sustained and destructive as completely to disorder them. Before

(1) Chambers' Hist. vol. II. p. 103.; from the note-book of an English officer who was present,

they could recover, the Royal troops improved the advantage, and driving the clans together till they became one mingled mass, turned them from assailants into fugitives. Some of their best DUNNIE WASSAILS and the Chief of Mac Lauchlan were killed and trampled down; the brave Lochiel fell wounded, but was carried from the field by his two henchmen; and the call of the other chiefs arose unheeded and overborne. In short the whole right and centre of the insurgents were now in irretrievable rout, pursued by superior numbers, and drooping from previous exhaustion.

Yet let it not be deemed that even thus their courage failed. Not by their forefathers at Bannockburn—not by themselves at Preston or at Falkirk—not in after years when discipline had raised and refined the valour of their sons—not on the shores of the Nile—not on that other field of victory where their gallant chief, with a prophetic shroud (it is their own superstition) high upon his breast (1), addressed to them only these three words, HIGHLANDERS, REMEMBER EGYPT (2)—not in those hours of triumph and of glory was displayed a more firm and resolute bravery than now in the defeat at Culloden. The right and centre had done all that human strength or human spirit could do—they had yielded only to necessity and numbers—and like the captive monarch at Pavia might boast that every thing was lost but their honour.

On the left however the Macdonalds aggrieved, and as they thought, disgraced by their exclusion from the post of honour, stood moody, motionless, and irresolute to fight. In vain did the Duke of Perth who was stationed there tell them that, if they behaved with their usual valour, they would make a right of the left, and he would call himself in future a Macdonald (3). In vain did Keppoch rush forward to the charge with a few of his kinsmen; the clan (an event almost unexampled in Highland warfare) would not follow: calmly they beheld their chief brought to the ground by several shots from the enemy; calmly they heard the dying words which he faltered forth, “My God! have the children of my tribe “forsaken me!” Thus they stood while the right and centre of their army was put to the rout, and then falling back in good order they joined the remnant of the second line. But at the same time their rear became exposed to another body of English horse and Argyleshire Highlanders, who breaking gaps through the inclosures on the rebel right, formed again upon the open moor beyond, and

(1) “When a shroud is perceived about one, it is “a sure prognostic of death, and the time is “judged according to the height of it about the “person; for if it is seen above the middle, death “is not to be expected for the space of a year, “but as it ascends higher towards the head, death “is concluded to be at hand, within a few days if “not hours, as daily experience confirms.” (Martin’s *Western Islands*, 1716. p. 300. and Scott’s *Poetical Works*, vol. viii. p. 306. ed. 1834.) I know not whether it has ever been noticed, that the

Highland word for a seer, *Taishatr*, is nearly the same as the Turkish:—

“Warned by the voice of stern *Taheer*.”

(2) The words of Sir John Moore to the 42d regiment at the battle of Coruña. (Southey’s *Penninsular War*, vol. II. p. 824. 8vo. ed.)

(3) Home’s *Hist.* p. 234. In the *Tales of a Grandfather*, this saying is erroneously ascribed to Lord George Murray, who commanded on the other wing. (Vol. III. p. 260.)

must, if reinforced in time, have cut off all retreat from the defeated army.

Charles, from the height where he stood with one squadron of horse, gazed on the rout of his army and the ruin of his cause with wonder, nay almost with incredulity, with unavailing orders and passionate tears. It was then that Lord Elcho spurring up to him proposed that His Royal Highness should put himself at the head of the yet unbroken left, and charge forward with them to retrieve the fortune of the day. The other officers however concurred in thinking that the battle was irretrievably lost, and that a single wing of an army could never prevail against the whole of another army far superior at the first. If, as it appeared to them the only hope lay in rallying, it follows, that to continue the battle without any prospect of gaining it, could only serve to increase the slaughter, and diminish the chance of collecting the survivors. To Lord Elcho's proposal therefore the Prince returned a doubtful or negative answer, upon which Lord Elcho, according to his own account, turned away with a bitter execration, swearing that he would never look upon his face again. It is added that he kept his word, and in his exile used always to leave Paris whenever Charles entered it (1). — Some suspicion however should attach to the whole of this story, because the latter part is certainly unfounded. The official account now lies before me, of Charles's first public audience at the Court of France after his return, and amongst the foremost of his train on that occasion appears Lord Elcho (2). I must further observe that Lord Elcho was a man of most violent temper, and no very constant fidelity. Within two months from the date of this battle he made overtures for pardon to the British Court, "but," says Horace Walpole, "as he has distinguished himself beyond all the Jacobite commanders by brutality, and "insults and cruelty to our prisoners, I think he is likely to remain where he is (3);" and so he did! There is also some contrary evidence as to Charles's behaviour. A Cornet in his squadron of horse who was close by his side, left an attestation when at the point of death, that the Prince had resolved to go down and charge with the remaining Highlanders, but that the Cornet saw O'Sullivan seize his horse by the bridle, and, assisted by Sheridan, force him from the fatal field.

It is true that Charles had repeatedly declared at the outset of his enterprise that he was resolved either to prevail or perish—and that he did neither. Yet we must remember, that not only at Culloden but for some days afterwards there were still hopes of

(1) See Quarterly Review, No. lxxi. p. 213. with reference to Lord Elcho's MS. Memoirs.

(2) Lockhart Papers, vol. II. p. 567.

(3) To Sir H. Mann, June 20. 1747. See also a note to Waverley, vol. II. p. 272. I consider Chevalier Johnstone as no authority in any question

of fact, but I observe that, though concurring in Lord Elcho's accusation, he gives an entirely different colour to it, by placing the conversation between Lord Elcho and the Prince, "some hours after the battle, beside the river Nairn." (Mem. p. 198. 8vo. ed.)

rallying the army and renewing the war. And even waiving those hopes, Charles' conduct in this respect may be favourably compared with that of a far greater man, at a far more matured period of life. Only four days before the battle of Waterloo, it was announced by Napoleon—not like Charles in private letters, but in a public and recorded proclamation—"The moment is come for every Frenchman of courage, either to "conquer or to die(1)!"

The little remnant of the rebel army with which Charles might have charged, did not long remain compact and united; being pressed by the Royal forces it broke into two divisions. Of these the smaller, comprising all the French auxiliaries, fled towards Inverness, where they laid down their arms to the Duke of Cumberland. The other, preserving some degree of order, but thinned every moment by men hastening singly to their homes, made its way to Ruthven in Badenoch. Fourteen of their stands of colours, 2300 firelocks, and all their cannon and baggage fell into the hands of the English. The victors reckoned their own loss in killed and wounded at 310 men; that of the insurgents was about 1000, or a fifth of their army. Quarter was seldom given to the stragglers and fugitives, except to a few considerably reserved for public execution. No care or compassion was shown to their wounded; nay more, on the following day, most of these were put to death in cold blood, with a cruelty such as never perhaps before or since has disgraced a British army. Some were dragged from the thickets or cabins where they had sought refuge, drawn out in line and shot, while others were dispatched by the soldiers with the stocks of their muskets. One farm-building, into which some twenty disabled Highlanders had crawled, was deliberately set on fire the next day, and burnt with them to the ground. The native prisoners were scarcely better treated; and even sufficient water was not vouchsafed to their thirst. "I myself," says a gentleman of Inverness, "have often gone by the prison at that melancholy "time when I heard the prisoners calling out for water in the "most pitiful manner (2)."—To palliate these severities it was afterwards said in the Royal army, that an order had been found in Lord George Murray's writing, that the Highlanders if victorious should give no quarter. But this pretended order was never shown or seen; it is utterly at variance with the insurgents' conduct in their previous battles, and was often and most solemnly denied by their prisoners.

From the field of Culloden Charles had rode away with Sheridan, O'Sullivan, and other horsemen to Gortuleg, where Lord

(1) "Pour tout Français qui a du cœur, le moment est arrivé de vaincre ou de périr!" *Ordre du Jour*, signed Napoleon, June 14. 1815.

"Ancient heroes," says the author of *Anastasis*. "have been praised for dying without the least

"necessity, and modern worthies for living without the smallest hopes!"

(2) Minutes of conversation between Bishop Forbes and Mr. Francis Stuart, son of Bailie Stuart of Inverness, October 4. 1748.

Lovat was residing. It was the first and last meeting between them; but small was the sympathy or consolation which the young Prince received from the hoary, and now despairing, intriguer. While Charles exclaimed on the ruin of the cause, Lovat thought only of his own; he forgot even the common courtesy of a host, and they parted in mutual displeasure. Resuming his flight, at ten o'clock the same evening, Charles and his little party rode rapidly on to Glengarry's castle of Invergarry, where they arrived two hours before daybreak of the 17th, so utterly exhausted that they could only throw themselves upon the floor in their clothes. The success of a fisherman, who went out and caught two salmon from the neighbouring brook afforded their only chance of food; nor was there any other beverage than the same brook supplied. Yet how slight were these hardships compared to those which followed!—There was still some prospect of rallying an army at Ruthven, to which about 1200 fugitives from Culloden had repaired, directed by the talent, and animated by the spirit, of Lord George Murray. But the want of supplies of all kinds—the terror of the recent battle—the growing dispersion—and the far superior forces of the enemy at hand—ere long dispelled these lingering hopes. Lord George, indeed, was still for persevering at all hazards, but a message was received from Charles, thanking the gentlemen present for their zeal, but urging them to do only what each might think best for his own safety, and they accordingly dispersed. And thus was the Rebellion finally extinguished (1).

The Duke of Cumberland now fixed his head-quarters near Fort Augustus, in the very centre of the insurgent districts. It would have been a task welcome to most generals, and not unbecoming in any, to have tempered justice with mercy,—to reserve the chiefs or principal delinquents for trial and punishment, but to spare, protect, and conciliate the people at large. Not such, however, was the Duke of Cumberland's opinion of his duty. Every kind of havoc and outrage was not only permitted, but, I fear we must add, encouraged. Military licence usurped the place of law, and a fierce and exasperated soldiery were at once judge—jury—executioner. In such transactions it is natural and reasonable to suppose that the Jacobites would exaggerate their own sufferings and the wrongs of their opponents, nor, therefore, should we attach much weight to mere loose and vague complaints. But where we find specific cases alleged, with names and dates, attested on most respectable authority—by gentlemen of high honour and character—by bishops and clergymen of the episcopal church—in some cases, even by members of the victorious party—then are we bound not to shrink from the truth, however the truth may be displeasing. From such evidence it appears that the rebels' coun-

(1) There was some idea of rallying the clans in The correspondence of Lochiel and Cluny on this subject is printed in Home's Appendix, No. 47—81

try was laid waste, the houses plundered, the cabins burnt, the cattle driven away. The men had fled to the mountains, but such as could be found were frequently shot; nor was mercy always granted even to their helpless families. In many cases the women and children, expelled from their homes and seeking shelter in the clefts of the rocks, miserably perished of cold and hunger; others were reduced to follow the track of the marauders, humbly imploring for the blood and offal of their own cattle which had been slaughtered for the soldiers' food!—Such is the avowal which historical justice demands. But let me turn from further details of these painful and irritating scenes, or of the ribald frolics and revelry with which they were intermingled—races of naked women on horseback for the amusement of the camp at Fort Augustus (1)! General Hawley, it is said, was foremost in every cruelty, and much more deeply conscious of, and responsible for, them than his Royal Master. Yet the latter must be condemned in no small degree, even judging only from his own correspondence. He writes to the Duke of Newcastle before Culloden:—"All in this country are almost to a man Jacobites, and mild measures will not do. You will find that the whole of the laws of this ancient kingdom must be new modelled. Were I to enumerate the villains and villanies this country abounds in, I should never have done (2)." And again, from Fort Augustus:—"I am sorry to leave this country in the condition it is in; for all the good that we have done has been a little blood-letting, which has only weakened the madness but not at all cured it; and I tremble for fear that this vile spot may still be the ruin of this island and of our family (3)." The licence of the soldiery was not curbed in Scotland till July, when His Royal Highness set out for Edinburgh, and from thence to London. Every where he was hailed, and not undeservedly, as the public deliverer; while the thanks of Parliament, the vote of 25,000*l.* a-year as a pension to himself and his heirs, and the freedom of numerous Companies greeted his return.

Some grants and honours might also well have rewarded President Forbes, who more than any other Scotsman of that period, had upheld and saved the King's cause. But his loyal zeal in the hour of danger was forgotten in the equal but less welcome zeal with which, after Culloden, the venerable judge ventured to plead for compassion. It is alleged that, on urging to the Duke the authority of the laws, he was answered, "What laws? I will make a brigade give laws!" and he died soon afterwards, broken in spirit, and impoverished in estate, unable to obtain repayment of those very sums which, when other resources failed in 1745, he had freely advanced for his country's service (4).

(1) Rev. James Hay of Inverness; attestation to Bishop Forbes, received, June 30. 1750.

(2) Letter, April 4. 1746. Coxe's *Pejham*.

(3) Letter, July 17. 1746. *Ib.*

(4) Culloden Papers, Introduction, p. xxxvii. and *Quarterly Review*, No. xxviii. p. 329.

Notwithstanding the eagerness with which, after Culloden, the rebels were tracked and pursued, and the guard both of land and sea, several of their chiefs succeeded, after various concealments, privations, and dangers, in effecting their escape. Lord George Murray made his way to Holland, where under the name of De Valignié, he resided for the most part until his death in 1760. In another ship from France embarked the Duke of Perth, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and Mr. O'Sullivan; but the Duke, a young man of delicate frame, expired on his passage, and Sir Thomas Sheridan, going on to Rome, and being severely arraigned by the Pretender, for engaging in an expedition with such slight resources, was, it is said, so far affected by the reproof that he fell ill and died (1). On the other hand the Government officers succeeded in seizing the Earl of Kilmarnock, Lord Balmerino, and Secretary Murray. Lovat was discovered in one of the wildest tracts of Inverness-shire, wrapt in a blanket, and hid in the hollow of an old tree, which grew upon an islet in the centre of a lake (2). Lord Strathallan died of a wound at Culloden, and Tullibardine of disease and sorrow, when already immured in the Tower and awaiting his trial.

But where was he, the young and princely chief of this ill-fated enterprise—the new Charles of this second Worcester? His followers dismissed to seek safety as they could for themselves—he sometimes alone—sometimes with a single Highlander as his guide and companion—sometimes begirt with strange faces, of whose fidelity he had no assurance—a price set upon his head—hunted from mountain to island, and from island to mountain—pinched with famine, tossed by storms, and unsheltered from the rains—his strength wasted, but his spirit still unbroken—such was now the object of so many long cherished and lately towering hopes! In the five months of his weary wanderings—from April to September—almost every day might afford its own tale of hardship, danger and alarm, and a mere outline must suffice for the general historian. It is much to Charles's honour, that as one of his chance attendants declares, “he used to say, that the fatigues and distresses he underwent signified nothing at all, because he was only a single person; but when he reflected upon the many brave fellows who suffered in his cause, that, he behoved to own, did strike him to the heart, and did sink very deep within him (3).” But most of all entitled to praise appear the common Highlanders around him. Though in the course of these five months the secrets of his concealment became intrusted to several hundred persons, most of them poor and lowly, not one of them was ever tempted by the prize of 30,000*l.* to break faith, and

(1) *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 4. note.

(2) *Chambers's History*, vol. II. p. 170.

(3) *Narrative of Captain Malcolm MacLeod*, put

in writing, August 17. 1747; *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 476.

betray the suppliant fugitive; and when destitute of other help, and nearly, as it seemed, run to bay, he was saved by the generous self-devotion of a woman.

In the hope of finding a French ship to convey him, Charles had embarked, only eight days after Culloden, for that remote cluster of isles to which the common name of Long Island is applied. Driven from place to place by contrary winds and storms, and having sometimes no other food than oatmeal and water, he at length gained South Uist, where his wants were in some degree relieved by the elder Clanranald. But his course being tracked or suspected, a large body of militia and regular troops, to the number of 2000 men, landed on the island, and commenced an eager search, while the shores were surrounded by small vessels of war. Concealment or escape seemed alike impossible, and so they must have proved but for Miss Flora Macdonald; a name, says Dr. Johnson, which will for ever live in history. This young lady was then on a visit to Clanranald's family, and was step-daughter of a Captain in the hostile militia which occupied the island. Being appealed to in Charles's behalf, she nobly undertook to save him at all hazards to herself. She obtained from her step-father a passport to proceed to Skye, for herself, a man-servant and a maid, who was termed Betty Burke, the part of Betty to be played by the Chevalier. When Lady Clanranald and Flora sought him out, bringing with them a female dress, they found him alone in a little hut upon the shore, employed in roasting the heart of a sheep upon a wooden spit. They could not forbear from shedding tears at his desolate situation, but Charles observed, with a smile, that it would be well perhaps for all Kings if they had to pass through such an ordeal as he was now enduring. On the same evening he took advantage of the passport, embarking in his new attire with Flora and a faithful Highlander, Neil Mac Eachan, who acted as their servant. The dawn of the next day found them far at sea in their open boat, without any land in view; soon, however, the dark mountains of Skye rose on the horizon. Approaching that coast at Waternish, they were received with a volley of musketry from the soldiers stationed there, but none of the balls took effect, and the rowers, vigorously plying their oars, bore them away from that scene of danger, and enabled them to disembark on another point.

Charles was now in the country of Sir Alexander Macdonald, at first a waverer in the contest, but of late a decided foe. When the prudent chief saw the Jacobite cause decline, he had been induced to levy his clan against it, and was now on the mainland in attendance on the Duke of Cumberland. Yet it was of his wife, Lady Margaret, a daughter of the Earl of Eglinton, that Flora determined to implore assistance, having no other resource, and knowing from herself the courageous pity of a female heart. Lady

Margaret received the news with pain and surprise, but did not disappoint Flora's firm reliance; her own house was filled with militia officers, but she intrusted Charles, with earnest injunctions for his safety, to the charge of Macdonald of Kingsburgh, the kinsman and factor of her husband. As they walked to Kingsburgh's house, Charles still in woman's disguise, they had several streams to pass, and the Prince held up his petticoats so high as to excite the surprise and laughter of some country people on the road. Being admonished by his attendants he promised to take better care for the future, and accordingly in passing the next stream allowed the skirts to hang down and float upon the water. "Your enemies," said Kingsburgh, "call you a Pretender, but if you be, I can tell you, you are the worst of your trade I ever saw!"

Next day, at Portree, Charles took leave of the noble-minded Flora with warm expressions of his gratitude, and passed over to the isle of Rasay, under the less inconvenient disguise of a male servant and the name of Lewis Caw. His preservers soon afterwards paid the penalty of their compassion, both Kingsburgh and Flora Macdonald being arrested and conveyed in custody, the former to Edinburgh, the latter to London. The conduct of Lady Margaret likewise was much inveighed against at Court, but once, when it provoked some such censure from the Princess of Wales: "And would not you, Madam," asked Frederick, with a generous spirit, "would not you in like circumstances have done the same?" "I hope—I am sure you would (1)!" It was at the intercession, as it is said, of His Royal Highness, that Flora was released from prison after a twelvemonth's confinement. A collection was made for her among the Jacobite ladies in London, to the amount of nearly 1500*l*. She then married Kingsburgh's son, and many years afterwards went with him to North America, but both returned during the civil war, and died in their native Isle of Skye (1).

From Rasay Charles again made his way to the mainland, where he lay for two days cooped up within a line of sentinels, who crossed each other upon their posts, so that he could only crouch among the heather, without daring to light a fire, or to dress his food. From this new danger he at length escaped by creeping at night down a narrow glen, the bed of a winter stream, between two of the stations. Another vicissitude in his wanderings brought him

(1) Quarterly Review, No. xxviii. p. 830. In the Colloden Papers, p. 291. is an apologetic letter from Sir Alexander. He tells us that "the Pretender accosted Kingsburgh with telling him, that his life was now in his hands, which he might dispose of: that he was in the utmost distress, having had no meat or sleep for two days and two nights, sitting on a rock, beat upon by the rains, and, when they ceased, ate up by flies, conjured him to show compassion but for

"one night, and he should be gone. This moving speech prevailed, and the visible distress, for he was meagre, ill-coloured, and overrun with the scab; so they went to Kingsburgh's house," etc.

(2) Tales of a Grandfather, vol. iii. p. 329., and Chambers' Hist. vol. ii. p. 221. She is described as "a little woman, of a genteel appearance, and uncommonly mild and well-bred." (Boswell's Husbands, p. 214. ed. 1785.)

to a mountain cave, where seven robbers had taken their abode; and with these men he remained for nearly three weeks. Fierce and lawless as they were, they never thought for an instant of earning "the price of blood;" on the contrary, they most earnestly applied themselves to secure his safety, and supply his wants. Sometimes they used singly and in various disguise to repair to the neighbouring Fort Augustus, and obtain for Charles a newspaper or the current reports of the day. On one occasion they brought back to the Prince, with much exultation, the choicest dainty they had ever heard of—a pennyworth of gingerbread!

On leaving these generous outlaws, and after other perils and adventures, Charles effected a junction with his faithful adherents, Cluny and Lochiel, who was lame from his wound. There he found a rude plenty to which he had long been unused. "Now, gentlemen, I live like a Prince!" cried he on his first arrival, as he eagerly devoured some collops out of a [saucepan with a silver spoon (1). For some time they resided in a singular retreat, called the Cage, on the side of Mount Benalder; it was concealed by a close thicket, and half suspended in the air. At this place Charles received intelligence that two French vessels, sent out expressly for his deliverance, under the direction of Colonel Warren of Dillon's regiment and with that officer on board, had anchored in Lochnanuagh. Immediately setting off for that place, but travelling only by night, he embarked on the 20th of September, attended by Lochiel, Colonel Roy Stuart, and about one hundred other persons, who had gathered at the news. It was the very same spot where Charles had landed fourteen months before, but how changed since that time, both his fate and his feelings! With what different emotions must he have gazed upon those desolate mountains, when stepping from his ship in the ardour of hope and coming victory; and now, when he saw them fade away in the blue distance, and bade them an everlasting farewell! Rapidly did his vessel bear him from the Scottish shores; concealed by a fog, he sailed through the midst of the English fleet; and he safely landed at the little port of Roscoff, near Morlaix, on the 29th of September.

He went—but not with him departed his remembrance from the Highlanders. For years and years did his name continue enshrined in their hearts and familiar to their tongues; their plaintive ditties, resounding with his exploits, and inviting his return. Again, in these strains, do they declare themselves ready to risk

(1) Cluny's Narrative (Home's Appendix, p. 380.). There is a vague and romantic story about this time of one Mac Kenzie lately an officer in the insurgent army, who being beset and killed by some soldiers, cried in his dying moments: "I am your Prince,"—his object being to afford a diversion for Charles's escape. It is added, that his head was cut off and passed for that of Charles,

and was taken to London by the Duke of Cumberland in his own carriage, etc. This story is adopted both by Sir Walter Scott and Mr. Chambers, but on examination, I cannot find that it rests on any better authority than that of Chevalier Johnstone (Memoirs, p. 307.), and therefore I have no hesitation in rejecting it.

life and fortune for his cause; and even maternal fondness,—the strongest perhaps of all human feelings,—yields to the passionate devotion to “Prince Charlie (1).”

On the rebellion being finally quelled, the punishment of its principal chiefs and instigators became the earnest desire of the people, and undoubtedly also the bounden duty of the government. With every sympathy for individual suffering—with every allowance for the fervour of mistaken loyalty, or for the blindness of feudal obedience—still it must be owned, that a rebellion so daring, so long designed, and so nearly successful, called aloud for some avenging and repressive acts of justice. It may however well be questioned whether these acts were not carried further, both in number and in rigour, than necessity would warrant. A very judicious modern writer, while commenting on the executions in 1746, observes that there seems to have been “greater and less necessary severity after “the rebellion of 1745 (2).” Yet, in general, time effects a happy change in the opposite direction; and the aggravation in this case must certainly be ascribed to the Duke of Cumberland who, even after his return to London, continued, as we are told, to press “for “the utmost severity (3). The Scottish prisoners were removed for trial to England, lest their own countrymen should show them partiality or pity. At one time there were no less than 385 crowded together at Carlisle; of these however the common men were permitted to cast lots, one in twenty to be tried and hanged, the rest to be transported. There was no difficulty in obtaining proofs against individuals who had so openly appeared in arms. Amongst the earliest sufferers were Colonel Townley and eight other officers or privates of the Manchester regiment, who were hanged on Kennington Common near London. Other executions took place at York, at Brampton, and at Penrith; in all there were nearly eighty. The barbarous ceremony of unbowelling, mangling, and casting the hearts into a fire was not omitted, nor did it fail—such is the vulgar appetite for the horrible!—to draw forth exulting shouts from the spectators. Differing as the sufferers did in age, in rank, and temper, they yet, with scarcely an exception, agreed in their behaviour on the scaffold; all dying with firmness and courage, asserting the justice of their cause, and praying for the exiled family.

Amongst these numerous condemnations, the one perhaps of all others most open to exception, was that of Charles Radcliffe, brother of the Earl of Derwentwater, beheaded in 1746. Charles Radcliffe had then avoided a like fate by breaking from prison; he had lately been captured on board a French vessel bound for

(1) “I ance had sons, but now hae nane,
“I bred them tolling salrly;

“And I wad bear them a’ again
“And lose them a’ for Charlie!”
(*O’er the Water to Charlie*, No. 37. of Mr. Hogg’s Second Series.)

(2) Hallam’s *Constit. Hist.* vol. III. p. 169.

(3) H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, August 1. 1746.

Scotland, with supplies for the insurgents; and he was now, after a long confinement, put to death upon his former sentence, which had slumbered for thirty years.

The noblemen who appeared for trial before their Peers in July, 1746, were the Earls of Cromarty and Kilmarnock, and Lord Balmerino. The two Earls pleaded guilty, expressing the deepest remorse for their conduct, while Balmerino endeavoured to avail himself of a flaw in the indictment, as not having been at Carlisle on the day it set forth; but this being overruled, he declared, that he would give their Lordships no further trouble. On being brought up to receive sentence, both Cromarty and Kilmarnock earnestly sued for mercy. "My own fate," said Cromarty, "is the least part of my sufferings. But, my Lords, I have involved an affectionate wife with an unborn infant as parties of my guilt to share its penalties. I have involved my eldest son, whose youth and regard for his parents hurried him down the stream of rebellion. I have involved also eight innocent children, who must feel their parent's punishment before they know his guilt. Let the silent eloquence of their grief and tears supply my want of persuasion!" — Kilmarnock urged, in extenuation of his own offence, the excellent principles he had instilled into his heir, "having my eldest son in the Duke's army fighting for the liberties of his country at Culloden, where his unhappy father was in arms to destroy them!" — But no acknowledgment of error, no application for mercy could be wrung from the haughty soul of Balmerino. In compassion chiefly to Lady Cromarty, who was far advanced in pregnancy (1), a pardon was granted to her husband, but the two others were ordered for execution on Tower Hill on the 18th of August. Kilmarnock met his fate with sufficient steadiness combined with penitence, owning to the last the heinousness of his rebellion. His companion in misfortune, on the contrary, as a frank resolute soldier, persevered and gloried in his principles. When at the gate of the Tower and on their way to the scaffold, the officers had ended the words of form with the usual prayer "God save King George!" Kilmarnock devoutly sighed "Amen;" but Balmerino stood up and replied in a loud voice, "God save King James!" And as he laid his head on the block he said: "If I had a thousand lives, I would lay them all down here in the same cause (2)!"

The last of the "Martyrs," as their own party chose to call them, was Lord Lovat. Not having appeared in arms, nor committed any overt act of treason, this grey-haired hypocrite could not be so readily convicted as the bolder and better men who had walked before him to the scaffold. But a King's evidence was

(1) When her child was born after this dreadful suspension of an axe. (*Tales of a Grandfather*, vol. III. p. 310.)

(2) H. Walpole to Sir H. Mann, August 21. 1746.

obtained in John Murray of Broughton, lately Prince Charles's Secretary, who now consented to purchase safety for himself by betraying the secrets and hazarding the lives of his former friends (1). It was he who revealed to the Government the whole train and tissue of the Jacobite conspiracy since 1740, although, as the law requires two witnesses in charges of treason, it was not possible to proceed further against the Duke of Beaufort, Sir Watkin Wynn, or other English Jacobites; not indeed did the Government show any wish for their impeachment. In the case of Lovat, however, his own letters to the Chevalier were produced by Murray, other conclusive documents and some corroborating evidence from his clansmen were also brought forward, and his guilt was thus established in the clearest and most legal manner. His trial, which did not commence until March, 1747, continued during several days. Lovat's own behaviour was a strange compound of meanness, levity, and courage, — sometimes writing to the Duke of Cumberland for mercy, and pleading how he had carried his Royal Highness in his arms, when a child, about the parks of Kensington and Hampton Court — sometimes striving by chicanery to perplex or rebut the proofs against him — sometimes indulging in ridiculous jests. "I did not think it possible," says Horace Walpole, "to feel so little as I did at so melancholy a spectacle, but tyranny and villany wound up by buffoonery took off all edge of compassion (2)." When after his sentence he was taken from the Bar, he cried, "Farewell, my Lords, we shall never all again meet in the same place (3)!" Like Balmerino and Kilmarnock he was beheaded on Tower Hill; and he died with great composure and intrepidity, attended by a Roman Catholic priest, and repeating on the scaffold the noble line of Horace, *DULCE ET DECORUM EST PRO PATRIA MORI*. — But in truth no man was ever less strongly imbued with that sentiment — except perhaps its writer!

A few weeks afterwards, there happily passed an Act of Indemnity, granting a pardon to all persons who had committed treason, but clogged with about eighty exceptions. By other legislative measures, passed with little opposition—the Disarming Act—the abolition of Heritable Jurisdictions—and the prohibition of the Highland garb—it was sought to precipitate the fall of feudal power, and to subdue the spirit of the vanquished mountaineers.

(1) Mr. Murray survived many years afterwards, residing chiefly in Scotland. In Lockhart's *Life of Scott* (vol. i. p. 179.) is related a very curious scene between him and Sir Walter's father, showing the extreme abhorrence with which the unfortunate gentleman was still regarded.

(2) To Sir H. Mann, March 20. 1747.

(3) This answer is transferred by Lord Byron, without acknowledgment, to his Israel Bertuccio, (*Doge of Venice*, Act 5. scene 1.)

CHAPTER XXX.

The rebellion in Scotland and the consequent recall of the British troops from Flanders, left that country an easy conquest to the French. Marshal de Saxe, unexpectedly renewing his operations in the midst of winter, invested Brussels; on the 20th of February that important capital surrendered, and its large garrison became prisoners of war. Antwerp, Mons, and Charleroi followed in their turn. Even Namur, which had so long withstood the arms of King William, capitulated on the 19th of September, after a siege of only six days. Meanwhile the command of the allied army had been assumed by Prince Charles of Lorraine, and he had gradually received both British and Hanoverian reinforcements: but, on the 11th of October, he was repulsed in an engagement at Roucoux, near Liège; and, at the close of the campaign, the French were in possession of nearly the whole of the Austrian Netherlands.

But their successes on the Scheldt and Meuse were balanced by reverses on the Po. The Austrians, freed from their Prussian enemy by the peace of Dresden, had sent large reinforcements over the Alps; they recovered Parma, Guastalla, and Milan, and completely defeated the French and Spaniards at a battle near Placentia on the 17th of June. Pursuing their victory, they entered Genoa in September, and urged their preparations for an immediate invasion of Provence (1).

Another event unfavourable to the Court of Versailles was the death of Philip the Fifth of Spain, on the 9th of July. His son and successor, Ferdinand the Sixth, felt but a slight interest in the establishment of Don Philip in Italy—the main object of the war in the preceding reign—and he accordingly pursued that war languidly, unwillingly, and with diminished forces. Thus France, deserted by Prussia and Bavaria, and faintly supported by Spain, had no longer any one efficient ally; and notwithstanding her conquests in Flanders, was not disinclined to peace on reasonable terms. Some conferences were opened at Breda, but from the high pretensions of England and of Austria at that time, led to no result.

In this summer the British Ministers despatched an expedition to the coast of Brittany, the troops under General St. Clair, the fleet under Admiral Lestock. The object was to surprise Port L'Orient,

(1) Muratori, *Annal. d'Ital.* vol. xii. p. 246. et seq.

and destroy the ships and stores of the French East India Company, but the result attained was only the plunder and burning of a few helpless villages. Thus much only might be boasted, that the fleet and troops returned with little loss. "The truth is," says a contemporary, "Lestock was by this time grown too old and infirm for enterprise, and, as is alleged, was under the shameful direction of a woman he carried along with him; and neither the soldiers nor the sailors, during the whole of the expedition, seem to have been under any kind of discipline (1)."

At home the tranquillity of the Cabinet was slightly ruffled by the resignation of Lord Harrington. That minister—so lately the King's favourite—had incurred his Majesty's most serious displeasure by his courage in heading the seceders of February, 1746. In the same proportion—for common minds have only a certain stock of friendship or of enmity, which is never increased or diminished, but only transferred from one person to another—had his Majesty's feelings relented towards Pitt and Chesterfield: to the former he began to show signs of esteem—of the latter he no longer opposed the admission into office. Thus, when Harrington, mortified at the King's antipathy, and feebly supported by the Duke of Newcastle, for whose sake he had exposed himself, gave up the Seals on the 29th of October, they were immediately intrusted to Chesterfield, while Chesterfield's appointment as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was transferred to Harrington (2).

Philip Dormer Stanhope, fourth Earl of Chesterfield, one of the most shining characters of his age, was born in 1694. His father—a man of morose and gloomy temper—appears from his earliest years to have conceived a coldness, nay aversion to him (3). But the parental place was in great measure supplied by his grandmother, the Marchioness of Halifax, who with great accomplishments combined an overflowing benevolence. At the age of eighteen young Stanhope was sent to complete his studies at Cambridge. According to his own account, many years afterwards, "at the University I was an absolute pedant. When I talked my best I quoted Horace; when I aimed at being facetious, I quoted Martial; and when I had a mind to be a fine gentleman, I talked Ovid. I was convinced that none but the ancients had common sense, that the classics contained every thing that was either necessary, useful, or ornamental, to men; and I was not even without thoughts of wearing the *TOGA VIRILIS* of the Romans, instead of the vulgar and illiberal dress of the moderns (4)."

1747.

(1) Tindal's Hist. vol. ix. p. 271.

(2) I must observe, in justice to Newcastle, that though not sufficiently firm in supporting his friend in the Cabinet, he insisted on obtaining for him the Lord Lieutenancy, which the King

was unwilling to grant. See Coxe's Pelham, vol. i. p. 343.

(3) See a letter, dated 1703, in Atterbury's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 24.

(4) Letter to his son. June 24. 1751.

encouraging example held forth to his son to show him how pedantry may be successfully surmounted. Certain it is, that the few letters preserved of Chesterfield during his nonage, displayed wit, acuteness, and knowledge of the world. Thus, from Paris, in 1715, he writes satirically : “ I shall not give you my opinion of the French, because I am very often taken for one of them ; and several have paid me the highest compliment they think it in their power to bestow ; which is, ‘ Sir, you are just like ourselves ! ’ I shall only tell you that I am insolent ; I talk a great deal ; I am very loud and peremptory ; I sing and dance as I walk along ; and, above all, I spend an immense sum in hair-powder, feathers, and white gloves (1) ! ” His correspondent, on this occasion, was M. Jouneau, a tedious old gentleman, of whose acquaintance he was evidently weary ; but it is, I fear, in some degree characteristic of Chesterfield, that this, the very last letter he ever wrote to that person, contains the following expressions : — “ You reproach me, and not without cause, for not having written to you since I came to Paris. I confess my fault ; I repent of it, and you will be convinced of the sincerity of my repentance by the number of letters with which I shall in future overwhelm you. You will cry out for quarter, but in vain ; I shall punish you for not having known your first happiness ! ”

Chesterfield had entered the House of Commons even before the legal age (2) ; but allured by pleasures, into which he plunged with no common eagerness, he shrunk from the arduous labours of a statesman. It was not till the death of his father, in 1726, that he began in earnest to tread the thorny paths of ambition. Nature had endowed him with a brilliant and ready wit, which was sometimes the delight, sometimes the scourge, but always the wonder of his companions ; and which shone alike in his most laboured writings, and his least premeditated sallies. His own care had formed manners, still proverbial for their excellence, and, in his own time, the model for the world of fashion ; while attaining the highest degree of courtly polish, they had neither relaxed into insipidity, nor stiffened into superciliousness ; but were animated and enlivened by a never-failing anxiety to please. As is acknowledged by himself—“ Call it vanity, if you will—and possibly it was so ; but my great object was to make every man I met like me, and every woman love me. I often succeeded, but why ? By taking great pains (3). But these more superficial graces and accomplishments were, it speedily appeared, supported by what alone can support them in public life ; a large and solid fund of reading. “ Nobody,” says he to his son, “ ever lent themselves more than I did, when I was young, to the pleasures and dissipation of good company ; I even did it too much. But then

(1) Chesterfield's Works, vol. III. p. 17; 8vo ed. (2) See Vol. I. p. 96. (3) To his son, July 21, 1715

"I can assure you, that I always found time for serious studies ; and when I could find it no other way, I took it out of my sleep ; for I resolved always to rise early in the morning, however late I went to bed at night ; and this resolution I have kept so sacred that, unless when I have been confined to my bed by illness, I have not, for more than forty years, ever been in bed at nine o'clock in the morning, but commonly up before eight (1)." — "But," he adds, "throw away none of your time upon those trivial futile books published by idle or necessitous authors for the amusement of idle and ignorant readers : such sort of books swarm and buzz about one every day ; flap them away ; they have no sting : CERTUM PETE FINEM ; have some one object for your leisure moments, and pursue that object invariably till you have attained it (2)." — With Chesterfield that main object was oratory. So long ago as when I was at Cambridge, whenever I read pieces of eloquence (and, indeed, they were my chief study), whether ancient or modern, I used to write down the shining passages, and then translate them as well and as elegantly as ever I could : if Latin or French, into English ; if English, into French. This, which I practised for some years, not only improved and formed my style, but imprinted in my mind and memory the best thoughts of the best authors. The trouble was little, but the advantage I have experienced was great (3)." Whether from such studies, or from natural genius Chesterfield's speeches became more highly admired and extolled than any others of the day. Horace Walpole had heard his own father ; had heard Pitt ; had heard Pulteney ; had heard Wyndham ; had heard Carteret ; yet he declares, in 1743, that the finest speech he ever listened to was one from Chesterfield (4).

The outset of Chesterfield in public employment was his first embassy to Holland, in which he displayed great skill, and attained universal reputation. Diplomacy was indeed peculiarly suited to his tastes and talents : he was equally remarkable for a quick insight into the temper of others, and for a constant command of his own : with foreign languages and history he had long been familiar : and public business, though at first strange and unwelcome, soon became easy, nay delightful, to him. He writes to Lady Suffolk from the Hague :—"As you know, I used to be accused in England, and I doubt pretty justly, of having a need for such a proportion of talk in a day : that is now changed into a need for such a proportion of writing in a day (5)."

Chesterfield's second embassy to Holland, in 1744, confirmed, and renewed the praises he had acquired by the first. So high did his reputation stand at this period, that Sir Watkin Wynn, though

(1) Letter, December 13. 1748.

(2) *Ibid.* May 31. 1752.

(3) *Ibid.* February 1. 1754.

(4) To Sir H. Mann, December 15. 1743.

(5) To Lady Suffolk, August 13. 1728. Suffolk Letters, 1824.

neither his partisan nor personal friend, once in the House of Commons reversed in his favour Clarendon's character of Hampden; saying, that "Lord Chesterfield had a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute, any worthy action (1)." At home his career, though never, as I think, inspired by a high and pervading patriotism, deserves the praise of humane, and liberal, and far-sighted policy. Thus after the rebellion, while all his colleagues thought only of measures of repression—the dungeon or the scaffold—disarming acts and abolition acts—we find that Chesterfield "was for schools and villages to civilize the High-lands (2)."

But, undoubtedly, the most brilliant and useful part of Chesterfield's career was his Lord Lieutenancy in Ireland. It was he who first, since the Revolution, made that office a post of active exertion. Only a few years before, the Duke of Shrewsbury had given as a reason for accepting it, that it was a place where a man had business enough to hinder him from falling asleep, and not enough to keep him awake (3)! Chesterfield, on the contrary, left nothing undone, nor for others to do. Being once asked how he was able to go through so many affairs, he answered: "Because I never put off till to-morrow what I can do to-day (4)." Chesterfield was also the first to introduce at Dublin—long as it had reigned in London—the principle of impartial justice. It is no doubt much easier to rule Ireland on one exclusive principle or on another. It is very easy, as was formerly the case, to choose the great Protestant families for "Managers;" to see only through their eyes, and to ear only through their ears: it is very easy, according to the modern fashion, to become the tool and Champion of Roman Catholic agitators; but to hold the balance even between both; to protect the Establishment, yet never wound religious liberty; to repress the lawlessness, yet not chill the affections of that turbulent but warm-hearted people; to be the arbitrator, not the slave of parties; this is the true object worthy that a statesman should strive for, and fit only for the ablest to attain! "I came determined," writes Chesterfield, many years afterwards, "to proscribe no set of persons whatever; and determined to be governed by none. Had the Papists made any attempt to put themselves above the law, I should have taken good care to have quelled them again. It was said that my lenity to the Papists had wrought no alteration either in their religious or their political sentiments. I did not expect that it would: but surely that was no reason for cruelty towards them (5)." Yet Chesterfield did not harshly censure, even where he strongly disapproved; but often conveyed

(1) See *Parl. Hist.* vol. xiii. p. 1054.

(2) *Diary of Lord Marchmont*, August 31. 1747.

(3) *Marchmont Papers*, vol. i. p. 91.

(4) *Marchmont's Life*, p. 255. From the *Bishop of Waterford*.

(5) Letter of Lord Chesterfield, preserved in the archives of Dublin Castle, and quoted by Lord Mulgrave in the debate in the House of Lords, November 27. 1837.

a keen reproof beneath a good-humoured jest. Thus, being informed by some exasperated zealots that his coachman was a Roman Catholic and went every Sunday to Mass: "Does he indeed?" replied the Lord Lieutenant, "I will take good care that he shall never drive me there!" When he first arrived at Dublin in the summer of 1745, a dangerous rebellion was bursting forth in the sister kingdom, and threatened to extend itself to a country where so many millions held the faith of the young Pretender. With a wavering, or a fierce and headlong Lord Lieutenant,—with a Grafton or a Strafford—there might soon have been another Papist army at the Boyne. But so able were the measures of Chesterfield; so clearly did he impress upon the public mind that his moderation was not weakness, nor his clemency cowardice; but that, to quote his own expression, "his hand should be as heavy as Cromwell's upon them if they once forced him to raise it;"—so well did he know how to scare the timid, while conciliating the generous, that this alarming period passed over with a degree of tranquillity such as Ireland has not often displayed even in orderly and settled times. This just and wise—wise because just—administration has not failed to reward him with its meed of fame; his authority has, I find, been appealed to even by those who, as I conceive, depart most widely from his maxims; and his name, I am assured, lives in the honoured remembrance of the Irish people, as, perhaps, next to Ormond, the best and worthiest in their long Viceregal line.

The biographer of Chesterfield, after portraying his character, in whatever points it can be praised, concludes,—"These were his excellences; let those who surpass him speak of his defects (1)." I shall not follow that example of prudent reserve. The defects of Chesterfield were neither slight nor few; and the more his contemporaries excused them,—lost as they were in the lustre of his fame,—the less should they be passed over by posterity. A want of generosity; dissimulation carried beyond justifiable bounds; a passion for deep play; and a contempt for abstract science, whenever of no practical or immediate use; may, I think, not unjustly be ranked amongst his errors. But, at the root of all, lay a looseness of religious principle. For without imputing to him any participation in the unbelief which his friend Bolingbroke professed, it is yet certain that points of faith had struck no deep root into his mind, and exercised no steady control upon his conduct. The maxims laid down in his familiar correspondence, even when right themselves, seldom rest on higher motives than expediency, reputation, or personal advantage. His own glory,—the false flame that flits over these low grounds,—however brilliant and dazzling from afar, will be found to lack both the ge-

(1) *Maty's Life*, p. 387.

nuine glow of patriotism, and the kindling warmth of private friendship. The country is to be served, not because it is our country, but inasmuch as our own welfare and reputation are involved in it : our friends are to be cherished, not as our inclination prompts, or their merits deserve, but according as they appear useful and conducive to the object we pursue. *PRODESSE QUAM CONSPICI* was both the motto and the maxim of Somers ; the very reverse, I fear, might sometimes be applied to Chesterfield.

During the administration of the new Secretary of State, his great oratorical abilities were seldom tried. The two Houses had now—dwindled, shall I say, or risen—into very pacific and business-like assemblies. Even the ill success of the war could not stir the quiet temper of the people ; nor did the dissolution of Parliament, in the summer of 1747, add any thing to the strength of the Opposition. In most of the ensuing contests the friends of the ministry prevailed. It was with great difficulty that Sir John Hinde Cotton, now dismissed from office, could rally a remnant of the Jacobites ; or that a small band of followers was retained by the Prince of Wales, aided by the councils of Bolingbroke and Dodgington (1). There was no want of vehemence, at least, in his Royal Highness. “These ministers,” says he, “have sullied the Crown, and are very near to ruin all. Pray God they have not a strong majority ; or adieu to my children, the constitution, and every thing that is dear to me (2) !”

In this year, the progress of the war was marked by two naval victories of England ; one by Admiral Anson, near Cape Finisterre ; another by Admiral Hawke, off Belleisle : in each six French ships of the line were taken. But on land, the campaigns proved inefficient in Italy, unprosperous in Flanders. So early as November, 1746, an Austrian army, under Marshal Brown, had invaded Provence, and bombarded Antibes ; when they were startled at the news of a popular rising in their rear. The Genoese, it appeared, had, by a sudden effort, flung off the German yoke, and restored their republic to independence. Under these circumstances, the Austrians, in Provence, soon finding their communications intercepted, and themselves harassed by the French force of Marshal de Belleisle, hastened to recross the Var, and applied themselves to a long and desultory, but fruitless blockade, of the insurgent city. The French, in their turn, attempted another invasion of Italy, but were checked in an action at the Pass of Exiles, in July, 1747 ; when the Chevalier, brother of the Marshal de Belleisle, and nearly four thousand veteran soldiers, were among the slain.

(1) Dodgington—a true *Lord Glistonbury*, according to Miss Edgeworth's admirable sketch—was eager only for a peerage. That object of his whole life was not attained till 1761, the year before he died.

(2) To Sir Thomas Bootle, June, 1747. *Coxe's Pelham*, Appendix, vol. I.

On the side of the Netherlands, the Duke of Cumberland had been again entrusted with the command, and took the field in February; but found, as usual, the Dutch and Austrians grievously deficient in their stipulated quotas. With an ill-combined and murmuring army, his early movements served rather to harass his own troops than to injure or even alarm the enemy's. The Court of Versailles relied for success, not merely on their arms, but on the timid and wavering, the despised and despicable, government of Holland. Already had great advantages accrued to the French from their constant reluctance to engage directly and frankly in the war; and now it was hoped to terrify them into a separate negotiation. With this view, Louis the Fifteenth issued a formal manifesto on the 17th March, suspending the conferences of Breda; and the French minister at the Hague was instructed to announce that, as the Dutch had formerly sent twenty thousand of their troops over the frontier of Lille, without declaring war; so the King of France would now send an equal force into their territories, not as declaring war, but to counteract the ill effects of the assistance which they had afforded to the Queen of Hungary. On the same day, the army of Marshal de Saxe was put in motion, and the vanguard of twenty thousand men, headed by Count Löwendahl, burst into Dutch Flanders, and reduced the frontier fortresses, Sluys, Sas van Ghent, and Hulst.

The danger of 1672 now appeared renewed to Holland; but, with precisely the same effect. As in 1672, it stirred and roused, instead of intimidating, that brave people. Far from yielding, as the enemy expected, they raised a cry of treachery against their timid magistrates, as the friends and abettors of France, and turned for help to their never-failing deliverers in peril, the House of Orange. As in 1672, the head of that House was proclaimed Stadtholder by almost universal acclamation. The revolution commenced in Zealand; but rapidly spreading from province, was achieved and completed within a few days. Even at the Hague, the magistrates, surrounded by an immense and raging multitude, and timid for themselves as they had been for the state, could only purchase their own safety by waving the Orange standard, a symbol of their recognition, from the palace windows (1). Prince William of Nassau was acknowledged as Stadtholder, Captain General, and Lord High Admiral, with the same extended powers which had been enjoyed by his kinsman and namesake, William the Third, and which had lain dormant since his death. Nay, more, he was enabled, some time afterwards, to guard against a similar lapse in future, by a law rendering these dignities hereditary to his children; and thus changing the constitution to a limited monarchy in fact, though not, as yet, in name.

(1) Siècle de Louis XV. ch. xxiii.

The fall of the old decrepit government, and the accession of a young and popular prince, son-in-law of the King of England, seemed a happy omen for the vigorous prosecution of the war. There did, indeed, ensue no small accession of administrative energy, and of military means. Unfortunately, however, when the Prince of Orange took the field at the head of the Dutch army, he was found ignorant of tactics, and jealous of his more practised, but not less overbearing brother, the Duke of Cumberland. According to Mr. Pelham, "Our two young heroes agree but little. "Our own is open, frank, resolute, and perhaps hasty; the other "assuming, pedantic, ratiocinating, and tenacious. . . . In what "a situation then are we! We must pray for the best, for direct "it we cannot. . . . We have nothing to do, but to make "up the present quarrels, get a little breathing time; and then, "perhaps, some people may come to their senses, or some senses "come to them (1)."

It was this disunion in the allied army that caused it a check on the 2d of July, at the village of Lauffeld, in front of Maestricht. The Dutch, in the centre, gave way and fled; the Austrians, on the right, under Marshal Bathiany, would not move from their fortified position; so that the entire brunt of the battle fell upon the British, on the left. Assailed by the whole French army, which was animated by the presence of Louis, and directed by the genius of De Saxe, the Duke of Cumberland could not long maintain his ground: he effected his retreat, however, in good order, leading the troops to a new and strong position behind the Meuse. They lost four standards; but, notwithstanding their repulse, they captured six. The number of killed and wounded, on both sides, was great, and nearly equal. Marshal de Saxe afterwards owned, that his victory had cost him no less than 8000 foot and 1000 horse (2). "The great misfortune of our position," writes the Duke of Cumberland, "was that our right wing was so strongly "posted, that they could neither be attacked nor make a diversion; "for I am assured that Marshal Bathiany would have done all in "his power, to sustain me, or attack the enemy (3)." Both commanders showed high personal gallantry in the foremost ranks; the Marshal being once nearly taken prisoner, and the Duke also once mixed with a squadron of French horse. The English horse suffered severely from their own ardour; they broke at first whatever stood before them; but hurrying on too far, were outflanked by columns of foot, when their body was with great slaughter repulsed, and their chief, Sir John Ligonier, taken. The King of France gave a favourable reception to that officer, who had been his subject by birth, but alienated from his country by the fanatic

(1) To Mr. Walpole, August 14. 1747.

(3) Despatch to the Earl of Chesterfield, July 3.

(2) Sir Everard Fawkener, Military Secretary to Sir Thomas Robinson, July 16. 1747.

persecution of the Protestants. "Would it not be better," said Louis, "to think seriously of peace, instead of beholding the destruction of so many brave troops (1)?"

Pursuing his success, the French commander detached Count Löwendahl, who, at the head of 30,000 men, rapidly traversed Brabant, and unexpectedly invested Berg-op-Zoom. This fortress, the key of Holland on that side, and the master-piece of the celebrated Cohorn, was, besides its strong works and its numerous garrison, connected with an intrenched camp which 12,000 troops defended. Although the trenches were opened in the middle of July, it was not till the beginning of September that breaches, and those only slight ones, were effected in the walls; but the governor, Baron Cronstrom, a veteran of fourscore, unfortunately relied so much on the strength of the place as to neglect the usual precautions for security; and thus Berg-op-Zoom was taken by surprise on the 15th of September, with very slight resistance from the garrison. This disaster closed the campaign, the French reserving the siege of Maestricht for the opening of the next, and taking up quarters in their new conquests; while the English and Dutch occupied the neighbourhood of Breda. It is difficult to describe what melancholy apprehensions then prevailed in the British councils. Mr. Pelham writes to the Duke of Cumberland:—"We are told every day to exert, to arm, and to augment. The advice, Sir, is certainly good; but are we not almost brought to the necessity of answering, as King William said to the man who advised him to change hands, — 'Tell Wyndham to change hands', who had but one? Is not our case, Sir, near to that? Have we not gone almost as far as we are able? Are there many more troops to be had? The Russians the King has ordered (to the number of 30,000) to be taken into our pay, if they will come. To the Danes intimations are given also; but is there the least reason to think His Majesty will be successful in that generous attempt? And last of all, in case he should succeed, what will they cost? and how shall we get the money (2)?"

Happily, however, the French were not less inclined for peace, and availed themselves of Ligonier's captivity as an opening towards it. After a few vague remarks from Louis, De Saxe had several confidential discourses with Sir John. The Marshal said that the King, his master, did not love war;—that he, the Marshal, as little desired to continue it;—that the whole French nation hated him;—that were he to meet with one misfortune, the King himself could

(1) *Siècle de Louis XV. ch. xxvi.* Voltaire charitably hints that Ligonier might have been put to death by way of reprisal. "Des Ecossais, officiers au service de France, avaient péri par le dernier supplice en Angleterre dans l'infortune du Prince Charles-Edouard."—It is said that Ligonier, when surrounded in the battle, endeavoured for some time to pass for one of the ene-

my's officers, and even led the French troops with great alacrity to an attack, in the hope of effecting his escape; but, unfortunately, the order of the Bath being observed under his coat, he was recognised and secured. See Coxe's Pelham, vol. i. p. 360.

(2) Letter, September 8. 1747, O. S., written on the news of the taking of Berg-op-Zoom.

not protect him ; —that he had already all the honour he wished for, and all the rewards for his services that he could ask, or the King grant ;—that, in this situation, broken as he was also in his health, he could not but feel eager for a peace,—and that he knew his master did likewise. He, at last, proceeded to tell Ligonier, that the King of France desired he would return to the Duke of Cumberland, and assure His Royal Highness, in his name, of his wish to put an end to the war ;—that he thought this object would be best attained by themselves at the head of their respective armies ; that he knew the honour of the Duke too well to imagine he would engage in any thing without his Allies ;—but that, as the two armies would soon withdraw to winter-quarters, there would be time for His Royal Highness to receive the opinion of those Allies ; —and that he doubted not but they would have the wisdom to trust their interests to His Royal Highness's hands. “As to the King of France,” De Saxe added, “he looks to nothing for himself ; “he is willing to restore all Flanders as it now is, except Furnes, “which he expects to keep if you insist on the total demolition of “Dunkirk ; but if you will let that harbour remain as it is, he will “then desire nothing but the restitution of Cape Breton.” Even this restitution was only proposed as an exchange for Madras, which the French had lately succeeded in wresting from the English. “Genoa,” continued the French Marshal, “ought to be “restored, if taken, to the Republic, and the Duke of Modena “reinstated in his own dominions ; and Spain must, for the honour “of France, be included and considered.” All other details were skilfully passed over as easy of adjustment (1).

These unexpected overtures produced much pleasure, but some perplexity, in England. The Duke of Cumberland, who transmitted them, was eager to retain in his own hands the honour of negotiation, and the King showed no less anxiety to gratify his favourite son ; while, on the other hand, the Ministers trembled at his well-known violence of temper, and total inexperience in diplomatic affairs. It was apprehended that the secret object of France might perhaps be only to sow jealousies amongst the Allies, or to inveigle the hasty Duke into the signature of rash and ill-judged preliminaries. At length the Ministers consented to entrust the nominal negotiation to His Royal Highness ; but prevailed upon the King that the Earl of Sandwich, already employed as plenipotentiary in the Breda conferences, should be sent to headquarters as the assistant (the Court phrase for director) of the Duke. Sandwich accordingly hastened over to Holland, and had a secret interview at Liege with the Marquis de Puisieulx, the French Minister of foreign affairs. Nothing was decided between them as to the terms of a peace, but it was agreed to take the negotiation from military hands, and refer it to a Congress to be held at Aix la Chapelle.

(1) Mr. Pelham to Mr. Walpole, July 30. 1747.

It soon appeared, however, that the wishes of the Allies for peace were not sincere or not lasting. The Empress Queen, irritated at the conduct of the French in commencing and urging the war, was not willing to close it without some signal triumph, or solid advantage, over them. The Prince of Orange and Duke of Cumberland, much as they differed on other points, agreed in a thirst of military fame, and a consequent desire of further military operations. George the Second was anxious, at this period, to conciliate the head of the Empire; and for this, and his other petty German objects, coveted either exorbitant terms of peace, or an indefinite prolongation of war. Thus, therefore, though the first overtures of France had been readily welcomed, amidst the dejection of military failures and reverses, they were not cordially pursued. The measures to assemble the intended Congress were so slow and dilatory, on the part of the Allies, that the plenipotentiaries could not meet before the ensuing year; while, on the other hand, their preparations for the next campaign were urged forward with unwonted activity and ardour. It plainly appeared that their secret object was to delay the negotiation until it might proceed conjointly with the military movements, and until the brilliant successes, which they foolishly anticipated, should enable them to dictate whatever terms they pleased.

In the British Cabinet, the prudence of Mr. Pelham, which induced him to sigh for peace, was always counteracted, and, in general, overpowered, by another more selfish prudence, that watched and trembled at the first symptoms of Royal displeasure. The Duke of Newcastle, eager at all hazards to retrieve his own favour with the King, and incapable of any more long-sighted views, became a decided partisan and promoter of the war, and most frequently drew his reluctant brother in his train. To the Pelhams nearly all the other Ministers — selected, in general, for their subservience — tamely bowed; but not so the Earl of Chesterfield. From the first moment of his admission into the Cabinet, he had made peace the main object of his care; he now urged the pressing necessity, and the excellent opening, for it, with an eagerness that began to alienate his sovereign, and to embroil him with his colleagues. It was with great difficulty that, when Parliament met in October, the discordant Ministers could concur in any expressions for the Royal Speech. Lord Marchmont, who was then in London, and familiar with many of the leading statesmen, relates in his Diary, — “ Lord Chesterfield told me there was as yet no “ speech; that they had put it to the Chancellor, who had desired “ to know what he was to say; that he saw he could not please “ them all three, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Chesterfield, and “ Mr. Pelham; and therefore desired hints, which as yet were not “ given him. . . . That Mr. Pelham and the Duke now conversed “ only through Mr. Stone, being apt to fall into a passion when

"they conversed together; that they would surely break, if Mr. Pelham did not think it would be the ruin of them both; that Mr. Pelham's only concern was, that he might not be personally attacked in the House of Commons; and that, provided he was not made the object there, he was easy. For this end, Pitt, and the Lyttletons, and Grenvilles, must have every thing they asked; and now held half the places in the King's gift; and then the old set, who hated these, came and asked when there would be no more Lyttletons and Grenvilles to be pleased, that they might have room for something! Lord Chesterfield added, that Mr. Pelham had the same opinion of the Duke that we had; and that the King had a most mortal hatred to him, worse than to any man in his dominions (1)."

The project of Chesterfield, in entering the Cabinet, had been to govern George the Second through Lady Yarmouth, as he once had hoped through Lady Suffolk (2). Over the one lady, as formerly over the other, his insinuating manners gained him an entire control; but, in neither case, did the King allow political power to the mistress. The assiduities of Chesterfield, therefore, served rather to rouse the watchful jealousy of Newcastle than to secure his own ascendant. In his great public object, the peace, he could make no progress. In his more personal requests, he found himself no less thwarted by his colleagues, who had formed, as he says, a settled resolution, that no person should be promoted through his influence. This last question he brought to an issue, in the case of his cousin Colonel George Stanhope, youngest son of the late Prime Minister, an officer of merit, who had distinguished himself both at Dettingen, and at Culloden. For him Chesterfield solicited a regiment; but, though His Majesty gave away five in succession, the name of Stanhope was always omitted (3). Under these circumstances, "what must the world think," said he, "but that I continue in for the sake of 5000*l.* a year (4)?" and, in

1748.

January, 1748, he formed the resolution to resign. As he writes to his confidential friend at the Hague:—
 "Could I do any good I would sacrifice some more quiet to it; but, convinced as I am that I can do none, I will indulge my ease, and preserve my character. I have gone through pleasures while my constitution and my spirits would allow me. Business succeeded them; and I have now gone through every part of it, without liking it at all the better for being acquainted with it. Like many other things, it is most admired by those

(1) Lord Marchmont's Diary, October 27. 1747.

(2) "Lord Chesterfield, who was as much for peace as Lord Harrington, aimed at superior, if not supreme power, with the King. In the means he succeeded fully, having gained Lady Yarmouth's good will, and had all the help she can give, most cordially. In the end he failed entirely; having brought His Majesty to no more than civility, familiarity, and, perhaps, liking

"to his conversation." Mr. Fox to Sir C. H. Williams, February 17. 1748. Though no friend to Chesterfield, Fox goes on to admit that "his Lordship's province was most offensively encroached upon" by Newcastle and Sandwich.

(3) Lord Marchmont's Diary, October 27. 1747; and February 5. 1748. H. Fox to Sir C. H. Williams, February 17. 1748.

(4) Lord Marchmont's Diary, December 23. 1747.

" who know it the least. . . . I have been behind the scenes both
 " of pleasure and of business; I have seen all the coarse pulleys and
 " dirty ropes which exhibit and move all the gaudy machines; and
 " I have seen and smelt the tallow-candles which illuminate the
 " whole decoration, to the astonishment and admiration of the
 " ignorant multitude. . . . Far from engaging in opposition, as
 " resigning ministers too commonly do, I shall, to the utmost of
 " my power, support the King and his Government; which I can
 " do with more advantage to them and more honour to myself
 " when I do not receive 5000*l.* a year for doing it. . . . My
 " horse, my books, and my friends will divide my time pretty
 " equally; I shall not keep less company, but only better, for I
 " shall chuse it (1). "

The first step of Chesterfield towards resignation was to draw up an able memorial, setting forth the dangers of the war, and the necessity of taking serious measures to close it; and finding that he could engage but one of his colleagues to concur in these opinions, he, on the 6th of February waited upon his Royal Master, and gave up the seals. The King expressed, in strong terms, value for his services, and regret at his departure; hoped that he would not engage in opposition; and offered to grant him a signal mark of his satisfaction by the title of Duke (2). This, however, Lord Chesterfield respectfully declined. He withdrew for the remainder of his years to private, or at least unofficial, life; but still taking, when his health allowed, a prominent part in the House of Lords. In 1751, he had the honour to propose and carry a long required improvement,—the Reformation of the Calendar,—assisted by two most able mathematicians in the House and out of it, the Earl of Macclesfield and Mr. Bradley. The error of the old Calendar was gross, increasing, and avowed; yet so strongly upheld by popular prejudice, that many statesmen shrunk from its correction. Chesterfield tells us that, when he gave the Duke of Newcastle, as Secretary of State, previous notice of his design, His Grace "was alarmed at so bold an undertaking, and entreated
 " me not to stir matters that had been long quiet; adding, that he
 " did not love new-fangled things! I did not, however, yield to
 " the cogency of these arguments, but brought in the bill, and it
 " passed unanimously (3)." It was also the endeavour of Chesterfield, by writing in some periodical papers of the day, to prepare the minds of the people for the change; yet their resentment was both deep and lasting. When, in 1754, Lord Macclesfield's eldest son stood a great contested election in Oxfordshire, one of the most vehement cries raised against him was, "Give us back
 " the eleven days we have been robbed of!" And even several years later, when Mr. Bradley, worn down by his labours in the

(1) Lord Chesterfield to Mr. Dayrolles, January 28., February 9., February 23. 1748.

(2) *Maty's Life*, p. 308.

(3) Lord Chesterfield's Characters.

cause of science, was sinking under mortal disease, many of the common people ascribed his sufferings to a judgment from Heaven, for having taken part in that "impious undertaking (1)!"

The pursuits of Chesterfield, in his retirement, (were not, however, all praiseworthy, or even harmless. While in office, either in Ireland or England, he had scrupulously forbore from touching a card; but the passion remained; and, on the very evening of his resignation, he went to White's, and resumed his former habits of deep play (2).

It may, perhaps, be doubted, notwithstanding the philosophy with which Chesterfield affected to speak of office and ambition, whether he would have permanently persevered in his renouncement of them; but, in 1752, he was attacked with an ailment equally baneful to the honours of public, and to the enjoyments of private, life—the loss of hearing. Amidst his mortification at this infirmity he could still allude to it with his usual lively flow of wit. "In spite of my strong hereditary right to deafness, how willingly would I part with it to any minister, to whom hearing is often disagreeable; or to any fine woman, to whom it is often dangerous. . . . I have tried a thousand infallible remedies, but all without success! . . . But I comfort myself with the reflection that I did not lose the power, till after I had very near lost the desire, of hearing (3)!"—But he clearly understood his altered situation. "Retirement was my choice seven years ago; it is now become my necessary refuge. Public life and I are parted for ever (4)." And accordingly, in 1757, he wisely forbore from profiting by a most brilliant avenue to power, which opened before him, as the mediator between contending parties (5).

Chesterfield had no children by his marriage; but an illegitimate son, born in 1782, had, even in his busiest moments, engaged no small portion of his thoughts and time. The education of that boy—his proficiency in classic, and still more in worldly, knowledge—and his consequent success in public life—was always Chesterfield's favourite, and grew, at last, his only, object. But his anxious admonitions and exertions were by no means crowned with success. Philip Stanhope became a man of deep learning and sound sense; but utterly wanting in what his father so highly prized—the graces. His advancement in the world was owing far more to his father's influence than to his own abilities; he failed as a parliamentary speaker; and had risen no higher in diplomacy than Envoy to Dresden, when he died, in 1768.

From this period, the old age of Chesterfield, until his own death, in 1773, was desolate and cheerless. He adopted his youth-

(1) See Bradley's Works and Correspondence, p. lxxxi. ed. 1832.

(2) Maty's Life, p. 307.

(3) Letters to Mr. Dayrolles, April 17., May 19., June 30. 1752. The deafness of Chesterfield forms

the groundwork for one of Voltaire's prose tales, *Les Oreilles du Comte de Chesterfield*.

(4) To Mr. Dayrolles, May 2. 1775.

(5) See Lord Waldegrave's Memoirs, p. 110.

ful godson and next heir to the Earldom; whom he found, however, uncongenial in temper, and little inclined to follow his advice. Accordingly, though bequeathing his estates to his successor, he carefully guarded them against waste or dilapidation from horse-races, which he had always contemned, or from his own vice—now too late repented of—high play. His will declares, “In case my said godson, Philip Stanhope, shall, at any time hereinafter, keep, or be concerned in keeping of, any race-horses, or pack of hounds; or reside one night at Newmarket, that infamous seminary of iniquity and ill-manners, during the course of the races there; or shall resort to the said races; or shall lose, in any one day, at any game or bet whatsoever, the sum of 500*l.*; then, in any of the cases aforesaid, it is my express will that he, my said godson, shall forfeit and pay, out of my estate, the sum of 5000*l.*, to and for the use of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster (A).” This last sentence comprises a lively touch of satire. The Earl had found, or believed that he found, the Chapter of Westminster of that day exorbitant and grasping in their negotiation with him of land for the building of Chesterfield House; and he declared that he now inserted their names in his will, because he felt sure that if the penalty should be incurred, they would not be remiss in claiming it.

It had appeared, on the death of Chesterfield's son, that he had secretly married, without his father's consent, or even knowledge: and the widow, upon Chesterfield's own demise, published, for profit, the whole correspondence of the Earl with her late husband; a correspondence written in the closest confidence and unreserve, and without the slightest idea of ever meeting the public eye. It is, however, by these letters that Chesterfield's character, as an author, must stand or fall. Viewed as compositions, they appear almost unrivalled as models for a serious epistolary style; clear, elegant, and terse, never straining at effect, and yet never hurried into carelessness. While constantly urging the same topics, so great is their variety of argument and illustration, that, in one sense, they appear always different, in another sense, always the same. They have, however, incurred strong reprehension on two separate grounds; first, because some of their maxims are repugnant to good morals; and, secondly, as insisting too much on manners and graces, instead of more solid acquirements. On the first charge, I have no defence to offer; but the second is certainly erroneous, and arises only from the idea and expectation of finding a general system of education in letters that were intended solely for the improvement of one man. Young Stanhope was sufficiently inclined to study, and imbued with knowledge; the difficulty lay in his awkward address and indifference to pleasing.

(A) Earl of Chesterfield's will, dated June 4, 1772.

It is against these faults, therefore, and these faults only, that Chesterfield points his battery of eloquence. Had he found his son, on the contrary, a graceful but superficial trifler, his letters would, no doubt, have urged, with equal zeal, how vain are all accomplishments, when not supported by sterling information. In one word, he intended to write for Mr. Philip Stahhope, and not for any other person. And yet, even after this great deduction from general utility, it was still the opinion of a most eminent man, no friend of Chesterfield, and no proficient in the graces—the opinion of Dr. Johnson, “Take out the immorality, and the book should “be put into the hands of every young gentleman (4).”

I now revert to Chesterfield's retirement from office. It was Newcastle's desire that the vacant post might be filled by Lord Sandwich; but a superior cabal in the Cabinet bestowed it upon the Duke of Bedford, a cold-hearted hot-headed man; more distinguished by rank and fortune than by either talent or virtue. Sandwich, however, succeeded Bedford as head of the Admiralty, and was likewise despatched as plenipotentiary to Aix la Chapelle, where the Congress did not open until the 11th of March. At nearly the same season, commenced the campaign. But the war party in England, which had hoped to win brilliant successes, and to dictate triumphant terms, found its reliance on the new Dutch promises altogether deceived. Their stipulated contingents never appeared in the field; and so far from supplying the sums they had undertaken, they sent to London, at this very moment, to solicit the loan of one million sterling (2). Meanwhile the British resources were already drained and exhausted by our own demands. We learn that “money was never so scarce in the City, nor the stocks “so low, even during the rebellion, as now; 12 per cent. is offered “for money, and even that will not do (3).”

To add to these discouragements, Marshal de Saxe proved himself as superior in skill as he was in numbers to the Duke of Cumberland. Completely deceiving His Royal Highness by some false demonstrations against Breda, he suddenly concentrated his forces before Maestricht, which he invested on the 3d of April. The Austrians were driven back to Ruremond, with the loss of their magazines; the Russian auxiliaries still lingered on their march through Franconia; and the Dutch and English combined were far too weak for offensive operations. Under these circumstances, the fall of Maestricht appeared certain, and the invasion of Holland probable.

Thus pressed, and yielding to necessity, the British Ministers determined to close even with far less favourable terms than they might lately have obtained. The views of Pelham had always been

(1) Boswell's Life, 1776, vol. III. p. 34. ed. 1818.

(3) Lord Chesterfield to Mr. Dayrolles, March 22,

(2) Duke of Bedford to Mr. Pelham, February 27. 1748.
1748. Coxe's Pelham.

pacific, and he now gathered spirit to enforce them. Newcastle himself, who had promoted the war, not from honest conviction, but rather from jealousy of Chesterfield, having prevailed over his rival, was no longer disinclined to peace. In April, accordingly, his Grace wrote to Lord Sandwich, declaring that the King, unable either to check the progress of the French army, or to reconcile the discordant pretensions of his own Allies, had resolved, without the concurrence of the other powers, to accept the conditions which France was disposed to grant. Sandwich was, therefore, instructed to conclude a preliminary treaty, combined with a cessation of arms, especially in the Netherlands; to communicate the treaty to the plenipotentiaries of the Allies, and endeavour to obtain their concurrence; but if they refused it, to sign without them (1).

In these instructions, the Dutch Government, swayed at this period by the British, and by their own sense of danger, fully concurred. Count Bentinck, accordingly, on their part, as Lord Sandwich on the part of England, pursued the negotiation with Count St. Severin, the plenipotentiary of France; who, however, feeling his vantage-ground, availed himself of it (2). He also hastened the result by threatening that the slightest delay in the negotiation would be a signal for the French to destroy the fortifications of Ypres, Namur, and Berg-op-Zoom, and to commence the invasion of Holland. The Ministers of the other powers peremptorily refused to join; but late at night of the 30th of April, New Style, the preliminaries were finally adjusted and signed by the English, Dutch, and French plenipotentiaries. The following were the principal articles:—

The renewal of all former treaties, except in such points as were specifically changed.

The mutual restitution of all conquests in every part of the world.

Dunkirk to remain fortified towards the land in its actual condition, and towards the sea on the footing of ancient treaties; in other words, the works on that side to be demolished.

The Duchies of Parma and Guastalla and Placentia to be assigned to the Infant Don Philip; but, in case he should either die without issue, or succeed to the throne of Naples, Parma and Guastalla to revert to the House of Austria, and Placentia to the King of Sardinia.

The Duke of Modena, and the Republic of Genoa, to be reinstated in their former territories, comprising the restitution of Finale.

The cessions made to the King of Sardinia, by the treaty of Worms, to be confirmed, with the exception of Placentia and Finale.

(1) Duke of Newcastle to the Earl of Sandwich, April 8. 1748. O. S.

(2) "M. St. Severin, in the whole course of the negotiation, knew his superiority, and made use of it; and I am very apprehensive that

"some way or other, from the Hague, he must have known the substance of my instructions."

Lord Sandwich to the Duke of Newcastle, May 1. 1748.

The Asiento treaty to be revived for four years, the period of its suspension during the war.

The articles in the treaty of 1718, on the guarantee of the Protestant succession, and the exclusion from France of the Pretender and his family, to be confirmed and executed.

The Emperor to be acknowledged by France in his Imperial dignity, and the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction to be renewed.

The Duchy of Silesia and the County of Glatz to be guaranteed to the King of Prussia.

With these preliminaries was also signed an act for the suspension of hostilities.

Never, perhaps, did any war, after so many great events, and so large a loss of blood and treasure, end in replacing the nations engaged in it so nearly in the same situation as they held at first. Yet, notwithstanding the exhausted state of the British finances, and the depression wrought by the disasters in the Netherlands, these terms—especially the restitution of Cape Breton—were far from popular in England (1). The Ministers, however, might well congratulate themselves on escaping so easily from the results of their own rashness. When the King found peace unavoidable on less advantageous conditions than he had lately shrunk from, he testily observed, "Chesterfield told me six months ago, that it "would be so;" and the Earl himself could not refrain from boasting how his predictions were fulfilled. "I am heartily glad," he writes, "that the peace is made. I was for making it sooner, "and consequently better. I foresaw and foretold our weakness "this campaign, and would have prevented by a timely negotiation, last October, those evident dangers to which it must necessarily expose us, and which we have escaped more by our "good fortune than our wisdom. I may add, that my resignation made this peace, as it opened people's eyes as to the "dangers of the war. The Republic is saved by it from utter "ruin, and England from bankruptcy (2)."

At the same time, however, indignation and resentment prevailed at the Courts of Turin and of Vienna. The King of Sardinia could ill brook the alienation of Placentia and Finale; and the Empress Queen, in spite of every representation from Sir Thomas Robinson, not only refused to concur in the preliminaries (3), but publicly protested against them. The whole summer was consumed before these obstacles could be surmounted; but the negotiations at Aix were still conducted by Lord Sandwich, and he received directions, partly from Mr. Pelham and the Government

(1) Tindal's Hist. vol. ix. p. 361.

(2) To Mr. Dayrolles, May 13. 1748.

(3) Her Majesty's passionate exclamations at the news—"I am neither a child nor a fool!... Good God! how have I been used!... There is your

"King of Prussia!... No, no, I will rather lose "my head;" etc.—may be seen from Robinson's despatches in Coxe's House of Austria, vol. iii. p. 333.

in London, and partly from the King and the Duke of Newcastle, who had repaired to Hanover. At length, after a tangled web of most wearisome discussions, a definitive treaty was signed in October by all the belligerent powers. This peace confirmed and established the terms of the preliminaries,—but it contained no stipulation on the first cause of the war, the commercial claims of England upon Spain; and it was clogged with a clause most unwelcome to the British pride—that hostages should be given to France for the restitution of Cape Breton. Two noblemen of distinguished rank, the Earl of Sussex and Lord Cathcart, were accordingly selected for this purpose and sent to Paris. At the news of their arrival, Prince Charles, it is said, displayed the highest indignation, and exclaimed [with more of patriotism than of prudence, “If ever I mount the throne of my Ancestors, Europe shall see me use my utmost endeavours to force France in her turn to send hostages to England (1):”

The definitive treaty being thus concluded, it became necessary for France to fulfil its engagement with regard to the expulsion of the young Pretender.—On his return from Scotland, Charles had been favourably received by Louis; a burst of applause had signalled his first appearance at the Opera; and he found that both by King and people his exploits were admired, and his sufferings deplored. For some of his most faithful followers, as Lochiel and Lord Ogilvie, he had obtained commissions in the French service; and a pension of 40,000 livres yearly had been granted him for the relief of the rest; but when he applied for military succours—urging that a new expedition should be fitted out and placed at his disposal—he found the Court of Versailles turn a deaf ear to his demands. Once, indeed, it was hinted to him by Cardinal Tencin, that the ministers might not be disinclined to meet his views, provided, in case of his success, the kingdom of Ireland should be yielded as a province to the Crown of France. But the high spirit of Charles could ill brook this degrading offer. Scarcely had Tencin concluded, when the Prince, starting from his seat and passionately pacing the room, cried out, NON, MONSIEUR LE CARDINAL! TOUT OU RIEN! POINT DE PARTAGE! The Cardinal, alarmed at his demeanour, hastened to assure him that the idea was entirely his own, conceived from his great affection to the Exiled Family, and not at all proceeding from, or known to, King Louis (2).

The applications of Charles were not confined to France; early in 1747, he undertook an adventurous journey to Madrid, and obtained an audience of the King and Queen, but found them so much in awe of the British Court, as to allow him only a few hours' stay (3). He next turned his hopes towards Frederick of Prussia.

(1) Lockhart Papers, vol. II. p. 578.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 568.

(3) See a very curious account of this journey

by Charles himself in his letter of March 12. 1747. Appendix.

In April 1748 he despatched Sir John Graham to Berlin with instructions, "To propose, in a modest manner, a marriage with one of them. To declare that I never intend to marry but a Protestant; and, if the King refuses an alliance with him, to ask advice whom to take, as he is known to be the wisest Prince in Europe(1)." This scheme, however, though promising success for a short time, ended like the rest in failure.

Ere long, moreover, domestic discord arose to embitter the coldness or hostility of strangers. Charles's brother having secretly quitted Paris without any previous notice to him, had returned to Rome and resolved to enter holy orders. With the concurrence of the old Pretender, and by a negotiation with the Pope, he was suddenly named a Cardinal, on the 3d of July, 1747, the design being concealed from Charles until a few days before, so as to guard against his expected opposition(2). It is difficult to describe with how much consternation the tidings struck the exiled Jacobites; several did not hesitate to declare it of much worse consequence to them that even the battle of Culloden(3). Charles himself, as he was the most injured, appeared the most angry; he broke off all correspondence whatever with his brother, and his letters to his father from this time forward became brief, cold, and constrained.

At the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the French Court, though willing to relinquish Charles's cause, and to stipulate his exclusion from their territories, were not wholly unmindful of his interests nor of their promises. They proposed to establish him at Friburg in Switzerland, with the title of Prince of Wales, a company of guards, and a sufficient pension. In Charles's circumstances there was certainly no better course to take than to accept these terms. But the lower he sank in fortunes the higher he thought himself bound to rise in spirit. He placed a romantic point of honour in braving the "orders from Hanover," as he called them, and positively refused to depart from Paris. Threats, entreaties, arguments, were tried on him in vain. He withstood even a letter, obtained from his father at Rome, and commanding his departure. He still, perhaps, nourished some secret expectation that King Louis would not venture to use force against a kinsman; but he found himself deceived. As he went to the Opera on the evening of the 11th of December, his coach was stopped by a party of French guards, himself seized, bound hand and foot, and conveyed, with a single attendant, to the state prison of Vincennes, where he was thrust into a dungeon, seven feet wide and eight long. After this

(1) Instructions for Sir John Graham in Charles's writing, and dated April 4. 1748. Stuart Papers. It is remarkable that the Duke of Newcastle writes to the Lord Chancellor, September 21. 1753: "The King of Prussia is now avowedly the principal, if not the sole, support of the Pretender and of the Jacobite cause." Coxe's Pelham.

(2) James to Prince Charles, June 13. 1747. See Appendix.

(3) Mr. Hay to Mr. Edgar, July 26. 1747. Stuart Papers.

public insult, and a few days' confinement, he was carried to Pont de Beauvoisin on the frontier of Savoy, and there restored to his wandering and desolate freedom (1).

The first place to which Charles repaired upon his liberation was the Papal city of Avignon. But in a very few weeks he again set forth, attended only by Colonel Goring, and bearing a fictitious name. From this time forward his proceedings during many years are wrapped in mystery; all his correspondence passed through the hands of Mr. Walters, his banker at Paris: even his warmest partisans were seldom made acquainted with his place of abode; and though he still continued to write to his father at intervals, his letters were never dated. Neither friends nor enemies at that time could obtain any certain information of his movements or designs. Now, however, it is known that he visited Venice and Germany, that he resided secretly for some time at Paris, that he undertook a mysterious journey to England in 1750, and perhaps another in 1752, or 1753; but his principal residence was in the territory of his friend the Duke de Bouillon, where, surrounded by the wide and lonely forest of Ardennes, his active spirit sought in the dangerous chase of boars and wolves an image of the warlike enterprise which was denied him. It was not till the death of his father in 1766 that he returned to Rome, and became reconciled to his brother. But his character had darkened with his fortunes. A long train of disappointments and humiliations working on a fiery mind, spurred it almost into frenzy, and degraded it. The habit of drinking, which for some years he indulged without restraint, seems to have been first formed during his Highland adventures and escapes; when a dram of whiskey might sometimes supply the want of food and of rest. Thus was the habit acquired, and, once acquired, it continued after the cause of it had ceased, and even grew amidst the encouragement of his exiled friends. The earliest hint I have found of this vice in Charles, is in a letter of April, 1747, addressed to Lord Dunbar, but only signed by the initial of the writer (2). It alleges that an Irish Cordelier, named Kelly, has of late been much in the Prince's society and confidence; that Kelly loves good wine with all the fervour of a monk; and that, by this means, "His Royal Highness's" character in point of sobriety has been a little blemished." A century before, Lord Clarendon reproaches the banished loyalists with intemperance (3), at all times the fatal resource of poverty and sorrow; but the Prince, who could not relieve them by his bounty, should at least have forborne from degrading them by his example.

Still more imprudent, perhaps, was his conduct with regard to

(1) Charles wrote a most minute account of this transaction, in the third person; it was published as "*Lettre d'un officier français à son ami à Londres*;" and the MS. is still amongst the Stuart Papers.

(2) Stuart Papers. See Appendix.

(3) Life of the Earl of Clarendon by himself vol. i. p. 353. ed. 1697.

Miss Walkinshaw. This lady, it is said, first became known to him in Scotland; he sent for her some years after his return from that country, and soon allowed her such dominion over him that she became acquainted with all his schemes, and trusted with his most secret correspondence. As soon as this was known in England, his principal adherents took alarm, believing that she was in the pay of the English ministers, and observing that her sister was housekeeper of the Dowager Princess of Wales. So much did they think their own safety endangered, that they despatched Mr. Mac Namara, one of their most trusty agents, with instructions to lay their apprehensions before the Prince, and to insist that the lady should, for some time at least, be confined to a convent. In answer Charles declared that he had no violent passion for Miss Walkinshaw, and could see her removed from him without concern, but that he would not receive directions in respect to his private conduct from any man alive. In vain did Mr. MacNamara try every method of persuasion, and frequent renewals of his argument. Charles thought it a point of honour, that none should presume on his adversity to treat him with disrespect, and determined to brave even the ruin of his interest (for such was the alternative held out to him) rather than bate one iota of his dignity. MacNamara at length took leave of him with much resentment, saying, as he passed out, "What can your family have done, Sir, thus to draw down the vengeance of Heaven on every branch of it through so many ages (1)?"—Upon his report, most of the remaining Jacobite leaders, irritated at their Prince's pride, and soon afterwards won over by the splendid successes of Lord Chatham, seized the opportunity to break off all connexion with the exiles, and to rally in good earnest round the reigning family.

In a former chapter I have described the person and manner of Charles as he appeared in youth; let me now add a portrait of him in his later years. An English lady, who was at Rome in 1770, observes, "The Pretender is naturally above the middle size, but stoops excessively; he appears bloated and red in the face; his countenance heavy and sleepy, which is attributed to his having given into excess of drinking: but when a young man, he must have been esteemed handsome. His complexion is of the fair tint, his eyes blue, his hair light brown, and the contour of his face a long oval; he is by no means thin, has a noble person, and a graceful manner. His dress was scarlet laced with broad gold lace; he wears the blue riband outside of his coat, from which depends a cameo, antique, as large as the palm of my hand; and he wears the same garter and motto as those of the noble order of St. George in England. Upon the whole, he

(1) Dr. King's Anecdotes, p. 207.

"has a melancholy, mortified appearance. Two gentlemen constantly attend him; they are of Irish extraction, and Roman Catholics you may be sure. At Princess Palestrina's he asked me if I understood the game of TARROCHI, which they were about to play at. I answered in the negative; upon which, taking the pack in his hands, he desired to know if I had ever seen such odd cards. I replied, that they were very odd indeed. He then displaying them said, here is every thing in the world to be found in these cards—the sun, moon, the stars; and here, says he (throwing me a card), is the Pope; here is the Devil; and, added he, there is but one of the trio wanting, and you know who that should be! I was so amazed, so astonished, though he spoke this last in a laughing, good-humoured manner, that I did not know which way to look; and as to a reply, I made none (1).

In his youth Charles, as we have seen, had formed the resolution of marrying only a Protestant princess; however, he remained single during the greater part of his career, and when in 1754 he was urged by his father to take a wife, he replied, "The unworthy behaviour of certain ministers, the 10th of December, 1748, has put it out of my power to settle any where without honour or interest being at stake; and were it even possible for me to find a place of abode, I think our family have had sufferings enough, which will always hinder me to marry, so long as in misfortune, for that would only conduce to increase misery, or subject any of the family that should have the spirit of their father to be tied neck and heel, rather than yield to a vile ministry (2)." Nevertheless in 1772, at the age of fifty-two, Charles espoused a Roman Catholic, and a girl of twenty, Princess Louisa of Stolberg (3). This union proved as unhappy as it was ill-assorted. Charles treated his young wife with very little kindness. He appears, in fact, to have contracted a disparaging opinion of her sex in general; and I have found, in a paper of his writing about that period, "As for men, I have studied them closely; and were I to live till fourscore, I could scarcely know them better than now: but as for women, I have thought it useless, they being so much more wicked and impenetrable (4)." Ungenerous and ungrateful words! Surely, as he wrote them, the image of Flora Macdonald should have risen in his heart and restrained his hand!

The Count and Countess of Albany (such was the title they bore)

(1) Letters from Italy by an Englishwoman (Mrs. Miller), London, 1776, vol. II. p. 198. This description of Charles's countenance well agrees with the portrait taken in 1776 by Ozias Humphry, of which an engraving is given in the Calloden Papers, p. 227.

(2) Prince Charles to Mr. Edgar, March 26. 1754. Stuart Papers.

(3) Her mother, Princess Stolberg, survived till 1828. I was once introduced to her at Frankfort, and found her in extreme old age, still lively and agreeable. It is singular that a man born eighty-five years after the Chevalier should have seen his mother-in-law.

(4) Stuart Papers, Orig. in French. See Appendix.

lived together during several years at Florence, a harsh husband and a faithless wife; until at length, in 1780, weary of constraint, she eloped with her lover Alfieri. Thus left alone in his old age, Charles called to his house his daughter by Miss Walkinshaw, and created her Duchess of Albany, through the last exercise of an expiring prerogative. She was born about 1760, and survived her father only one year. Another consolation of his dotage was a silly regard, and a frequent reference, to the prophecies of Nostradamus, several of which I have found among his papers. Still clinging to a visionary hope of his restoration, he used always to keep under his bed a strong box with 12,000 sequins, ready for the expences of his journey to England, whenever he might be called thither (1). In 1785, Charles returned to Rome with his daughter. His health had long been declining, and his life more than once despaired of; but in January, 1788, he was seized with a paralytic stroke, which deprived him of the use of one half of the body, and he expired on the 30th of the same month (2). His funeral rites were performed by his brother the Cardinal, at Frascati (3), but his coffin was afterwards removed to St. Peter's at Rome. Beneath that unrivalled dome lie mouldering the remains of what was once a brave and gallant heart; and a stately monument from the chisel of Canova, but at the charge, as I believe, of the House of Hanover, has since arisen to the Memory of JAMES THE THIRD, CHARLES THE THIRD, AND HENRY THE NINTH, KINGS OF ENGLAND—names which an Englishman can scarcely read without a smile or a sigh! Often at the present day does the British traveller turn from the sunny height of the Pincian, or the carnival throngs of the Corso, to gaze in thoughtful silence on that sad mockery of human greatness, and that last record of ruined hopes! The tomb before him is of a race justly expelled; the magnificent temple that enshrines it is of a faith wisely reformed; yet who at such a moment would harshly remember the errors of either, and might not join in the prayer even of that erring church for the departed exiles: REQUIESCANT IN PACE!

Thus ended a party, often respectable for generous motives, seldom for enlarged views or skilful designs. In their principles the Jacobites were certainly mistaken. They were wrong in shutting their eyes to the justice, necessity, and usefulness of the Revolution of 1688. They were wrong in struggling against the

(1) Despatch of Sir Horace Mann, November 30. 1779. MS.

(2) The date publicly assigned was the 31st of January; but I have been informed that he really died on the 30th; and that his attendants, disliking the omen, as the anniversary of King Charles's execution, notwithstanding the difference of the

Old and New Style, concealed his death during the night, and asserted that he had died at nine o'clock the next morning. This was told me by Cardinal Caccia Platti, at Rome, who had heard it from some of the Prince's household.

(3) Letter from Rome (Annual Register, vol. xxi. p. 255.).

beneficent sway of the House of Hanover. They were wrong in seeking to impose a Roman Catholic head upon the Protestant Church of England. But we, on our part, should do well to remember that the Revolution of 1688 was not sought but forced upon us—that its merit consists partly in the reluctance with which it was embraced—that it was only an exception, though fully justified by the emergency, from the best safeguard of liberty and order, the principle of HEREDITARY RIGHT. Can there be a greater proof of the value of that principle, than the firmness which so many hundred thousands, under the name of Jacobites, continued to cling to it for so many years after its infraction? And what wise statesman would willingly neglect or forego an instrument of Government so easily acquired, so cheaply retained, and so powerfully felt?

How soon, on the decay of the Stuart cause, other discontents and cabals arose, the eloquent Letters of Junius—embalming the petty insects—are alone sufficient to attest. In these no great principles were involved; but ere long, the battle of parties came to be fought on American ground; and, under the second Pitt, the efforts of the Jacobites were succeeded by the fiercer and more deadly struggle of the Jacobins. Indeed, in the whole period since the Revolution to the present hour, there has not been a single epoch pure from most angry partisanship, unless it be the short administration of Chatham. This unceasing din and turmoil of factions—this eternal war that may often tempt a gentler spirit, like Lord Falkland's, to sigh forth "Peace, peace, peace!" has also provoked attacks from the most opposite quarters against our admirable system of tempered freedom. The favourer of despotism points to the quiet and tranquillity which are sometimes enjoyed under unlimited Kings. "Endeavour," cries the Republican, "to allay the popular restlessness by conceding a larger measure of popular control." Between these two extremes there lies a more excellent way. May we never, on the plea that conflagrations often rage amongst us, consent to part with that noble flame of liberty which warms and cherishes the nations, while—a still higher blessing—it enlightens them! Let us, on the other hand, not be unmindful of the fact, that the wider the sphere of popular dominion, the louder does the cry of faction inevitably grow; and that the unreasonableness of the demands rises in the same proportion as the power to arrest them fails. The truth is, that so long as ignorance is not allowed to trample down education and intellect—that is, so long as order and property are in any degree preserved, so long it is still possible to make complaints against "the privileged few." Any thing short of anarchy may be railed at as aristocracy.

For ourselves who, turning awhile from the strife and contention of the hour, seek to contemplate the deeds of the mighty dead,

let us always endeavour to approach them reverentially and calmly, as judges, not as partisans. I know not indeed that it is needful, or even desirable—not at least for men engaged in active life—to divest themselves of all their feelings for the present, while reviewing the transactions of the past. He who does not feel strongly, has no right to act strongly in state affairs; and why should he who feels strongly, and who wishes to speak sincerely, suppress and glide over in his writings those principles which guide and direct him in his life? But with equal sincerity that those principles are avowed and professed whenever reference happens to occur to them—with the same spirit as that in which the venerable Head of our Law may revert from a debate in the Lords to a trial in the Court of Chancery—let us, when commenting on by-gone days—when the public welfare can no longer call, as we conceive, for vehement expressions, or be served by decisive measures—earnestly resolve and strive to give every person and every party their due, and no more than their due. Thus alone can we attain the noble aim of History, “Philosophy teaching by examples;”—thus alone can we hope to inform the minds of others, and to chasten and exalt our own;—thus alone, after party plaudits are stilled in death, may we yet aspire to the meed of honourable fame!

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTS

FROM

THE STUART PAPERS.

The Stuart papers are now deposited at Cumberland Lodge, Windsor. Previous to 1717 there are comparatively few, but in that year there begins a regular and voluminous series of letters, according to their dates. There is also a large mass of papers, thrown together without any arrangement at all. In fact, the whole collection is now in very great disorder, and therefore much less available for historical research. I looked in vain for the important letter of Lord Oxford in September, 1716, which was seen by Sir James Mackintosh at Carlton House; nor could I find a very curious document, which is mentioned in the minutes of the Commissioners, as having been laid before them; it was in the hand-writing of Charles Edward, and declared that he had secretly come to London in 1750, and there renounced the Roman Catholic religion!

In justice to Mr. Glover, his Majesty's private librarian, to whose courtesy and attention I was much indebted during my researches, I am bound to add that the present disorder of the papers is not at all, I believe, owing to his fault: they are precisely in the same state as when they were first delivered over to his charge.

These papers contain some very important documents, and much rubbish. Amongst the latter I may mention a prodigious number of old bills of fare! Take the following as a specimen:—

SOUPER DU ROI.

10 Septembre 1753.

Un potage.

Une fricassée de pigeons.

Un ragoût de pieds de veau.

Mouton rôti.

Un chapon, deux pigeons.

Une tourte.

Un flan.

S. A. R.(1), un potage, un poulet gras.

M. le Duc (2), un potage, deux *Ecossaises*.

(Signed) BOULÉON.

(1) Charles Edward.

(2) Cardinal York.

The two that follow I picked out from a large heap of papers in Charles Edward's possession : —

“ A summary view of the prophecies of Nixon, Shipton, and Nostradamus, to be yet accomplished ; ” — the first being, “ The Kings of Pr. and Sw. will at last prevail upon Fr. to assist the P.” (Prince.)

“ List of men supposed loyal and rich, chiefly in London.”

The names in the list are such as these : —

“ Wm. Birch, Druggist.

“ Tim. Mathews, Confectioner, Watling Street,”
etc. etc.

From these papers I shall now proceed to give such extracts as may serve to confirm or elucidate my narrative.

January, 1836.

M.

DUKE OF BERWICK'S LETTERS TO THE PRETENDER.

(Extracts.)

St. Germain's, Oct. 26. 1712.

I was yesterday at Versailles, where I dined with M. de Torcy, with whom I had no long conversation, by reason that there was *conseil de dépêches* immediately after dinner, and the public ministers had had their audiences in the morning. However, by the short discourse, I found he was of opinion the English ministry would not open itself more clearly at present, but that he had written to Abbé Gaultier to let him know your Majesty's just apprehensions, in order to see what effect it would have. He also told me that St. John had opened himself to the Abbé, and desired to know what Whigs had been in correspondence with your Majesty, that matters might be concerted accordingly. Your Majesty's answer to M. de Torcy upon that point was very generous and just, and ought to have a good effect with the present ministry, who by that will see they run no risk in trusting your Majesty.

St. Germain's, Nov. 4. 1712.

M. de Torcy told me two days ago, at Versailles, that Mr. Harley had writ him word that your Majesty had sent lately into England some pickles, whose behaviour very much embarrassed the government. I told him that I believed it was a mistake, but that you were not master of all the Jacobites' actions and discourses, which very often were indiscreet : he told me he would write to your Majesty of it.

May 12. 1713.

Abbé Gaultier is arrived. He assures me that M. Oleron (Oxford) has a great mind to serve M. Raucourt (James), and will do it effectually, as soon as Mr. Porray (the Peace) has had a little time to settle his concerns with Mrs. Alençon (England) ; and that there may be no mistakes on either side, he does intend to send an attorney (envoy) to M. Raucourt (James), to stay with him till this affair be settled. But he still desires that it may be imparted to nobody alive, by reason of Mr. Walker (the Whigs) and Mr. Horne (Hanover).

He also says that the ablest physicians advise Mr. Robinson (James) to

take the air in the fine season, for it will both divert him and hinder the ill humours gathering, which would quite ruin his health. Mr. Allain's country house (Germany) is very pleasantly situated, and the air is good, but he had better take into his company, before he parts, Mr. Soulegne (Security), who, it is hoped, will soon arrive from Valmont (Utrecht).

May 23. 1713.

J'ai fort pressé M. Waters (Gaultier) de savoir ce que M. Oleron (Oxford) conseillera à ses Messieurs de faire en cas que M. Albert (Anne) vienne à faire banqueroute, avant que d'avoir réglé ses comptes avec M. Romain (the restoration of James); il m'a assuré qu'il était dans les meilleures dispositions du monde de leur rendre service, et que M. de Sablé (Bolingbroke) était aussi de concert avec lui pour seconder l'intention où est Albert (Anne) de payer ses dettes, mais que véritablement on ne lui avait point donné d'instructions en ce cas-là; qu'il lui paraissait si raisonnable de décider quelque chose sur cela, qu'il presserait Messrs. Oleron et Sablé (Oxford and Bolingbroke) de le faire, dès qu'il aurait été rendre visite à M. Alençon (England), auprès de qui il se doit rendre incessamment. Que jusqu'à ce que M. Porray (the Peace) fût arrivé chez lui, il n'était pas possible que l'on pût traiter à fond, mais que présentement M. Porray (the Peace) étant arrivé, on allait travailler sérieusement sur les affaires de M. Romain (the restoration of James).

Fitzjames, July 31. 1713.

The chief point is to get Oleron (Oxford) to speak plain, and go now heartily and quickly to work, for fear of M. Albert's (Anne's) breaking before he pays his debts. . . . I hear M. Sablé (Bolingbroke) and Oleron have been of late a little cold, but I hope and believe their common interest will make up all again.

Fitzjames, Aug. 22. 1713.

I am sorry Mr. Lesley (1) has begun with speaking to your Majesty about religion, but I hope that after the first attempt he will give it over, though it had been better he had never opened his mouth on that chapter.

St. Germain's, Aug. 18. 1713.

The chief point will be to persuade M. Albert (Queen Anne); though really, if these gentlemen mean honestly, they ought, in my opinion, to take hold of the overture made, or find out some other. It is long and hard to put in a letter the whole proposition, but this is the substance: That M. Raucourt (James) should appear with M. Albert the very day of M. Puisieux's arrival (meeting of parliament), and that M. Albert should give M. Gassel (House of Lords) and Canaple (House of Commons) jointly an account of his agreement with M. Raucourt, and desire both their concurrence in the matter. I believe it would be such a surprise that neither of these two gentlemen would say no, and I make no doubt but M. Arthur (the English), who is naturally very fickle, would immediately give into it with as much joy as he has formerly shown on the like occasions; besides that M. Raucourt's being seen with M. Albert, will quite determine the matter. Mr. Belley told me a great many reasons, too long for a letter;

(1) James's Protestant Chaplain, a pious and worthy man. It appears that the Pretender would not even bear any argument in favour of the Church of England:

but this seems to me an easier way of bringing the matter about than going to law with Horne (the Elector), or cringing to gain M. Puisieux (the Parliament), who is often out of humour, and hard to be brought to a right temper,

St. Germain's, Feb. 4. 1714.

M. Orbec (Ormond) has had long conversations with M. Oleron (Oxford); but this latter never would come to a determination, though pressed very home by the other. He is a man so dark and incomprehensible, that one is often tempted to believe him a knave at the bottom, were it not that Mr. Walter (the Whigs), Horne (the Elector), and Malbranch (Marlborough) will never make up with him.

St. Germain's, March 11. 1714.

Mr. Belley has had a letter from Mr. Malbranch's friend (Marlborough) at Mr. Foster's house. I will send your Majesty, on Tuesday, the originals, though you will find little more than *verba et voces*, according to that gentleman's usual custom.

St. Germain's, March 28. 1714.

M. de Torcy sends your Majesty the letters he has received from England: they run on still in the same style about the religion, but that confirms me in the opinion that no answer is ever to be made on that subject. Truly, all this looks ill; for after two or three years' negotiation, to propose at last an impossible thing, is what we call *une querelle d'Allemant*: however, we must keep fair with them, for there is no remedy; but one must, at the same time, endeavour to get other friends to work, who will not speak of unreasonable, as well as impracticable, conditions.

St. Germain's, April 20. 1714.

M. Orbec (Ormond) has at last spoken plain to M. Albert (Anne), and they are both agreed to bestir themselves in behalf of M. Raucourt (James).

St. Germain's, May 6. 1714.

M. Talon (Torcy) has had letters from Jeannot (Iberville) and Waters (Gaultier), which he intends to send unto M. Raucourt (James) by a messenger on purpose; so I shall only hint here, that for all M. Waters (Gaultier) formerly assured Oleron (Oxford) and Sablé (Bolingbroke) would never hearken, unless Raucourt (James) made up with Roland (became a Protestant), he now writes word that both these gentlemen have assured him that after Albert (Anne), they will never serve nor have any other master but Mr. Robinson (James).

St. Germain's, May 11. 1714.

M. Orbec (Ormond) continues in his good intentions for M. Raucourt (James), but he enters not into any particulars how he will render him service. Something was said of M. Roland (becoming a Protestant), but he seemed not peevish upon the matter. M. Robinson's (James's) affairs do not seem to be at present very current, but yet when one puts all together, I think they have a better prospect, provided M. Albert (Anne) does not leave him too soon in the lurch.

Camp before Barcelona, August 28. 1714.

I have been mightily concerned to hear the Princess of Denmark (Queen Anne) is fallen into an apoplexy, and I am in the greatest impatience to

learn if she be recovered, for I fear your Majesty's measures cannot be ready, and I very much fear Hanover, the Whigs, Lord Churchill (the Duke of Marlborough), and the Treasurer, have taken their measures. One would even think that the fit of apoplexy is not natural; for, a little before, Lord Churchill and Bothmar arrive in England. The Treasurer is as great a villain as Lord Sunderland was.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO JAMES.

Paris, July 23. 1715.

SIR,

Your servants at this place judging it impossible, by letter, to set matters in so full and just a light before your eyes as the nicety and importance of the present conjuncture require, the bearer of these packets has the honour to attend your Majesty.

I think it, however, my duty to make a deduction of what has past since my arrival here; to point out to your Majesty the mischiefs, and the causes of them, which your service labours under; and the remedies which appear necessary, and in your power to take.

The day I arrived I saw Mr. In (nes), and put into his hands all that you had been pleased to entrust me with. I soon found a general expectation gone abroad that your Majesty was to undertake somewhat immediately; and I was not a little concerned to hear, in two or three places, and among women over their tea, that arms were provided and ships got ready; but I confess I was struck with concern when I knew in such a manner as is to be depended upon, and as I beg your Majesty to depend upon, that the factor of Lawrence (King George) in this country knew of the little armament, and had sent advices of it home; that the Court in Maryland (England) were in the resolution of conniving till the enterprise should be gone upon, and made no doubt, by this means, of crushing the whole at once; that ships are cruising on the coast, and that they are under private orders to observe; and even to search, when that shall appear necessary, all vessels which pass.

I was preparing on Sunday to send your Majesty these accounts, and to despatch Mr. Buck, when Mr. In (nes) came to me, and brought with him a man who had delivered your Majesty's letter to him, and the note you was pleased to write to me. Mr. In (nes) told me at the same time, that though he was referred by you, Sir, to this person for the particulars of the message which he brought, yet that he could get nothing distinct nor material out of him; that he seemed very unwilling to come to me, but that he had obliged him to it, and hoped I should be better informed by him.

This proceeding, as well as the man's character—for Mr. In (nes) told me he was an Irish friar—did not prepossess me much in his favour, or bring me to think our friends would be mad enough to trust him; but that I might neglect nothing which could any way relate to your service, I resolved to see him. He staid with me near an hour; I heard him with all the patience possible, and asked him several leading questions, but could get nothing out of him, except his having seen Charles (Ormond), more than what the Dutch gazettes and the flying post inform us of every week. He seemed very eager to get something out of me, asked me not a few impertinent questions, and had the impudence to tell me that he met me

on the road from Bar; which could not be true, according to his own account: in a word, I caught him in several contradictions, and can make no other judgment but this, in which your servants here all agree with me, that if he is not a spy, he is at best one of those little fellows who thrust themselves into business, and who, without having merit to be entrusted, or capacity to inform, think to supply both by being forward and impudent.

I dined with Monsieur de 24, 19, 22, 8, 27 (Torcy) yesterday, and gave him an account of this incident, of your last resolutions, and of what I heard from Martha (England), which agrees with his accounts. He does himself the honour to write to you, and your Majesty will see, by what he writes, that it is impossible the message which the friar pretends to bring from Charles should be true, Charles (Ormond) having, to the person who belongs to Harry (King of France) in Margaret's country (England), given a different answer, and mentioned another time.

Upon all this I beg your Majesty to reflect, as well as upon what I humbly offered to your consideration, when I attended you myself. It is evident, that in Margaret's country things are not ripe; that at least you cannot tell with certainty whether they are so or not; that the secret is divulged; that in the present method, the correspondence wants that preciseness and exactness which is indispensably necessary; and, lastly, that Harry (King of France) has not yet spoken clearly, whether he will not, in some manner or other, give a private assistance now, and perhaps a public one hereafter.

The first, second, and fourth of these reflections will be answered by sending the person intended to be sent with your first orders; and by continuing to employ such men as he, such as have capacity equal to the business, and to whose honour your own safety, and that of so many persons as are concerned, may be trusted.

The third of these reflections is to be answered by preparing at another place for the transportation of your person, whilst all the appearances continue as they are at the 13, 6, 25, 22, 10 (Havre), and as soon as Ralp (Berwick) arrives, measures shall be taken for this purpose.

When he arrives, we shall be able to speak with more certainty on the fifth head. I will not venture to advance too far, but I have much greater hopes from Harry (France) than you, Sir, seemed to entertain; and if you are well served, you will in my conscience meet with support.

As I have nothing before my eyes but a true zeal for your service, so, Sir, I hope you will please to accept of my faithful endeavours, and to excuse any error in my conduct from the sincerity of my intentions.

I neither subscribe, nor write in plain words, for greater security.

Tuesday; 23d July, 1715.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO JAMES.

Paris, August 3. 1715.

It is matter of the greatest satisfaction to me to find that your Majesty is pleased to accept of my sincere endeavour to serve you. If I have any uneasiness, it is only on this account — that I am sensible my best services will fall infinitely short of those which so much grace and goodness deserve. Permit me to add these faint expressions of the sense I have of your Majesty's last favour to what I said in my letter writ this morning;

and to assure your Majesty, that no heart can be more full of duty, of zeal, of gratitude.

As soon as the two gentlemen arrived, by whom I received the honour of your Majesty's of the 26th of last month, and the paper brought from Maryland (England), I writ to Monsieur Talon (Torcy) and enclosed the letter for him which came with a flying seal. He answered me the next day, expressed the satisfaction he had, added that Harry (King of France) was very much prepared to receive favourably what I should have to represent, and concluded by assuring me *qu'on aura soin de faire préparer la voiture en lieu où elle ne donnera point de soupçon.*

My next care was to despatch 8, 6, 17, 10, 22, 19, 18, 10 (Cameron) 17, 25, 22, 22, 6, 27 (Murray) could not have gone without giving too much umbrage, because of his known habits and intimacy in Maryland. Besides which he is of indispensable and daily use here, and in the last place the former is better than any person acquainted in the place to which he is sent and will have the utmost credit with the people.

I judged this measure to be absolutely necessary, not only to prevent any mistake and precipitate measure, but also to keep up the spirit there, and to account for the delay here. He will be soon back again, and Charles (Ormond) shall have notice of his journey, so that he may be prepared to confer with him at his return.

After this Ralph (Berwick) came from the country on a letter which I writ to him, and we went over the whole contents of the papers brought, and every other point which our thoughts suggested to us. I think we concurred in our opinions on every head. The first steps we agreed to take was to show the Court of 11, 22, 6, 18, 8, 10 (France), how practicable, how morally certain, the enterprise would prove if it was avowed and supported with 11, 19, 22, 8, 10, 23 (forces); to insist therefore, in your name, and in the names of all those from whom I have authority to speak, and sure we deserve to be believed in a matter where we venture so deeply, that they should be granted, and in that case to answer for events, as far as in cases of this nature they can be answered for. After this conference Ralph returned home, and Talon came to town.

Talon takes so affectionate a part in every thing which relates to your Majesty's interest, talks so freely with me concerning the difficulties which arise here, and is so very frank in endeavouring to remove them, that I thought it best to consider with him, and to take his advice concerning the best use which we could make of these papers for your Majesty's service.

He desired he might be fully and particularly instructed in the whole state of the affair, and took upon him with these arms the proper efforts in the proper places; producing or concealing, as at different times and with different characters, would best conduce to the great end.

I have therefore sent in the papers whereof I enclose copies, and the person who is intrusted between him and me will explain and enforce the whole to him by word of mouth.

I dare not promise much; but this I may venture to say, that the people here endeavour to feel Margaret's (England's) pulse, and determine to guide themselves as that rises and falls. God forbid that your Majesty should neglect any favourable opportunity, or throw away any reasonable prospect which may offer themselves, in expectation of assistance from thence; or of any other circumstance whatsoever.

But till things are ripened in Maryland you cannot answer it to yourself, to your faithful servants, to the present age, nor to posterity, if you act; and as those things ripen, these will ripen too. Forgive a freedom which proceeds from a warm zeal for your service, Sir, and a thorough conviction, that the preservation or eternal ruin of my country depends on the person and conduct of your Majesty.

Nothing farther can be said of 11, 22, 6, 18, 8, 10 (France), till I have some answer from Talon, which I expect about the middle of the week; and nothing farther can be said of Margaret till Bevil or some other person come from thence.

I am sorry Mr. Dicconson has yet no despatch from me, but I will not lose time on my part, and indeed a letter which I have just now seen from the water-side shows that no time is to be lost. The answer from Thomas (King of Sweden) is not yet come; we continue in hopes it will be favourable.

It is certain that the factor of Leonard deals with 19, 22, 16, 10, 6, 18, 23 (Orleans). They have had, I believe, very lately a private meeting. I gave notice in the proper place, and took care that it should get to the ears of Humphrey (Orleans).

The moment the gentlemen who goes with my packets to Marly returns, I shall do myself the honour to write again.

I ask pardon if I have said too little or too much in any instance; for besides not being extremely well, I have been hurried with so much business, that I may easily have fallen into some mistake. I am, with all possible respect, etc.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

Paris, August 5. 1715.

Impatience, Sir, in your circumstances, is unavoidable; and you would not be what you are, was you exempt from it. I wish to God the nature of the affairs we have in hand admitted of so swift a progress as to satisfy this impatience; but that is not to be expected. In the mean while I must be humbly of opinion that they improve every day; and that the event of things will justify the advice given you from Margaret (England).

Delafaye is returned from Marly. Talon (Torcy) received the papers, reads them to-day with Harry, and makes me hope to receive on Wednesday, when he comes to town, something satisfactory. I shall not fail to despatch to you on Thursday.

I own to you, Sir, I look on the first part of the lady's letter to be the product of her own brain: was it otherwise, was the person she pretends to write from in the sentiments she expresses, he has, with great dexterity, brought himself into such circumstances, that I do not see the use he might be of to you. It is, however, certainly right to disgust nobody, to hear every thing, to receive every body, and to believe things and to trust persons with great caution.

It would be of mighty use if the alarm of your Majesty's design to embark this summer could be stifled. I take what measures I can for that purpose.

COPIE DE LA LETTRE DE MILORD BOLINGBROKE A M. DE TORCY.

Août, 1715.

Je vous envoie, Monsieur, un mémoire qui vous mettra au fait de toutes nos affaires. Vous y verrez les sentimens de nos amis très-naïvement exprimés, aussi bien que leurs résolutions. Ce ne sont pas les sentimens de deux ou trois particuliers ; ce ne sont pas des opinions données à la hâte ; ce ne sont pas des résolutions inspirées par la seule passion, et capables par conséquent de se dissiper aussi légèrement. Ce sont, au contraire, les sentimens des meilleurs cœurs et des meilleurs têtes du pays d'où ce mémoire vient ; fondés sur des observations certaines, et sur des avis surs de toutes les provinces du royaume. Ce sont des opinions prise avec flegme, après une mûre délibération ; ce sont des résolutions de gens d'honneur, les caractères desquels répondront assez d'eux, comme il est assez connu qu'ils sont en état de répondre de tout ce parti qui se distingue par le nom de Toris.

Vous ne seriez pas peu fâché de voir échouer une entreprise, la ruine de laquelle entraînera celle de tout ce que la France a d'amis en Angleterre, et livrera ce pays à jamais entre les mains de vos plus cruels ennemis.

Il ne tient qu'au Roi d'en assurer le succès. J'ose dire qu'il lui sera plus facile de rétablir le fils, qu'il n'était aux états d'Hollande de détrôner le père.

Je ne prétends pas entrer en des raisonnemens pour montrer combien il s'agit ou de la gloire de sa Majesté ou de l'intérêt de la France, dans cette affaire. Vous savez et l'un et l'autre mieux que moi. Il me suffira de vous dire que si le roi veut songer au rétablissement du Chevalier, Dieu lui en a donné les moyens, en formant la conjoncture la plus heureuse qui fut jamais ; que tout est prêt chez nous ; que je me fais fort d'en concerter les mesures, sur vos ordres, avec les Seigneurs et Gentilhommes qui sont dans le secret, et que vous trouverez en eux toute la docilité et toute la fermeté nécessaires.

J'ai mandé au chevalier qu'il pouvait compter sur la voiture ; mais je vois parce qu'il me fait l'honneur de me mander, et parce ce qu'on m'écrit de Rouen, que sans quelque secours d'argent immédiat il ne sera pas en état de soutenir les frais journaliers des vaisseaux qui sont au Hâvre, et qu'il est d'une nécessité absolue d'y faire continuer, ne fut-il que pour mieux cacher le véritable endroit de son embarquement.

Monsieur De la Faye aura la bonté de vous remettre ce paquet : il m'a aidé dans le travail que j'ai eu ; il est fort au fait de ces choses, et vous pourra expliquer des articles que vous ne trouverez pas peut-être assez détaillés.

Je suis, etc.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

Paris, August 15. 1715.

Harry (King Louis) has writ to his grandson (King of Spain) with his own hand, to press him to supply your Majesty with that money which he would furnish himself, was he able to do it ; and we hope, I think with

reason, that the money may be obtained. The grandson has actually 100,000 crowns in this city, and the last advices from his country say that the rich merchant ships were daily expected. His factor here embraces the matter very heartily, and I believe we shall succeed.

Charles (Ormond) is negotiating a loan in this city from private persons of 500,000 livres; and I beg to refer your Majesty to him for an account of the progress he has made, and of the hopes he entertains.

This morning I have seen Thomas's factor (the ambassador of the King of Sweden). He assures me his master is determined to furnish you with the 24, 22, 19, 19, 20, 23 (troops); but we are under apprehensions that the packet sent to press the immediate despatch of them has not got to the place where Thomas now is.

If we do not hear this week that those letters are come to hand, a gentleman will be sent from hence on Monday, with duplicates of them, and with such farther instances and advices as are necessary.

Charles has had some distant overtures made to him from Harry's nephew (Duke of Orleans). He answered civilly, but avoided any particulars. On this head I must acquaint your Majesty with an accident which has happened, on which I lay some weight, and which I will improve or not, as you shall please to direct. I have been in commerce with a woman for some time, who has as much ambition and cunning as any woman I ever knew—perhaps as any man. Since my return to Paris she has, under pretence of personal concern for me, frequently endeavoured to sound how far I was engaged in your service, and whether any enterprise was on foot.

Your Majesty easily imagines that the answers I gave her were calculated to make her believe, that neither I nor any one else thought at present of any such design. A few days ago she returned to the charge, with all the dexterity possible, and made use of all the advantages which her sex gives her. I took that occasion to pretend to open my heart entirely to her, and according to what I writ your majesty word I had concerted with Talon, to insinuate the impossibility of attempting any thing for your service. She entered upon this into the present state of affairs, in a manner that I could see was premeditated; agreed that, in consideration of Harry's age and health, no vigorous resolution could be expected here; but added, that Harry's nephew, when he was once confirmed in the 22, 10, 12, 10, 18, 8, 27 (regency), would undoubtedly be ready to concur in so great an undertaking, and that she did not see why a marriage between you and one of his daughters might not be an additional motive to him, and a tie of union between you. I received the proposal merrily, as a sally of her imagination, and as such she let it pass. But there must be more in it, because of her character, because of the intimacy she has had with 19, 22, 16, 10, 6, 18, 23 (Orleans), and because of the private but strict commerce which I know she keeps up with one of his confidants, and the influence she has over that man.

It is extremely nice and difficult to manage this affair, since particular engagements of this kind might in many respects do hurt both here and in Maryland (England), might prejudice your affairs now, and embarrass you hereafter. And yet the advantage of gaining a man of that ambition, of those talents, and so nearly allied to power, deserves great consideration. Your Majesty will excuse this detail, if you judge it impertinent, and you will give me your orders, if you think any use may be made of such an

intrigue. I would have even the pleasures and amusements of my life subservient to your Majesty's service, as the labours of it shall be always..

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

Paris, Aug. 19. 1715.

A secretary who belongs to me left London on Friday was seven night... This secretary has brought me large bundles of papers, which our friends send me as materials to prepare representations in opposition to what is contained in the report of the Secret Committee. The work will be very tedious and difficult; but since it is thought necessary to keep up the spirit of the people, and the reputation of that ministry, I will lock myself up, and go through it in the best manner I am able.

What I had the honour to foretell you, Sir, proves true; this spirit increases, and all the measures taken to extinguish the flame seem but as fresh fuel to make it burn higher. Things are hastening to that point, that either you, Sir, at the head of the Tories, must save the Church and Constitution of England or both must be irretrievably lost for ever.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO JAMES.

Paris, Aug. 20. 1715.

SIR,

I have the honour to send your Majesty two extracts of M. d'Iberville's letters, which I received from M. de Torcy, together with the copy of what I have writ this morning to that minister.

The Duke of Ormond sends your Majesty, I suppose, the other advices from England. I think by those letters it is plain that Harry Campion is sent with some new resolution from your servants on that side of the water.

Your affairs hasten to their crisis; and I hope that, with prudence and fortitude, for they must go hand in hand, your Majesty's restoration will be soon accomplished. Was the conjuncture here in any degree answerable to the conjuncture in England, you would neither have any risk to run, nor struggle to go through.

The Duke of Shrewsbury is frankly engaged, and was, the last time I heard of him, very sanguine. I submit to your Majesty whether a letter from yourself to him, or a message through me, would not be proper.

As to Peterborough, I think, indeed, he is not to be neglected. I will write to him, and even offer to meet him. Your majesty knows his character, and will give me your orders how far he is to be promised. We have always lived together on a foot of intimacy, and perhaps I may succeed to dip him. At present he endeavours, I perceive, to keep on the best side of the bay.

May I presume to ask whether something particular has been said to Marlborough? He is at this moment much perplexed, and openly pushed at. Should not the Duke of Berwick at least, by your Majesty's order in this point of time, endeavour to fix him? An application justly timed has always a double force.

I am with the utmost respect, etc. etc.

I had forgot to add that any treaty with Mills (Marlborough) must be

kept very secret from Charles (Ormond); for though nothing can cool the zeal of the latter, yet this might, perhaps, give him some little dissatisfaction at heart.

I should likewise add that the reports from Versailles, about the King's health, vary continually. I believe your Majesty must depend upon his life as very precarious.

JAMES TO THE DUKE OF BERWICK.

(Extract.)

Aug. 23. 1715.

I do not see why, when Raucourt (James) goes to Scotland, he might not write a letter to Malbranche (Marlborough), to require his attendance there or his declaring openly for him in England, for which an order would of necessity oblige Malbranche to pull off the mask, and trim no longer.

I think it is now more than ever *Now or Never!*

J. R.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

Sept. 3. 1715.

I have always found the Spaniards very alert on the trifles of ceremonial; and therefore they cease to be trifles in treating with them.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO THE EARL OF MAR.

Sept. 29. 1715.

Annexed to this letter, which is only for your Lordship, and for such persons as you shall judge proper, is the substance of the memorials sent into England, of all which I hope care is taken by our friends there to communicate to you the contents, since, in a conjuncture like this, no trouble, no expense, no risk is to be avoided, which are necessary to enable those who are embarked in the same cause to act in a perfect concert, the want whereof I never felt so much as of late.

There is likewise annexed the answer which the King gives to a question proposed to him by a man lately sent from Lord Drummond, and just now gone back with a verbal message. Since our friends thought it proper that I should openly appear in the King's interest, and that he thought it proper I should transact his business, I have not been idle; and if the French King had lived we should have obtained some assistance directly, much more indirectly, and a great many facilities by connivance, though even this was thought unattainable when I first came to Paris. But the case is altered; he is dead, and the Regent is in quite other dispositions. The prospect of opposition to his regency made him enter into engagements with Hanover, and the prospect of opposition to his seizing the Crown, in case of the young King's death, makes him adhere to those engagements.

I now most heartily wish that the King had gone away two months ago, with the few arms and the little money which he then had. But your Lordship knows what instructions Charles Kinnaird brought.

That memorial was our Gospel; we kept it still in our eye; and before we could provide ourselves with a small part of what you and the rest of

our friends asked even by the second proposition, which was a sort of a *pis aller*, this unhappy turn of affairs in France came upon us. I remind your Lordship of this, because I hear every day complaints from those who will judge of men's conduct without knowing their circumstances, and who are much more ready to find fault with others than to act themselves, against even the King himself, as if every thing was ready for him, and as if the most favourable opportunity would be lost, purely by his unwillingness to venture over. I know you will do our master justice on this head; his friends in Scotland were ready; but his friends in England desired, besides succours of several kinds, a longer time to prepare. At the request of these, and much against his own inclination, he was prevailed upon to defer his embarkation, which is now grown difficult beyond expression.

You will hear from other hands that the English fleet has visited the French coast several times; that their cruisers are very alert in the Channel; and that within these four days Sir George Byng is come into the Road of Havre, and has demanded by name the ships on board which are some arms and stores. The Regent has, indeed, not thought fit to give them up; but he has sent down orders to unload them, and has promised that they shall not go out. After this I leave you to judge how easy it will be for the King to get off without the Regent's knowledge, and how safe for him with it. We are taking, however, measures to find a passage for him; and how hazardous soever the attempt may be, nothing but impossibilities will stop him. We hear that you are in arms, and you easily judge this motive sufficient to carry us to all that men can do. But we do not yet know, which is a most uncomfortable consideration, what our friends in England will resolve to do now Hanover as an army, more money, the Habeas Corpus Bill suspended, and a friend at the head of this government, who thought, before any of these cases happened, that the King's enterprise was not practicable, unless he brought a proportion of stores, arms, etc., which he is utterly unable to procure.

There comes by the same conveyance with this letter a commission in blank, but in the form which was desired when Charles Kinnaird came over. Your Lordship knows why it is not filled up as was once intended. The King leaves that to his friends to do, and he depends, in the management of this, and of all his interest, principally on your Lordship's zeal and capacity, as he has told you himself, and as he commands me to repeat to you.

There is another letter writ by Cameron to his brother, and the occasion of it is this. We have in a creek of the river Seine a little ship, on board which are thirteen hundred and fifty arms, and four thousand weight of powder, nine barrels of balls, one hogshead of flints, and one mould.

We hope she will pass unheeded by the English or their new allies, the French; and she is ordered to proceed forthwith to the north-west coast of Scotland. I believe we shall find three or four good officers to send with her, and you shall have letters by them from me in this cipher.

The reason of sending her to the north-west coast is evident, and the same reason will hold, I believe, for the King.

You will, therefore, please to have that in your eye, that if he should come to some place above Dumbarton, a proper disposition may be in time made for his reception: for wherever he comes he will be almost literally alone. Should he be able to come to the other coast, we take the Earl

Marshal's castle to be the place assigned. I cannot conclude this letter without summing up the present state of the King's affairs, according to the light I see them in, and without giving my opinion frankly and in confidence; for I write to a man of sense, a man of honour, and a friend. Instead of having a ship furnished by France for the King's transportation, which we had obtained, and which, I confess, I thought an article of the greatest importance, for reasons you will easily comprehend, the whole coast from Jutland to Spain is against us; and unless the King steals off unknown, which to me appears almost impossible, considering the extent of country he must traverse, and the vigilance which is used in every part of France, he will either be seized or betrayed. The troops we hoped for from Sweden are refused us, and the bills which were given for their embarkation are returned. The money we expected from Spain is, in my opinion, still in the clouds, and was it actually in our hands we should be at a loss how to get it on board. Instead of having the arms which were promised us by the late King, it is become doubtful whether we shall have it in our power to carry off those which we have of our own.

Instead of being sure that France would not see us run over by foreign forces, we are sure that from Holland and Germany, Hanover will be at liberty to bring as many as he pleases. In a word, every resource has failed us, and every accident which we could apprehend has fallen out; so that against the whole weight of the Government and Legislature of Britain, such as they are, against an army, a fleet, immense sums of money, and the most powerful foreign alliances, we have nothing to oppose but the good dispositions of the people of Britain; and we are not yet certain whether the good disposition of those in England will carry them to act in these circumstances.

I must therefore be of opinion, that a more fatal conjuncture can never happen, and that the attempt can probably end in nothing but the ruin of our cause for ever, of which you may observe that the Whigs are so sensible, that they precipitate, for this reason, their violent measures in order to oblige us to come to a decision at this time. On the other side, certain it is, that the face of things on this side of the water must change, for many reasons too long to recapitulate. But if our friends are not in a condition to wait, without submitting and giving up the cause entirely and for ever, desperate as I think the attempt is, it must be made; and dying for dying, it is better to die warm, and at once, of a fever, than to pine away with a consumption. These, my Lord, are the informations I had to give you, and these are the sentiments which, according to the best of my judgment, I form; and which, having a conveyancer that I hope will prove a safe one, I could not forbear to communicate to you. Whatever be the event of things, do me the justice to believe that you shall find a man of honour and a faithful friend, in your humble servant.

BOLINGBROKE.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO JAMES.

SIR,

Paris, Sept. 21. 1715.

I delayed till now despatching a messenger, the only safe way in the present circumstances of corresponding, to your Majesty, that I might be able to give you some account of the steps taken in pursuance of your last orders.

At my return from Bar I found that Mr. Innes, and Captain O'Flanagan, had been consulted about providing a vessel for your Majesty's transportation on the western coast of France, but I found no one step made towards the execution of this project. I thought it was proper to begin by setting this matter in a method of being finished with as much secrecy as possible; and having consulted the Captain last mentioned, and Robert Arbuthnot, who is as sensible, as zealous, and as useful a servant as any you have, O'Flanagan is despatched to St. Malo's with a detail of instructions which I am well persuaded he will execute with judgment and fidelity, and, I hope, with success.

Sir Nicholas Girardin is the merchant whom we think to depend upon for fitting out the ship as intended to go to the Canaries, and we propose not to buy but to hire by the month and insure.

The Queen orders Mr. Innes to furnish some money to O'Flanagan, and by that means he will guess at the service intended, as well as by what was said to him before my return; but I shall say nothing to him nor any one else of the measure taken, because I know no better maxim in all business than that of trusting no creature with the least circumstance beyond what is absolutely necessary he should know, in order to enable him to execute his part of the service.

The Duke of Berwick is gone to St. Germain's, so that I shall have no opportunity of making either a secret or a confidence of this to him. I add no more as to his Grace, though I should have something to say, because the Queen tells me she has writ to your Majesty her opinion, in which I humbly concur.

There is another project on foot for your Majesty's going off, which has been debated by the Duke of Ormond, Arbuthnot, and myself, and which may perhaps be safer than any, should this Court prove as adverse to your interest as we apprehend, though it has a very romantic air. It is proposed that the Runner prepared at the Havre to carry your Majesty, and bound in appearance for Gothenburg, should sail; that if she finds herself examined, pursued, and dogged, she should in effect repair to Gothenburg and lose her voyage; but that if she finds the sea clear, and herself unobserved, she should proceed to the mouth of the Texel, and come to anchor off the Fly, of which care will be taken to give your Majesty instantly notice.

It is proposed that your Majesty should in the deepest disguise, such for example as saved your uncle King Charles after the battle of Worcester, make the best of your way, with a merchant or some such unsuspected person whom the Duke of Lorraine would undoubtedly find for you, through Holland, embark on board this vessel, and by the shortest cut pass into Scotland.

But there is another employment for this very ship which occurs to my thoughts, and which may at the same time answer the view your Majesty did me the honour to communicate to me.

The Prince de Cellamar has told the Duke of Berwick that he cannot pay the money without the Regent's consent, as in the King's life he could not have paid it without his consent. I expected at last some evasion or other, and this is as gross an one as could be fallen upon. However, the ambassador has promised to write to Madrid for a revocation of these real or pretended orders, and to propose that the money may be lodged

at Port-Passage, or some other haven in the north of Spain, and may be there taken up and transported directly to Scotland.

Now, Sir, should this method of sending the money be pushed as the Queen and Duke of Berwick hope, and as I confess I very much doubt, the Runner designed for you, and which I mentioned above, might be the ship made use of, and your journey to Spain might be so timed as to meet her and so embark with the money.

I mention all that my own or other men's thoughts suggest, that in a matter of this consequence your Majesty may have before your eyes as many expedients as possible, and whatever you determine I will cheerfully and vigorously execute; but I must confess that the more I think, the more I hear, and the more I struggle forward in this business, the more impracticable it appears to me. Your Majesty will soon know the certainty of what is doing in Scotland, and of what may be expected from England, and you will then weigh the hazard and difficulty of going in one scale, and the prospect of success on your arrival in the other.—Before I leave this head, I must add, that we hear the English squadron is returning from the Baltic, and that besides the ships cruising in the channel, five men of war have their stations on the north-east of Scotland, from the firth of Edinburgh to Inverness.

The next point to which I applied myself, was the despatch of one of the blank commissions to Scotland, and I thought it very necessary to send the substance of the two memorials transmitted to England some time ago, a copy of the message which Mr. Hamilton carries at this time to the same country, and the minutes which your Majesty gave me as your answer to the message last brought you from the Highland Lords, that so your friends and servants might see the progress of things, and the insuperable obstructions which have lain in your way, and be able to account for a delay which they seem to bear with so great impatience. To all this I have added a long letter to the Earl of Mar, a copy whereof and of Hamilton's message (for your Majesty is already apprised of the contents of the other papers), come inclosed, and will I hope have your gracious approbation. I take the liberty to speak of your Majesty's personal conduct, for the reason specified in my letters; and if I say any thing of myself, I hope your Majesty does me the justice to believe it is not through so contemptible a principle as vanity, but I thought it of use to let those who are parties to the same engagements as I am entered into, and at whose desire, according to what I told your Majesty when I attended you at Commercry, I took off the mask, know the manner in which I proceed, and by that the obligation of honour, even on this account, which they are under.

Your Majesty will hear from other hands of what has passed at the Havre, there are 1500 arms, 4000 weight of powder, and other stores, on board another ship which is not yet discovered. I intend to send her as I write to Lord Mar. The Duke of Ormond inclines rather to have her stay some time in expectation of hearing some good news from the west of England, and in that case of sending her thither, in which case I agree with his Grace, that the arms would be better applied. But this is uncertain, and the longer she continues where she is, the greater risk we run of losing even the little she has on board. Upon the whole, if Arbuthnot finds he can keep her concealed, she may stay as my Lord Duke desires; if not, I think she should proceed on the first plan.

George (Bolingbroke) received on Tuesday night an answer from the person who spoke to Humphrey (Orleans), that he might have an 6, 25, 9, 14, 10, 18, 8, 10 (audience), and the answer was, that he could not do it; that those people had used him too well for him to take any measures against them; and that the secret could hardly be kept though he saw George in private.

I confess this answer surprised and piqued me, and I was not at all shy of showing myself to be so. The day before yesterday the gentleman who managed this affair came to me again, and told me that the eldest servant of Humphrey had expressed a wish to see George and converse with him, that he hinted as if his master would do the same, and yet he said in terms that 23, 24, 6, 14, 22 (Stair), imposed very much. What judgment to make of these uncertainties and awkward proceedings I know not. I shall speak very plainly, as I think I have a title to do from my share in the transactions of the four last years, and leave it to operate. After to-morrow George will probably have had his interview, and your Majesty shall have an account of it unless it pass entirely in compliment and banter.

I enclose to your Majesty two letters from Stralsund with great reluctance; since you will find by them that all our hopes of troops are vanished. I received them from the Queen, whose packet accompanies this, and who intends to send your Majesty's servant down to you.

I have nothing more to add but my excuses for the length of my letter, and assurances of being ever, etc.

JAMES TO LORD BOLINGBROKE.

(Extract.)

Sept. 23. 1715.

The message Cameron brought me gave me great uneasiness; but, I thank God, that account did not prove true, and since that is, I still hope our Scotch friends will, at least, wait for my answer, if they cannot stay so long as to expect a concert with England, which I begin to flatter myself they may.

On the whole, I must confess my affairs have a very melancholy prospect; every post almost brings some ill news or other; all hopes of the least foreign help are extinguished: instead of gaining new friends, we apprehend a powerful enemy; and all our endeavours and pains are in a manner lost, and it is all rowing against the tide. But yet this is so far from discouraging me, that it doth but confirm me in my opinion of a present undertaking; for I cannot but see, that affairs grow daily worse and worse by delays, and that, as the business is now more difficult than it was six months ago, so these difficulties will, in all human appearance, rather increase than diminish. Violent diseases must have violent remedies, and to use none has, in some cases, the same effect as to use bad ones.

I cannot but send you this bit of a *Lardon*, to show you how secrets are sometimes thought to be got out, when there is nothing but mere guess and conjecture in the case; as here the *Lardon* news is of the 10th, N. S. and I did not so much as see you, nor name Spain or Bayonne, till the 14th.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO JAMES.

Paris, Sept. 25. 1715.

SIR,

I had yesterday the honour of your Majesty's letter of the 23d. In making up the last packet, my secretary forgot the copy of the letter which I writ to the Earl of Mar, and which comes now enclosed.

I have seen letters which mention the rising of the Highlanders as general, which say that the Earl of Mar is at the head of them; that great numbers of Lords, and others from the Lowlands, are repaired to them; that the consternation at St. James's is great, that the stocks fell; that some troops are ordered to reinforce those already in Scotland; that they dare not send a greater number, because they expect another rising in London and in the West of England would happen if they did; that the dissatisfaction of the people and of the soldiers, both in the old regiments and in the new levies, to the present government increases still; that several people are daily taken up; that, in a word, nothing but your Majesty's presence is wanting to decide the whole in your favour.

I find Ralph (Berwick) builds extremely on the authority of those letters, and appears more than ever earnest for your Majesty's speedy departure. Who the writer is I know not, but he has a good deal more of zeal and warm imagination than of judgment or knowledge of England. He makes several childish mistakes in the detail which he gives.

The enclosed paper is an extract of a letter from M. d'Iberville, and is an answer to the first memorial, of which your Majesty had a copy some time ago, wherein our English friends were told how unable you was to provide what they expected, and were desired to answer categorically, whether, in such circumstances, you should make your enterprise or not.

You will observe that they suspend giving this answer till they see the effect of the King of France's death; that is, till they see whether Humphrey (the Regent) will be Whig or Tory. By this time they must know, from common report, that he takes the former *pli*, and from the second memorial, perhaps, likewise; since, although Monsieur de Torcy returned me that which I had delivered, that it might go in his packet, yet I hope the duplicate forwarded by the way of Holland has reached London. I make no farther reflections on this head; but I think it is no hard matter to guess beforehand what the answer from England will be, whenever it is given. That it may be given as soon as possible, I have despatched Hamilton, the clergyman, to England, with full information, and with positive assurances of your resolution, so that they must either determine to act immediately, or to stop your Majesty. The first answers your end, the latter clears your conduct; both deliver us from the worst of states, that of suspense.

Hamilton is directed to lose no time in hastening back; and I hope we have taken such measures that his journey will be unsuspected and prosperous.

You will please, Sir, to observe, farther, that the commission sent to Scotland will not tally to the present circumstances, if advices from thence are true, and I believe they are so, which say that Mar is at the head of all your friends, that Athol declined joining them himself, and used his utmost endeavours to stop his son Tullibardine, who had too much honour to be influenced by him. I should be, therefore, humbly of opinion that, instead

of a duplicate of that commission, your Majesty should please to let me have one with blanks, both for the Commander-in-chief, and for the adjuncts to him, and I will find a way of sending it to Scotland.

I have yet no answer from St. Malo's nor Brest; but I dare say the instructions are so well concerted, that this service will be performed to your satisfaction.

I have sent orders to R. Arbuthnot to despatch the vessel fitted at Havre for your Majesty to Port Passage, the place to which it is proposed that the Spanish money should be sent, and the properest place on that coast for you to embark at, should you resolve to go by Spain.

Ralph (Berwick) hopes, or seems to hope, that this money will be procured. I continue an infidel.

We shall do our best to station another ship at the mouth of the Texel; and Charles (Ormond) assures me (for of that matter I know nothing) that another will be ready at Dunkirk.

The little ship with arms shall, according to your Majesty's orders, be kept for England if possible.

I had wrote thus far, when Charles showed me a letter, the original of which you will receive with this. By that the affair in England presses as well as in Scotland. I am to see the Marshal d'Huxelles to-morrow, as well as M. d'Effiat. I do verily think that they begin to stagger on their Whiggish ground. I pray God I may be able to bring them up at last to give fair play, and a reasonable connivance; and I hope to see the time when I shall be able to speak to this Court, in your Majesty's name, in another style than I am forced, much against the grain, to speak at present.

I will omit nothing which it is possible for man to do to get ready your ships; and, provided the secret be kept, I hope we shall set you safe on your own land. There is somewhat odd in the passage of the *Lardon* you was pleased to send me. I remember the same thing happen before your sister sent her army, in 1704, into Germany. But I must still say that, since I have been in business, I never observed so little secret as there has been in your Majesty's affairs: for instance, a gentleman belonging to Stair named the very number of battalions which we expected from Sweden; and the Marquis d'Effiat told me the very sum which Marlborough has advanced to you.

If I spoke of Dumbarton as the place at which your Majesty should land, I mistook grossly; I mean somewhere to the northward of it, on the north-west coast; for to the other coast, which is much nearer your friends, I doubt you cannot think of going.

Charles gives an account of himself, so that I need say nothing on that head, but conclude for the present, since to-morrow or next day at furthest, I shall probably be obliged to renew this trouble to your Majesty.

From your Majesty's faithful and dutiful,

B.

JAMES TO LORD BOLINGBROKE.

(Extract.)

Oct. 10. 1715.

Ralph (D. of Berwick) is so incommunicable and incomprehensible, that I have directed D. O(rmond) to say nothing to him of the present resolutions. Ralph is now a cypher, and can do me no harm; and if he withdraws his duty from me, I may well may confidence from him.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

Paris, Oct. 18. 1715.

The more I think of it, the more I am convinced that it is absolutely necessary that the Duke of Ormond should, on his arrival in England, instantly disperse some popular paper among the people; and that declarations and letters should be ready to fly about to all parts, on the very moment of time when your Majesty is arrived, or is upon your arrival. This is not my private sense alone, but the joint opinion of the Duke, and of every man here who knows any thing of the present state of that country.

What the methods of carrying on business formerly might be, I am ignorant; but of late years, those have done it best who have, by frequent and plausible appeals to the people, gained the nation to their side. Since the decay of the monarchy, and the great rise of the popular power without, since the Whig schemes took place, we have been forced to combat them at their own weapon. By these means we brought the bulk of England from a fondness of war to be in love with peace: by the same means have they been brought from an indolent desponding submission to Hanover, to rouse and exert themselves in your cause. The same methods must be pursued, and the same topics must be insisted upon, or the spirit will die away, and your Majesty will lose that popularity which is (allow me to use the expression) the only expedient that can bring about your restoration. I know what may be said, and what, perhaps, is said, that the nation is engaged, and so many considerable men are dipped, that popularity is the less to be regarded. But I beseech your Majesty to take the word of a faithful servant, and to judge of me and others as you find this to be true or false: if the present ferment is not kept up, if the present hopes and fears are not cultivated by an industrious application of the same honest art by which they were created, you will find the general zeal grow cool, and a new set of compounders arise.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

Paris, Oct. 20. 1715.

I am really hopeful that I shall retrieve the loss we sustained by the King's death, and by the first untoward demonstration of the Regency against your Majesty's interest, at least so far as to have the French coast to a certain degree open to us; whereas, according to the track things were going in, the ports of France would have been as much closed to us as those of Holland.

This is what may at present be expected; and more than this will not be obtained by any other motive than success at home.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

Paris, Oct. 24. 1715.

I am not very well edified by the last advices of the 4th and 6th from England; and one particular, I confess, quite distracts my thoughts. The

story is told several ways, and many groundless circumstances are, I believe, added; but, in general, I doubt it is true that Sir William Wyndham has surrendered himself, and has been set at liberty, some affirm on bail, others on his parole. I know the virtue of the man so well, that I have not the least distrust of him; but I confess to you, Sir, my apprehension is, that, after his escape, he tried the West, and found them not disposed to rise; in which case he had perhaps nothing left to do, but by his father-in-law's credit to save himself as well as he could. He and Lansdown are the only two men I know, and I think I know them all, capable to take the lead in those counties; so that I am much perplexed what fruit we may reap from Campion's and Courteney's journey, and even from the Duke of Ormond's expedition. One use, I am persuaded, must be made of this alteration of circumstances, or, allow me to say, your Majesty will act rashly. You must take your measures with more precaution, and proceed more leisurely..... I return to my first principles; there is no tolerable degree of safety for you to be expected, without an entire secret as to your going. Nothing shall be neglected to keep all quiet here, and to put the inquisitive on a false scent. I have made many a false confidence of late concerning your designs even to the greatest.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

Paris, Nov. 2. 1715.

I am very happy that your Majesty is pleased to approve of the frankness with which I have exposed to you several disagreeable truths.

The state of England is so much altered from what it was some years ago, and the notions in which men have been educated are so different, that those motives which would have been sufficient formerly will not be so now; and those reserves which formerly would have caused no umbrage, may now prove fatal. Whenever your Majesty sets your foot upon English ground, you will find all this to be true, even in a greater degree than I have represented it to you.

The letters are printing, and the Declaration too. The former may properly enough be countersigned, but the latter ought not to be so. Besides the form, I own to your Majesty that the alterations made in the draught are strong objections with me against putting my name to it. No name whatever will hinder men, whose jealousies on that head run very high, from observing that there is no promise made in favour of the Church of Ireland, and that even the promise which relates to the Church of England is very ambiguous, and liable to more than one interpretation.

In this case my name will do your Majesty's cause no service, and my credit will suffer by it. But if, in the first heat of things, these omissions should not be regarded, nor other expressions which, to avoid being tedious, I omit, be observed, yet hereafter they will be taken notice of; and it is easy to foresee that, in all disputes which may arise about settling the Government upon your restoration, the Declarations you shall have published will be the text to which all parties will resort. In this case, Sir, I should not be able to answer it to the world, or to my own conscience, if my name had in any degree contributed to weaken that security which all your friends expect, and will certainly insist upon,

both for the Church of England and for that of Ireland. I serve your Majesty with an entire zeal, and upon that bottom which can alone restore you and the monarchy. Was I to go off from that bottom, which I am incapable of, I should become useless to you.

The Duke of Ormond's going off has made Stair redouble his diligence, and his spies are upon every road near this city. I have done my utmost to give him impressions that may mislead him about your Majesty, and, I hope, not without some success. As to myself, I continue to appear in all public places with as little air of business as possible; and I doubt it is of absolute necessity that I should do so till you are out of reach, and till I have given some form, at least, to the measures that must be taken to send officers after you, to improve and ripen the correspondence with this Court, which mends every day, and to secure the sending money, arms, and ammunition, without which neither England nor Scotland can support your cause; for, Sir, your Majesty must not expect a revolution now—you must depend upon a war. I have nothing in view but where and how I can be most useful, and the moment I cease to be so in one place, I remove to another. But, indeed, at present, I should not be able to stir, was the call upon me never so urgent. I have, since my return from Bar, had a distemper come upon me, of which I never felt the least symptom in my life before, and am hardly able to bear the motion of a coach in these streets. They tell me that I shall soon be free from it.

I am in concern not to have heard from the Duke of Ormond as I expected. I am told he embarked on Monday.

Your resolution not to embark for England till you hear from thence is a great satisfaction to me: any other measure would have been destruction. As to your proceeding to Scotland, I am really unable to speak for or against it, being perfectly ignorant of the coast and of the navigation. But if your Majesty cannot go to England, I take it the Duke of Ormond will be forced to come back, and he will certainly come back to the place where you wait, and that will be the time of determining finally.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

Paris, Nov. 8. 1715.

Stair did not know in many days of your Majesty's departure, neither can I yet say that he knows certainly the route which you have taken; but the length of the journey, and the delay which you may be obliged to make on the coast, will probably give him time to find you out.

He has already complained that you are removed from Bar, and has asked to have the coast visited. The Marshal d'Huxelles sent to me immediately; and the orders are so given, that your ships will be overlooked. Should he be able to point out the vessel to them, or to say positively where you are, I doubt the Regent would think himself obliged to stop both.

I should be still more uneasy under this difficulty, could there probably be occasion of suspending much longer the final resolution which you will find it proper to take. But I imagine that your Majesty must have heard from England, and be apprised of the movements which the last message

sent over shall have produced, before Mr. Ruth or Mr. Sheldon can possibly join you.

If, notwithstanding all the disappointments which our friends in the West have met with, and particularly the villany of Maclean, of whose treachery your Majesty cannot fail to have had an account, the Duke of Ormond lands, and is able to make a head, your Majesty, I conclude, will pass immediately over to such place as the advices from those parts shall direct; and, in this case, I must be humbly of opinion, that you should pass, although the rising were in no degree so considerable as, when you resolved to go, you expected it would be. You are on the coast; the people will be in expectation of you; your reputation will increase by such a step; perhaps your interest will be promoted by it: at worst, it is better to make a bold experiment so near to your retreat as the West of England, than to abandon yourself to the Highlands of Scotland, at a season, when your navigation thither is very uncertain, and in a conjuncture when I apprehend that little progress can be expected; for these two propositions seem to me to be self-evident,—that England will not rise upon your marching into the North from Scotland, if she will not rise upon your coming, or offering to come, into the West; and, in the next place, that the utmost efforts of Scotland, if England cannot or will not rise, must end in a composition. However, I must submit part of this opinion to the judgment of the seamen, as I do the whole, with great respect, to your Majesty.

Since I wrote thus far, the Duke of Berwick has been with me; he just came from the Regent, who has sent a detachment to stop your Majesty at Château Thierry, where Stair has received information that you are. The Duke presses extremely your going to Scotland, even preferably to England. I confess I cannot feel the force of that reasoning.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

Paris, Nov. 9. 1715.

Your Majesty will receive this packet, which contains all the Duke of Mar's despatches, by Col. Hay, who was sent with Dr. Abercrombie from Scotland, and arrived here last night.

I think these accounts, and what these gentlemen say by word of mouth, open a new scene, and suggest new thoughts.

Should your Majesty not be gone for England, and should this letter come in time to your hands, I believe you will be of opinion that nothing but the impracticability of the navigation ought to hinder you from going to the North-west of Scotland..... I writ last night to the Marshal d'Huxelles, and shall, I believe, see him by and by. They fluctuate strangely in all their measures; their inclinations are with us, their fears work for the Whigs. A little good success would determine them the right way. The project of the arms goes on, and I have opened a new door of access to the Regent. He has still the marriage in his head, and a little good fortune would make the bait succeed to draw him in.

JAMES TO LORD BOLINGBROKE.

Peterhead, Dec. 22. 1715.

I am at last, thank God, in my own ancient kingdom, as the bearer will tell you, with all the particulars of my passage, and his own proposals of future service. Send the Queen the news I have got, and give a line to the Regent, *en attendant* that I send you from the army a letter from our friends, to whom I am going to-morrow. I find things in a prosperous way; I hope all will go well, if friends on your side do their part as I shall have done mine. My compliments to Magni; tell him the good news. I don't write to him, for I am wearied, and won't delay a moment the bearer.

J. R.

JAMES TO LORD BOLINGBROKE.

Kinnaird, Jan. 2. 1716.

You will be surprised doubtlessly that the bearer of this proves to be one of our only two experienced officers; but there was an absolute necessity of sending him out of the country, on account of the disgust the Highlanders have got of him, which is altogether inexplicable. The man is certainly brave and honest, but had the misfortune to be at the head of the wing that ran away at the battle; and though, by what I can find, he was not faulty, yet there is such an odium against him as cannot be wiped off; so that, to draw him handsomely from among them, who cannot any more bear with him, I resolved to send him to the King of Spain, and in his way to you, to inform you of all, and receive your farther lights, before he pursues his longer journey, with which I find him very well pleased. His character in the army will make him have more credit than another; and he being to follow your directions at Paris, and his acquaintance with Cauliss in Spain, will in some measure supply his not speaking well the language.

The D. Mar sends you a journal of all transactions here, which will very much shorten this letter, and which will show you better than I can our present circumstances, which, to speak plain, are none of the best. All was in confusion before my arrival; terms of accommodation pretty openly talked of, the Highlanders returned home, and but four thousand men left at Perth; and had I retarded some days longer, I might in all probability have had a message not to come at all. My presence indeed has had, and will have, I hope, good effects; the affection of the people is beyond expression, and my orders to the Highlands to come to the army will certainly be obeyed. Lord Breadalbane will, I have reason to believe, have no more resources; and D. Athol at last declare for me; and Lords Huntly and Seaforth soon dissipate the rebels in the north; but of all this I have no certainty, having not yet had returns to my letters to them, but suppose the best. We are too happy, if we can maintain Perth this winter: that is a point of the last consequence, and what I hope the season of the year may render practicable, by taking from the enemy all possibility of an attempt against it, at least in such a manner as to oblige us to quit it, which we certainly shall not do without blows. But after all, if we are not increased before spring, it is impossible we can meet the advantages the enemies have over us in all particulars; it must make us

unable to stand against them, and the greatest zeal and affection will cool at last, when all prospect of success is vanished. These are our circumstances, and such as I hope will move the Regent, who can alone, but that with ease, sway the balance on our side, and make our game sure. What is absolutely necessary for us, and that without loss of time, is a competent number of arms, with all that belongs to them; our five Irish regiments, with all the officers of the D. Berwick at their head; for whom and to whom I wish he may now be my general, but he shall never be my minister. His presence here would really work miracles, for they know nothing but good of him; and to please them here, I am forced to say he is coming, for the contrary belief would be of the worst consequence. Less than all this will not do our work, but this I hope will effectually. The letter you desired for the Regent goes with this, with a private note from D. Mar, in which alone, by my direction, is noticed the kind reception of the former one. Now, as to the D. of Ormond, can he not get into England or Ireland? I am clearly for his coming to join me here; though, could the Regent send him with troops into England at the same time that our Irish regiments come here, it would end the dispute very soon; and indeed, without a diversion in England, what I have asked for this country may keep up the cause, but will not I fear alone decide it. This, therefore, of the D. Ormond, must be much insisted on, as a point of the last importance. I should have mentioned before, that Roche or Dillon I must have. One I can spare you, but not both; and may be, Dillon would be useful in Ireland, and more useful than another to D. Ormond, who must not be neither without one of them. Should the Duke of Berwick remain obstinate, this last point will be of absolute necessity, and the Duke of Mar thinks that it will be more for my service that in that case one of them take the command of the army upon him, which he says his countrymen will not dislike, for he is himself very weary of that burden; and, indeed, I do not wonder at it; but he must and will continue till another comes, and I must do him the justice to say that I never met with a more able nor more reasonable man, nor more truly disinterested and affectionate to me; and it is wonderful how he has managed matters here, and with what dexterity he hath, till now, managed all parties, and kept life in so many sinking spirits. In relation to Spain my letter is general, and my instructions to Mr. Hamilton the same. I have referred him to receive the Queen's directions as to the details of his conduct, which must be squared according as your negotiation goes on in France, and as the troops I ask from Spain may be speedily got, for that is the point; a speedy succour will gain all, and without it all is lost. You will neglect nothing, I am sure, on your side, and use the most urgent arguments in the pleading of my cause where you now are.

I here send you some letters to forward which I thought it not improper to write, and would have wrote similar letters, as I did before I set sail, but that I have neither papers, nor indeed any thing here but myself, so the ceremonial is impracticable. The superscription to the Emperor I know not, so it must be put with you; to the States I could not write, till I knew how they received my last letter; but those I now write are, I think, the most material, and the only necessary. By D. Mar's advice I have writ the two enclosed to D. Argyle and his brother; pray God they have good effect. You will, I believe, wonder I am not yet at the army, but there are yet so few men at Perth, that should the enemy advance before

the Highlanders come down, we could not maintain that post, so that it was not thought advisable for me to expose myself to a retreat on my first joining the army; but as the accounts now, and the season of the year make us hope that they will not advance that way, although the Dutch troops have joined, and that I reckon the Highlanders will soon come, I am to be there some time this week. In the meantime, since my landing I have been advancing fair and easy from one town to another, first to Feteresso, where I waited for D. Mar, to whom I despatched Cameron from thence, and who approved extremely my waiting for him there. He arrived down the 27th, I left it the 30th. I came to Lady Panmure's house at Brechin, and am this day at Lord Southesk's. I have at present no more to add, but shall keep my letter open till I am ready to despatch Mr. Hamilton, who is gone to Perth for his things, and who will meet me on Monday at Glamis. Poor Booth I am in pain for, for we passed Dunkirk together, and I heard no more of him after the next day, that his ship lagged behind mine. You will, I believe, have been weary to have been so long without hearing from me; but for some days after my arrival I had nothing new, nor positive, nor material to say, and even by this occasion know not whether I shall be able to send you a positive account of what motions the enemy may make; but if they stir not in a fortnight, it is not likely they will of the whole winter. D. Mar very prudently would let nobody stir from the army but a few he brought with him, so I have seen none of them yet, nor taken any resolution. As to state affairs, the war is now the point, and the more solely we attach ourselves to that the better; when that is over will be a proper time for other matters. In the meantime my business is to please as many and disgust as few as possible; so that I shall give good words to all, but dispose of neither place nor any other thing yet, more than is absolutely necessary. I have made Earl Marshall gentleman of my bedchamber, Cameron groom, and J. Hay equerry, and there I stop.

I send to the Queen all the letters I mention here, that she may peruse them, and then agree with you the best ways of forwarding them; you will show her this, for mine to her refers to it. I have made D. Mar write to D. Berwick, that nothing may be neglected to get him, which is of the last importance, and you cannot insist on it too much with the Regent. Could there not be ways found to raise money on particular people at Paris? you know how well inclined to me the French are in general, and I am persuaded they will show it on this occasion.

Glamis, 4th. — Lady Murray has received my packet; our people are not yet come all up, but I shall be at Scoon after to-morrow, to stay there till my house is ready at Perth. There are reports of a rising in Ireland; pray God it be true; and it is said Lord Sutherland hath abandoned Inverness; but sooner or later I make no great doubt of its coming to that. There will go by the next messenger a duplicate of all this packet except my letter to the Queen, all that is material being in this letter.

D. Mar writes to Mr. Straiton to lose no opportunity of writing into France by the post, that you may at least know that we are alive, when we cannot send details by express. The snow keeps me from this.—5th. So to gain time I shall make up my packet here, and add in another letter what may occur before G. Hamilton parts. I shall leave him at Dundee, where I reckon to be to-morrow.

J. R.

JAMES TO LORD BOLINGBROKE.

Montrose, Feb. 3. 1716.

The Duke of Mar's letters and the bearer's relation will supply my not entering into any details. Sure the Regent will not abandon us all, or rather, will not be quite blind to his own interest. Nothing will be neglected, I am sure, on your side. You will know the whole truth, and then make the best use of it.

J. R.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES.

The original is partly in cipher and not signed, but is endorsed B. of R. to the King.

May 6. 1720.

I have little to add to what is contained in the general letter, besides particular professions of duty and zeal for the service, which I hope are needless, and I am sure will be made good by all the actions of my life as often as any proper occasion offers.

My long illness and great distance, and the few opportunities I had of such a conveyance as I could depend on, have been the reasons of my silence.

I must add also, that I did, upon grounds not altogether slight, entertain hopes that hands of greater consequence were either of choice or through necessity employed in such measures as would be of most effectual service to the cause, and while those measures were duly pursued, thought it my part to lie still and expect the event. But those hopes, since the great quarrel has been made up, are in a great degree vanished; for whatever wishes and inclinations any person in power may still preserve, he will be (if he is not already) forced to act in such a manner as will certainly defeat them. Indeed the reconciliation, whether of the principals or those who listed under them, is not as yet hearty and sincere: but I apprehend it will by degrees become so; at least the appearances and consequences of it here will be the same as if it really were. The union (how imperfect soever now) will naturally cement more and more as accidents and occasions arise, that may make it the mutual interest of the newly-reconciled to act more closely together. The Tories have now lost their balancing power in the House of Commons, and must either by continuing wholly inactive sink in their spirits and numbers, or by making attacks hazard a stricter conjunction between their enemies. On either hand their situation is nice and hazardous; and great prudence as well as resolution is requisite so to conduct them through these difficulties as neither to forfeit their reputation nor draw upon themselves the united resentments of the more powerful party, who, if ever they agree in good earnest, will be more irresistible than they were before the breach. It is true, there is but little time for such experiments, before the Session will close; and the less there is, in my humble opinion, the better. Ere another is opened new disasters may arise, and new parties be formed, which may give the Tories matter to work and a foundation to stand upon. The last of these they now evidently want, and for want of it dare hardly, and scarce can prudently, make use of the other. I think myself obliged to

represent this melancholy truth thus plainly, that there may be no expectation of any thing from hence, which will certainly not happen. Disaffection and uneasiness will continue every where, and probably increase. The bulk of the nation will be still in the true interest, and on the side of justice; and the present settlement will perhaps be detested every day more than it is already : and yet no effectual step will or can be taken here to shake it.

Care is taken from hence to make our condition well understood in France. Whether we shall be believed, or, if we are, whether the Regent will think it his interest at this juncture to assert your righteous cause, or will choose rather to temporize till he has brought all the great projects he has now on the anvil to bear, you, Sir, are best able to judge, and time only will convincingly show. It is certain that unless help comes speedily, it may come too late. For that body of men who have newly increased their capital to above 40 millions sterling, begin to look formidable : and if time be given them to fix themselves, and to unite the Court and the majority of the Members of Parliament thoroughly in their interest, the weight of their influence, whatever they undertake, must bear down all opposition ; and they cannot but be the Governors of the Kingdom. But it is hoped, the great event is not at such a distance as to give this monstrous project time to settle. An attempt from abroad, if not too long delayed, will dash it all to pieces, and make it instrumental towards defeating those ends which it now seems calculated to serve. In all events, the direction and management of this great machine will be for some time in the hands of the Ministry, who best know what use they intend to make of it.

Upon the whole, we are here at present in a violent convulsion ; from which great good or evil may arise, according as the juncture is laid hold of by France, and employed to one or other of these purposes. We are entirely in their power. They have great sums of money in our stocks, which they can draw out at once, and sink them if they please. If they insist on the surrender of Gibraltar, it must be surrendered; and that step will shake our credit, and show how easily we may be insulted if any body has the courage to venture upon us. Could the Duke of Ormond (if nothing is to be headed by him from Spain) be allowed shelter any where in France, even that is enough to disorder our finances and throw us into a good deal of confusion. But I will not trouble you, Sir, with more reflections of this kind ; being persuaded that you are thoroughly acquainted with the advantages which our present situation gives you, and want nothing but such an assistance as may render them effectual, which I pray God soon to afford you !

I cannot end this letter without my particular congratulations upon the affair of your Majesty's partner, which you have been pleased to communicate to all of us. It is the most acceptable news which can reach the ear of a good Englishman. May it be followed every day with such other accounts as may convince the world that Heaven has at last undertaken your cause, and is resolved to put an end to your sufferings !

I beg leave to add, that your letter of Oct. 17. 1719, reached me not here till March 19. 1720, N. S. By what accident it was so long delayed I know not ; but had I received it in time, even the great indisposition I was then under (and am not yet free from) would not have hindered me

from acknowledging the honour of it, and returning my most humble thanks for it.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO GENERAL DILLON.

(Extract.)

May 6. 1720.

The sum of my letter to the King is to assure our friends abroad that the reconciliation which makes so great a noise, is, whatever may be apprehended of it, imperfect and insincere at the bottom, and calculated only to serve views at the present juncture which could not have been so well attained without it. But in truth and at the bottom the parties, as well the principal as those who list under them, are still as much separated in interest and inclination as ever.

This is the certain state of the case at present, and such it will continue for some time, notwithstanding whatever appearances there may be to the contrary; and could the opportunity be made use of from abroad, this is the moment when an attempt to disturb us would be most likely to succeed and throw us into the utmost confusion. But on the other side, if this opportunity be not laid hold of by France and Spain, matters will alter here in some time for the worse. The seeming reconciliation will by next winter grow real, and the common necessity of affairs will drive the new allies here into measures that may be for their mutual interest, and into a closer and sincerer conjunction, and the grand money schemes here projected of late will settle and fix themselves in such a manner as that it will not be easy to shake them. It so happens at this particular point of time, that there is no bank or set of men in the whole kingdom (those only excepted that engross the power and taste the vast profits lately made) who are not to the highest degree uneasy, and would be found to be so in a very remarkable manner, should any thing happen from abroad that might make it advisable for them to exert their resentments.

This is the very truth of the matter, and methinks if it were well understood might induce those who only can make effectual advantage of the juncture, and whose interest it is so to do, not to neglect it. Earl Strafford has accounts of this kind from another hand, at least it was promised he should have them, and if he has will be able to explain this matter and set it in a much fuller light than can be done in the bounds of a letter.

EARL OF ORRERY TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

May 15. 1720.

Your commands to Mr. Fleetwood (Earl of Arran), Mr. Nixon (Earl of Oxford), and Mr. Dyer (Mr. Cæsar) shall be obeyed, and I am glad I have the best authority to say, where I shall find it proper that Mons. Schtclief (James) has no dealing directly or indirectly with Messrs. Benn and Board (Stanhope and Sunderland). I look upon them both to be as inveterately averse to Benjamin's (James's) interest as the Mr. Tolanders (Walpolians) or any others, and therefore I have always thought it wrong to make any distinction between them as to that matter, and have lamented the imprudence of those that have endeavoured to propagate a tolerable good opinion among Benjamin's (James's) friends of either Messrs. Benn and Board (Stanhope and Sunderland).

JAMES TO THE EARL OF OXFORD.

(Extract.)

May 20. 1720.

As to affairs in general I have nothing new at this time to impart to you, the occasion of my writing this being only to ask your advice as to what is fit for me to do on the Queen's lying in, as to which I think I should equally avoid either neglect or affectation.

Every country has their different customs and uses on such occasions, and those of England should certainly be my rule in as much as my circumstances may make it possible for me to follow them. I wish therefore you would let me know what those customs are, for if on my birth and that of my sister Louisa particular reasons obliged my father and mother to overdo something, the present case is so different that those instances do not seem to be a precedent for me. After this, what I think may be reasonable for me to do is that such of my subjects, men and women, as are here depending on me should be present at the labour with some of the first rank of this town and such of the foreign ministers as will accept of my invitation; but then as to any of my subjects as may be travelling here and are either no wellwishers or not my declared friends, the question is whether for form's sake they should be invited, though for different reasons they cannot come.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO GENERAL DILLON.

Oct. 22. 1720.

Mr. Illington (himself) has been long confined to the country by his illness, and has no opportunity of advising with friends till he gets to town, which will be before the end of next week; in the meantime he highly approves the printed paper, and hopes some way or other it will be made public. As to what is proposed he dares not of himself advise any thing, but is afraid the time is lost for any attempt that shall not be of force sufficient to encourage the people to come into it. The losers in this game are under expectations of having their losses made up to them in the approaching Session, and will not plunge hastily into any mad hazardous scheme at this juncture, nor perhaps till they begin to despair. Relief cannot possibly come till some time after the Parliament has met, and then the hopes of the disaffected will be kept some time in suspense, and while they have any such hopes they will not run any great risks; and an unsuccessful attempt ruins the game for many years, and certainly ends in the union of the father and son, and of the whole Whig interest to support them. The South Sea project which friends have unwarily run into, as, if it stood and flourished it would certainly have produced a commonwealth, so now it has failed has not wrought up the disaffection of the people to such a pitch but that they have still some hopes left of retrieving their affairs, and while they have so will not be ripe for any great venture; nor can it be yet seen, whether the grand affair can wisely be pushed, till the time of new choosing a Parliament next year, unless the forces to be sent were in much greater quantities than is proposed, or could come hither sooner than it is apprehended they possibly can: but of this more after advising with others;

at present this is the private sentiment only of a single person, who, if he alters his opinion upon comparing it with that of others, will not fail to give you speedy notice of it.

MR. CÆSAR TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

February 28. 1721.

Earl Sunderland has been forced to take in Townshend and Walpole to his assistance, but as he will not give up all into their hands, and they will not be contented without having the disposal of every thing, there is not any prospect of their acting with harmony together. The death of Stanhope will, I believe, embarrass the Court very much in regard to foreign affairs; the whole secret was between him and Abbé Dubois, which I am informed dies with him. I humbly submit it to your consideration whether, at this juncture, attempts should not be made to gain him (Dubois) to your interest. The Tories have been offered carte-blanche if they would heartily come in to support the present government, but they will not hearken to any offers but what shall be for your Restoration.

JAMES TO MR. MENZIES.

Rome, July 20. 1721.

Your letter relating to Lord Sunderland is very satisfactory; that affair seems to be in a good way, and in so good hands that there is nothing to be recommended but the continuance of the same prudent and zealous management.

EARL OF ORRERY TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

October 28. 1721.

The expectations of your friends to have a new Parliament this winter by the interest of the Earl of Sunderland were disappointed. About the latter end of the last Session he gave us reason to believe he should carry that point, which we thought the most material of any that it was proper at that season to ask: he now says, as I hear, that the Elector of Hanover was worked up into such an aversion against it by others belonging to the ministry, and by the Germans about him, that he did not think it fit to push the matter too far, but gave way, and by that means got the other ministers to declare openly that they would not think of prolonging this Parliament by a new law, but would contribute all in their power to have the present Session short, and then would have a new Parliament. This is the substance of the apology he makes, as I am informed; and he pretends still to be a well-wisher to the Tories, who cannot but be a little shocked with this disappointment.

I should be very glad if any one would assist the cause with a constant supply of money, which is continually wanted for several purposes, for intelligence abroad, which we are very deficient in, and would be of great use to us if we could from very good hands be informed of the transactions, views, and intrigues of the European Courts—for maintaining several useful agents both here and in other places, many of whom perpetually want a comfortable subsistence, and particularly at this time of

APPENDIX.

distress, when money is very scarce almost with every body, are driven I doubt to great necessity; and, if there be new elections, I am afraid a considerable sum will be wanted for carrying them on successfully, for corruption is so great among all degrees of men, that though the present spirit, if it continues, will do a great deal in the matter, yet there are so many little venal boroughs, that it is to be apprehended a majority will hardly be carried by the inclinations of the people only.

JAMES TO LORD LANSDOWNE.

(Extract.)

April 13. 1722.

It is certain that although the five persons now concerned were yet more considerable than they are, and though we were sure that they were to act all of them with the greatest union and the utmost vigour, it is not to be imagined that they alone could do the work; and of those five I do not see any one both willing and fit in all respects to act a principal part with the rest of my other friends who might come into the project; and yet how is it possible things can go on without a head and one chief person to direct and manage matters on the other side, and to correspond with this? In the way things have gone on hitherto, diversity of opinions, even joined to disputes and multiplicity of (in some manner) useless letters, have been the chief effect; whereas could what I mention above be compassed, affairs would certainly be carried on with much less confusion and much more harmony and secrecy. I am sensible it will not be easy to find such a person; but were Lord Oxford willing to undertake the task, I know nobody so capable of performing it to advantage. Lord Arran would certainly agree to it, and as the others of that club are disgusted with the Bishop of Rochester, they would, I dare say, heartily enter into it; while, on the other hand, Lord Orrery, Lord Gower, and all that set of friends, would no doubt be pleased with the proposition, although they would not maybe have submitted so cheerfully to the Bishop of Rochester: so that all put together, even laying my Lord Oxford's capacity aside, I cannot think of any other person so capable of uniting all the different sets of my friends as him, neither do I see any other method of acting on a sure foundation but this.

EARL OF ORRERY TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

November 15. 1723.

The chief foundation of any reasonable project must be a good number of regular forces, without which I doubt there will not be encouragement enough for great numbers of the people to rise, or of the army to desert; the body of the people are certainly well disposed towards your interests. It is not an extravagant computation, I believe, that four in five of the whole nation wish well to you, but people of reflection and fortunes will hardly venture their lives and estates unless they see they have some tolerable chance to succeed, and soldiers will hardly desert unless there be a body of soldiers to desert to. Those that govern at present are generally despised and abhorred, but their power is too great not to

be feared, and it is the more feared because they are cruel, without principles, and act in the most arbitrary manner without regard to the known laws or constitution; they have a large army, well paid, well clothed, and well provided for in all respects, ammunition and magazines of all kinds, a large fleet, and the officers of it generally, I believe, devoted to them; the command of all the public money; and by the fatal corruption that prevails almost over the whole nation, the absolute power in both Houses of Parliament. This is a true state of the strength of your enemies—formidable it is and requires a proportional strength to contend with it, or some well laid stratagem to supply the place of such a strength. But there is still another and perhaps a greater disadvantage that your cause lies under, which is the indolence, inactivity, and almost despair of many of your chief friends; they have, indeed, great reason to appear quiet, and to act with the utmost caution, and I could wish they would endeavour to lull the Government as it were asleep, and to make them believe there are no farther thoughts of designs against them. But where there can be a confidence, there they ought to speak with freedom to one another, and never cease proposing some scheme or other till a project can at last be framed to the satisfaction of reasonable people, and a right method of execution agreed upon. But few of your chief friends are very capable, and some of those that are have other infirmities that hinder them from serving the cause in a right manner. I don't care to say more upon this melancholy subject.

LORD LANSDOWNE TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

July 10. 1724.

Our western people have been in a tumultuous way of late, as well as the northern Cameronians. Their leader gave himself the name of Lord Mar, and fought a sharp battle, which lasted above two hours; in the end, regular troops coming in upon them, they were dispersed, and poor Mar was taken: it is odds but he will be hanged, which you will be very sorry for, I am sure, for the name's sake. Thus the only blood that has been drawn in either kingdom has been by a real Mar and a feigned one. Madame de Villette's journey into England was to save no less a sum than fifty thousand pounds, which was lodged in her name in the hands of a banker, who pretended to make a discovery of it to the Government as a forfeiture, upon offering to prove her married to Lord Bolingbroke. It is uncertain how, with all her dexterity, she will be able to clear herself of this difficulty. She has not the luck to please at Court; *elle parle trop, et sans respect*, was the character given her by the Master of the House (1). You can tell, Sir, whether that is a just character: she is your old acquaintance.

DUKE OF WHARTON TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

London, Feb. 3. 1725.

There is a strong report of Lord Bolingbroke's bill being at last fixed; and I had the other day a very long conference on that subject with Lord

(1) King George.

Bathurst, who, when I represented to him Lord Bolingbroke's behaviour to your Majesty, and quoted your own authority for the assertion, answered, that he had not learned to *jurare in verba magistri*, to which I only replied, *Juravi*. We esteem Lord Bathurst entirely departed from your cause, though he will not yet leave us in Parliamentary disputes. I hope his friend Sir William Wyndham will not follow him in his politics as he does in his pleasures.

DUKE OF WHARTON TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

May 1. 1725.

The rage which inflames both parties in the city, who seem entirely sensible of this fatal law (the City Bill), increases every day, and will blaze more and more as they feel the great distractions which must attend the execution of it. The Ministers were alarmed for fear the Common Council of London should have gone (as we had determined they should) to the Duke of Hanover for protection. The enemy, having notice of this design, brought him down to give the Royal assent on the Tuesday, and the House of Lords' Amendments did not pass the House of Commons till the Monday. This precipitation made it impossible for us to execute our scheme; but, however, it shows the world upon how precarious a bottom they stand who are thus frightened at the least shadow. All due care shall be taken to work upon the different passions of those who seem at present to be thoroughly disaffected, and to keep up at the same time the spirit of our old friends. In order to it I shall print my observations on the City Bill, which I hope will contribute to increase their animosities.

The point of Lord Bolingbroke's Bill, which is now depending in the House of Commons, has plainly discovered the sentiments of some persons who before that were labouring to conceal their real inclinations. I should not much regard the zeal which Lord Bathurst and Sir William Wyndham expressed for that Lord's service, when their only pretence was the private friendship that had formerly subsisted between them. But when in a public meeting of some chosen Tories at Lord Bathurst's house, relating to this affair, Lord Bolingbroke's behaviour to your Majesty and your interest was started as an objection to the showing of him the least favour, I think the case altered, and that whoever gives his vote for or against that Lord is to consider himself as a person who by his conduct on that occasion is to appear a dutiful subject and servant to so good a master, or an advocate for treachery and corruption. Sir Christopher Musgrave, Sir Thomas Sebright, and Sir Jermyyn Davers, out of their utter detestation for your Majesty's enemies, bravely opposed the very bringing in of any bill whatsoever; and though several Tories were for it, yet it was the misfortune of many of them not to understand the case, and to believe that what Lord Bathurst and Sir Wyndham said could not be intended to prejudice the party. Mr. Shippen, Strangways, and others were absent, which I believe was owing to an unguarded promise they had made not to oppose it. In the House of Lords our number is so small that any behaviour there will be immaterial, and though I believe some of your Majesty's most dutiful subjects will not attend, yet I am sure they will not blame me if I bear my testimony against him, as having had an opportunity when I

was in France some years ago, of knowing personally the several particulars of his scandalous behaviour. I would not have your Majesty imagine any thing from this, that my warmth should ever carry me to divide from the main body of the Jacobites, for I would at any time curb my passion or restrain the strongest inclinations to unite or reconcile them.

The next point of consequence now before the Parliament is the Bill disarming the Clans of Scotland, which is to be done with the utmost cruelty that the severest tyrant can invent. We are to battle it on Monday next in the House of Lords, and I shall act my part in it. We are afraid that this oppression should exasperate the Clans to oppose the execution of the law by force. But all due care will be taken to induce them to delay their resentments till a proper occasion shall offer. How happy should we be at this juncture to have some little assistance from a foreign Prince!—Lord Lechmere in all these cases votes and speaks with us. He at present seems to have thrown away the scabbard, but I am afraid he is actuated by resentment and not principle, and if he were to be made Chancellor (which the Ministers will never permit) would be as violent a prosecutor of those with whom he at present acts as any Whig of them all.

I propose, as soon as I receive your Majesty's leave, to go abroad for some time.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

(Paris) May 14. 1725.

Lord Lansdowne's paragraph would have surprised me indeed, did I not consider under whose crafty and malicious influence he is; and had I not received of late some letters from him, by which he seems to have entertained thoughts and resolutions that I scarce believe his breast would ever have harboured. I say, seems; for I do not think he will or can execute them on many accounts; and am of opinion he sent them to me on purpose that I should transmit them further: for which reason I did not and do not impart them. Were he and Filmore (Lord Mar) separated, I flatter myself I should dislodge these thoughts and bring him to reason. But as things stand now, I almost despair of seeing him; and till I do, think it will be better to say nothing of what has been written to me.

Nothing more need be said of Lord Bolingbroke, after I have sent you the copy of his petition, and you have observed from it in what a mean state of mind he is, and how low he has stooped to gain a very little point, not worth his while under any other view than that of its being sometime or other an inlet to greater; in which, however, he may be, and I hope will be, deceived; and then, I suppose, we shall hear of him again, if by that time there be any need of him.

DUKE OF WHARTON TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

May 29. 1725.

Your Majesty may be assured that no step taken by the Ministers has done them more prejudice in the opinion of all mankind than the screening

the Earl of Macclesfield; and all parties, especially the old Whigs, are enraged to the greatest degree. Your Majesty will likewise observe the behaviour of the Earl of Strafford on Lord Bolingbroke's Bill. I wish the conduct of another Lord upon that occasion could be mentioned without astonishment.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

(Paris) June 25. 1725.

It is now put beyond all doubt that you have nothing to expect from hence while the strict friendship between England and France continues—and continue it will till matters are made up between Spain and France, of which there is not as yet, you find, Sir, any probability; nor will it happen till the Emperor, whose influence governs all in Spain, has served his ends on France (whatever they are) by this alliance.

It is confessed by France that England is now its only ally, and consequently the alliance betwixt them must be now stricter than ever. And therefore there is nothing now to be managed with France beyond your private concerns which you have ordered to be solicited here, which may probably the rather succeed, because no applications of a more important kind will.

I have considered all the particulars mentioned in your letter, and obeyed all your commands as far as my sad state of health and the recluse solitary life I am obliged to lead have enabled me to do it. Had I more light into things, and more opportunity of gaining it, I might perhaps be somewhat more useful. As the case is with me, I do my best, and what is wanting in abilities endeavour to make out in my prayers for your prosperity and happiness.

DUKE OF WHARTON TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

Rotterdam, July 4. 1725.

Before I left London I communicated to Lord Orrery, Lord Strafford, Dr. Friend, Mr. Cæsar, and Major Smith, the reasons I had to believe that I should be employed abroad in your business, and took their advice as to many particulars relating to the execution of my enterprise. It is certain that, if possible, something should be attempted this summer during the Duke of Hanover's absence, and any foreign Prince who has the least inclination to serve your Majesty should upon this occasion lose no time. The Czarina might, if she would, send unto England and Scotland the fleet now ready to sail, and might surely do the work, for aught I know, without the least opposition; and all resistance would be trifling, let the Whigs make the most of it!

DUKE OF WHARTON TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

Madrid, April 13. 1726.

It would be taking too much of your time to mention the particulars which passed at each conference with Ripperda relating to the unfortunate separation in the Royal Family, which was the first and chief motive of Mr. Col-

lins (the King's) sending Lock (Duke of Wharton) hither. Prior (Duke of Wharton) endeavoured to explain Loftus's (the King's) conduct in its true light. Bentley (Duke of Ripperda) approved of it extremely, and said that the giving a Protestant governor to the Prince of Wales was a prudent and a wise step. He agreed that the King could not, nor ought not, to part with Lord Inverness; but at the same time assured me that it was impossible to bring Kelly and Gibson (the King and Queen of Spain) to reason upon the subject; for that they were, and the Duke of Ripperda feared would continue, implacable upon it. On Monday night the Duke of Ripperda acquainted the King and Queen of Spain that Lock (Duke of Wharton) was arrived, and had letters from his master for them; and the next day he told me that they had ordered him to receive the letters, and that perhaps they might answer them, but would not allow me the honour of waiting upon them. He said that the King of Spain thought the Queen should be satisfied on every point, and that Lord Inverness should be removed, and the seals given to me: to which I answered, that though I should always be proud of serving Collins (the King) in any station, yet I would never consent to accept of an employment from which I should be liable to be removed by the caprice of the Queen, or the malice of one of her maids: so I desired to hear no more upon that head. He then said, as from himself, that Garth (Duke of Ormond) ought to be made governor to the Prince, but I told him that it was impossible; and I believe Loftus (the King) will receive by this post Garth's (Duke of Ormond's) thoughts upon the subject.

I find Garth (Duke of Ormond) has been very active here; but I can say with great truth that nobody that has not been something conversant with this Court can imagine how impracticable it is to do business. The accounts the Duke of Ormond gave the King of this Court, and with which he was so kind as to honour me, are but too true.

DUKE OF WHARTON TO MR. HAY (LORD INVERNESS).

(Extract.)

Madrid, June 8. 1726.

You see now that I am banished England, which is an obligation I owe to the Duke of Ripperda, and I declare that it is the greatest satisfaction to me that my precautions with him were such that I am his only sacrifice. I hope the King will take my behaviour upon this affair as I meant it, which was to avoid any suspicions of lying under the least imputation of playing the second part of the Duke of Mar's tune. I had rather carry a musket in an odd named Muscovite regiment, than wallow in riches by the favour of the usurper.

I wrote a letter to the King of Spain, and it was delivered to him this evening, but his Majesty making no answer to it, I set out infallibly on Tuesday next, and hope to be with you in three weeks, wind, weather, Moors, and Whigs permitting. I am told from good hands that I am to be intercepted by the enemy in my passage. I shall take the best precautions I can to obviate their malice.

I wish the King would recall his Irish subjects from this country, for they have really infected Kelly and Gibson (King and Queen of Spain).

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

(Paris) Sept. 2. 1726.

The strange turn taken by Oldfield (Duke of Wharton) (1) gave me such mortifying impressions, that I have forborne for some posts to mention him at all; and had not you in yours of August 14. spoken largely of his conduct, I should still have continued silent on that article: for, as I cannot any ways approve it, so neither do I care to speak of it as I ought, when it is to no purpose, and the matter is beyond all remedy.

You say, Sir, he advised but with few of his friends in this matter. I am of opinion he advised with none, nor do I hear of a single person concerned in the affair who could reasonably bear that name. Sure I am, whoever gave him such advice (if any body gave it) could not be his friend. It is easy to suppose you were both surprised and concerned at the account when it first reached Rome, since it is impossible you should not be so; the ill consequences are so many, so great, and so evident, I am not only afflicted but bewildered when I think of them. The mischief of one thing you mention, is, that he will scarce be believed in what he shall say on that occasion (so low will his credit have sunk), nor be able effectually to stop the mouth of malice by any after declarations. It is with pleasure however I read your account of Mercer's (the King's) last directions to him relating to Dexby, etc. (Flanders). They seem to me extremely just and proper in many respects, and I hope will find him in a disposition to close with them, whatever he may have written and wished to the contrary. You imagine, I find, Mader (King of Spain) may have had a hand in this turn. I much question it, and methinks the treatment since (if I am rightly informed) proves that point but too clearly. I would to God I could find out any one person in the world he had pleased, that was worth pleasing! for I am touched by his misfortunes, sensibly touched, and afraid lest, upon due reflection, he should sink under the weight of them. For which reason perhaps Mercer (the King) will consider his case with an equal mixture of wisdom and tenderness, and afford him so much countenance and support as is consistent with his own great interest and the measures necessary to be observed with relation to it.

The great abilities of Oldfield (Duke of Wharton) are past dispute. He alone could render them less useful than they might have been.

I do not despair of Coming's (Lord Lansdowne's) breaking off from the party, but neither am I sanguine. A letter he wrote gave me hopes, wherein there are these, or as strong expressions as these, for I have it not now at hand; — speaking of a late dizziness he had, he adds — *The times have been giddy, my Lords; and perhaps I may have partaken of the infection.* His correspondence with me has been smelt out, and great pains are taken to keep him tight, as they call it.

(1) His abjuration of the Protestant faith.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

(Paris) June 16. 1727.

I have had reasons for some time to think, and lately to be satisfied, that my ceasing to deal in your affairs as much as I have done would not be unwelcome to your Majesty, though you have not thought fit as yet to make any such declaration to me. It may therefore, perhaps, be some ease to you, Sir, if I first speak of that matter myself, and assure you, as I now do, of my perfect readiness to retire from that share of business with which it has been hitherto thought not improper to intrust me. I apprehend that as things have been managed it will scarce be in my power for the future to do any thing considerable for your service, which I never hoped to do otherwise than by the countenance and encouragement you should be pleased and should be known to afford me. That has, in many respects and by various degrees, for some time past, but especially of late, been withdrawn. I have been left in all my disadvantageous circumstances to work, as well as I could, without any assistance or support. The methods I have taken of serving you have been disapproved, and many ways traversed. What I have asked more than once, in order to give me that credit which alone can render me useful, has not been granted me. In the meantime vain airs have been taken up and lessening things said of me by those who, upon many accounts, should have acted otherwise; and they have ventured even to boast that the most secret parts of my correspondence have been sent back to them. I have complained, declared the grounds, and proved the truth of my complaints without redress. What has given rise to this conduct, I forbear to conjecture or enquire. Doubtless your Majesty must have good and wise reasons for not appearing to discourage it. I acquiesce in them, Sir, whatever they are, and from my heart wish that all the steps you take towards your great end, may be well adjusted and proper; and then it matters not much who may be in or out of your confidence, or who has or has not the honour of serving you.

EARL OF STRAFFORD TO JAMES.

June 21. 1727.

The alteration here (1) was so sudden and surprising, as no doubt it was to you, that no man knew at first what would be the consequence. The people in the streets ran backwards and forwards, only asking news and enquiring of one another what was to be done: the sudden coming of the Prince and Princess to town, and calling of the Council, immediately turned the expectation of the mob on seeing the ceremony of a proclamation that night, who are always fond of any show or a new thing. They waited till midnight, and were then told it was put off till next day, when all things were performed without the least disorder: the torrent was too strong for your friends to resist, so they thought it their best way to join with the rest to hinder distinction, that their party may be the stronger whenever dissatisfaction breaks out again, which is generally thought will not be long, since the expectation of many who were very patient in the last reign, with

(1) The death of George the First.

a view of alteration in this, will be disappointed, to which rage must succeed to see their adversaries grin and triumph over them, and all their hopes dashed for ever : what may be the event no man can tell. I hope your enemies will however be disappointed, since I am convinced the same violent and corrupt measures taken by the father will be pursued by the son, who is passionate, proud, and peevish, and though he talks of ruling by himself, will just be governed as his father was : his declarations that he will make no distinction of parties, and turning off the Germans, makes him popular at present ; I am satisfied it will not last.

I cannot flatter you to say I believe you will have a majority of friends in the next Parliament, for I find them already desponding and complaining they have ruined their fortunes and are not able to resist this last effort of the Whigs. My endeavours, I assure you, are not wanting to try to keep up their spirits, but the misfortune that has lately happened abroad, with this accident happening on the back of it, has quite sunk their spirits for the present.

You have still a great many friends zealous in your cause, who only want an opportunity to show it, but common prudence to save themselves and families from immediate ruin obliges them at present to play a very disagreeable game ; and though before they had little hopes of mercy, yet should they be found out now they have none.

JAMES TO BISHOP ATTERBURY.

(Extract.)

Near Nancy, August 9. 1771.

I received last night from Luneville yours of the 5th, and at the same time a letter from the Duke of Lorraine, writ in his own hand, in which he desires me in the strongest terms to go out of his country in three days, with a plain intimation that if I delayed it longer he should be forced to oblige me to it by force. He does not name the French in his letter, but it is very manifest that this comes chiefly if not entirely from them, and probably upon instances Mr. Walpole made to the Cardinal upon the return of his courier from England. The Duke of Lorraine expresses the greatest concern to be forced to come to these extremities, which are certainly much against his will. But he cannot resist superior force, neither can I, so that I leave this place on Monday next.

Enfin, in my present situation I cannot pretend to do any thing essential for my interest, so that all that remains is that the world should see that I have done my part and have not returned into Italy but by force. The journey I have made on one side, and my remaining here till I was forced out, may be thought sufficient proofs of that, and the circumstances of my being drove from hence are such as may sufficiently justify me in not going to Switzerland without that people's consent, whose counsels always must be influenced by France or the Emperor ; and even in general I know not whether it would be a right politic for me to expose myself manifestly to be drove out of different States one after another.

EARL OF ORRERY TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

No date, but endorsed (Received, August 1727).

From the instruction I have given the bearer (J. Hamilton), and even from the public accounts, you will be convinced that there is not any room to expect any commotion, or disturbance here at present. We are governed by men of arbitrary principles, and I doubt cruel dispositions; our Parliament are all most universally corrupted; our nobility and gentry are for the most part servile, ignorant, and poor-spirited, striving who shall sell themselves at the best price to the Court, but resolved to sell themselves at any; and our Constitution altered into despotic by the aid of mercenary Lords and Commons. . . . For my own part, though appearances are too melancholy, I do not despair of seeing things both at home and abroad put on a better aspect in a little time. I flatter myself that a breach betwixt this Court and some others of real power, is not unlikely to happen; and any appearance of that, much more any hostile stroke, will soon show the real weakness of this fabric, which now seems very strong; and though there do not yet appear many discontented people upon this change of Government, yet it is probable there will soon arise much animosity against it, and perhaps deeper rooted than ever, from the incapacity, stubbornness, and haughtiness of the present King. This prospect alleviates something of our present miseries, which would otherwise be almost insupportable to men of generous mind and well-wishers of their country. Upon the whole, Sir, let me beg of you never to think of making any rash attempt.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

Aug. 20. 1727.

You will observe, Sir, what a spirit of caution and fear possesses your friends at home, and how they dread any alarm being given to the Government, and taken by it. Something, indeed, must be allowed to Jodrell's (Lord Orrery's) temper, which is wary to excess. However, the persons he consulted with have a deference for his advice: and though not perhaps altogether so cautious as he, yet may be looked upon as ready to join in his opinion. 2007 (Lord Strafford), if in town, would have answered with more spirit; but he was at a distance.

Upon the whole, it appears that nothing is to be expected from them without a foreign and a very considerable assistance; and it slipped from Jodrell (Lord Orrery), in his conversation with the person sent, that that number should not be much less than 20,000; though this particular he omitted in the memoir, and I mention it only to shew their extreme timorousness.

It is plain that the Tories at this turn hoped to get into place, if not into power; and though they resolved to keep their principles and inclinations if they had done so, yet I much question whether they really would; or rather I am satisfied that the bulk of them would not; and therefore it is an happiness to you, Sir, that their aims have hitherto been, and will probably continue to be, defeated.

From the character of Lintall (Duke of Hanover) and his wife given, which is undoubtedly a true one, and from that circumstance of their being not likely long to submit to any man's advice, you have all the reason in the world to expect that their affairs will soon be perplexed, and that the Whigs they employ will grow turbulent and quarrel among themselves. It cannot be otherwise while Olly (Walpole) is at their head, and yet not entirely possessed of all the power and credit he had, and apprehensive of the designs of enemies of the same party, as the case certainly is, to dislodge and disgrace him. This situation will make him naturally cast about how to save himself, either by remaining in power or quitting it: and whether he does the one or the other, confusion will follow.

The war between Walpole and Pulteney is as open and violent as ever; as a proof of which the last Craftsman is sent. But it is a stronger proof that Pulteney himself is not employed; and that the Chetwynds, his friends, and Gumly, his father-in-law, are turned out; and Chesterfield, who has mixed in all his resentments, is to be sent abroad upon an embassy. These things will not extinguish but inflame the quarrel between them; and it cannot be long before it will come to such an height as will give great advantage to your friends at home and abroad.

Walpole will always fear that he stands upon an insecure foundation; that Lintall (Duke of Hanover) dissembles with him as being necessary to his affairs for a time, and will watch the first opportunity to get rid of him. Under these persuasions, he will not act with zeal and cheerfulness, but will probably look out for some supports against what he apprehends may happen to him.

Sir, I return to, and humbly persist in the opinion of your endeavouring by all manner of ways to fix at Avignon, or somewhere on this side of the Alps. 1163 (Cardinal Fleury) cannot in his heart blame you for it, and hitherto seems in some degree to favour it. And should he do otherwise, and come even to extremities, you will be forced to yield with more honour; and he may perhaps open himself to you a little farther than he has as yet done, before he removes you. If he does, that secret will make amends for all his harsh usage.

Your friends at home are apprehensive of your approaching too near the coast, chiefly on their own account, as they reckon they should feel the effects of it. But they can have no just objection to your quitting Italy, and being, though still at a distance, yet in a greater readiness to lay hold of advantages.

DUKE OF WHARTON TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

Parma, May 21. 1728.

The transport I felt at the sight of your Majesty prevented me from recollecting many things which I had proposed to have humbly laid before you; most of which were rendered useless by your Majesty's gracious manner of receiving me.

Your Majesty's goodness in writing to the King of Spain and the Duke of Ormond will, I hope, screen me from the reflections which will be cast upon me by some gentlemen who brand my zeal with the name of madness, and adorn their own indolence with the pompous title of discretion; and who, without your Majesty's gracious interposition, will never comprehend that obedience is true loyalty.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO JAMES.

Paris, Nov. 12. 1731.

I have been obliged to write and print the Paper enclosed, partly for reasons specified in the Paper itself, and partly at the desire of some friends in England; which I comply with the more readily, as it gave me an occasion of doing some little justice to the memory of that great and good man, the Earl of Clarendon; equally eminent for his fidelity to the Crown, and his ill usage on that very account.

Whilst I was justifying his History, I own myself to have been tempted to say somewhat likewise in defence of his character and conduct, particularly as to the aspersion with which he has been loaded of advising King Charles II. to gain his enemies and neglect his friends. A fatal advice! which he certainly never gave, though he smarted under the effects of it, and was sacrificed by his Master to please those who were not afterwards found to be of any great importance to his service. But I considered the ill use that might be made of such an apology, and therefore declined it.

You may perhaps not have heard, Sir, that what happened to my Lord Clarendon, was the first instance in the English story of banishing any person by an Act of Parliament wherein a clause was expressly inserted, to make all correspondence with him penal, even to death. Permit me to add, that I am the second instance of a subject so treated; and may perhaps be the last, since even the inflictors of such cruelties seem now to be weary and ashamed of them.

Having the honour to be like him, as I am, in my sufferings, I wish I could have been like him too in my services: but that has not been in my power. I can indeed die in exile, asserting the Royal cause as he did; but I see not what other way is now left me of contributing to the support of it.

May wisdom govern and success attend all your counsels!

I am, etc.

F. ROFFEN.

BISHOP ATTERBURY TO MR. HAY (LORD INVERNESS), ON HIS ABJURATION OF THE PROTESTANT FAITH.

[This letter has no date, but is endorsed "March 3. 1732," the day it was received, and must have been written very shortly before Atterbury's death (Feb. 15.), so that, in all probability, it was the last letter composed by that highly-gifted man. In the first edition of my second volume, I merely alluded to this letter, but I found that it was quite unknown to many of my readers, it being only printed in a fly-leaf prefixed to the third volume of Atterbury's Correspondence, and not inserted in all the copies of that publication. I was therefore induced to reprint it.]

MY LORD,

About the beginning of December last I wrote to your Lordship, and sent you a paper which I had lately printed here (4). To that letter, though your Lordship used to answer all mine without delay, I had no manner of return. I heard, indeed, soon after I had written to you, of what had

(4) Vindication of Lord Clarendon's Editors.

happened on St. Andrew's day last at Avignon (1), but I did not think a change of religion made any change in the forms of civility; and therefore I still wondered at your silence. Perhaps a reflection on your not having consulted me in that great affair, though I was the only Bishop of the Church of England on this side the water, might make you very shy of writing to me on any other account, and willing to drop the correspondence. You may remember, my Lord, that when you first retired from the King at Pisa, and when you afterwards left Rome and went to Avignon; on both these occasions, you opened to me by letter the reason of your conduct, and gave me an opportunity by that means of expressing my thoughts to you, in the manner I used always to do, that is, frankly and without reserve. In this last step, my Lord, you have acted far otherwise; and yet in this I had most reason to expect that you would not merely have informed me of what had passed, but even consulted me before you took your full and final resolution. My character and course of studies qualified me much better for such an application, than for passing my judgment in matters of state and political managements. If your Lordship entertained any doubts concerning your safety in that religion wherein you had been bred, I might, perhaps, upon your proposing them, have been so happy as to have solved them, and shown you that whatever reason you might have, as to this world, for quitting the communion you were of, you had none, you could have none, as to another.

Since you were not pleased to give me an occasion of writing to you at this time, I have determined to take it, and to pursue my former method of telling you with such plainness as perhaps nobody else will, what the world says of your late conduct.

My Lord, they who speak of it most softly, and with greatest regard to your Lordship, say that it is a *coup de désespoir*; and that your Lordship, perceiving the prejudices of the King's Protestant subjects to run high against you, so that you would never be suffered to be about his person and in the secret of his affairs with their consent, was resolved to try what could be done by changing sides, and whether you might not, at the long run, be able to gain by one party what you had lost by another. They represent you as thinking the King's restoration not soon likely to happen; and therefore as resolved, since you were obliged to live in exile in Roman Catholic countries, to make the best of your circumstances, and recommend yourself, as much as you could, to the natives; that so, if his cause should prove desperate for a time, you might find your way back again into his service, when it would no longer be reckoned prejudicial to his affairs. And they quote some words, which they say fell from your Lordship, to this purpose: "That since you saw nothing was likely to be done for the King, you thought it high time to take care of your soul." I hope in God they belie you, since it gives us, who are at a distance from the secret of affairs, but a very discouraging prospect of the King's restoration, of the probability or improbability of which you, my Lord, must be allowed a more competent judge. And withal, such a saying carries in it something more dishonourable to your Lordship, since it implies, that, had the restoration been near and probable, you would not have troubled your head about matters of religion, but suf-

(1) Lord Inverness renouncing the Protestant, and embracing the Roman Catholic religion.

ferred your soul to shift for itself. They who thus interpret your last step, proceed further, and say, that you intended by that means, if you could not find your way again into the general and open management of the King's affairs, at least to have that part of them attached to you, which related to foreign princes' Courts, to whom what you had done must have rendered you grateful; and thus, while your brother-in-law should have the care of the domestic correspondence, and you all the rest, the whole would have run in proper channels. They affirm, that even upon your first coming back to the King from Pisa, there was a general expectation at Rome, encouraged by the Court of Rome itself, that you would then have declared yourself a Roman Catholic, and that it was prevented only by the representations made at that time to your disadvantage from the King's friends, which occasioned your abrupt retreat to Avignon: and they suppose some private audiences you had at that time tended to this point; that happened then to be defeated, and the declaration itself was postponed to a more convenient opportunity. This, indeed, clashes a little with the former scheme mentioned. God forbid I should suppose either of them! I do not; I merely relate them, and having done so, leave it to your Lordship to make such use of them as you, in your wisdom, shall judge proper.

There are others, my Lord, that reflect on your conduct still more unkindly, and put it in a more odious light; there are those (nor are they few) who are so prejudiced against you as to suppose, for none of them have pretended to prove, that you have played the same game as my Lord Mar did, had a secret understanding with the Ministers on the other side, and received the reward of it; these men, being, as they are, your professed enemies, stick not to say, that since you could not any longer derive merit to yourself from your management near the King, you were resolved to do as much mischief as you could to his affairs at parting, by an action which naturally tended to raise, in the minds of his Protestant subjects, such disadvantageous opinions of him as I need not explain, such as of all others will have the greatest influence toward hindering his restoration. They consider your Lordship as one that has studied your master's temper, and perfectly knows it; as one that never did any thing but what you judged would be perfectly agreeable to him; nothing but with his privity and by his direction. In this light, my Lord, when they see what you have lately done, it is no wonder if they draw strange inferences from it, and impute to your Lordship views which your heart, I hope, abhors. But they will certainly persist in that way of thinking, if they find that your Lordship has still credit with the King, and a share in his confidence; and this, even at this distance, my Lord, will, in a little time, appear to watchful observers. They say it is a sure rule, not to do that which our worst enemies, provided they are wise and understand their own interest, would above all things have us do; and yet your Lordship, they think, has acted after that manner on the present occasion, there being nothing that could either gratify your enemies more, or displease your friends (such, I mean, as are also enemies and friends to the Royal cause), than the step you have taken; and they will not believe, but that if you had meant the King as well as you ought to do, this single consideration would have restrained you. They urge, that the difficulties into which the King is brought by this means, are exceeding great. Let him be ever so well persuaded of your abilities, integrity, and zeal; he yet cannot make a free use of them, without excit-

ing new jealousies, on very tender points, and in very honest hearts, where one would wish that they might, by all possible means, be allayed. Let him have been ever so much a stranger to what passed at Avignon till it was over, he cannot yet prudently declare himself on that head, because of the inconveniences with which such a declaration, in his present circumstances, will be attended on the one side, as his total silence will be liable to misconstructions on the other : every way this affair will perplex him with respect to the different interests he has separately to manage. Abroad, if he were thought to be at the bottom of it, it might do him no harm; at home it certainly will, and there his great interest lies, to which he is, above all others, to attend. Nor will the judgment be passed on this occasion in haste, since it cannot be formed on any thing now given out, but will depend on future facts and appearances.

I have made little mention all this while of what your Lordship may think a full answer to all these reflections and refinements, that you have followed a motion of conscience in what you have done, and depended on that for your justification. It may, my Lord, and I hope will, justify you before God, if you sincerely acted on that principle ; but as for men, the misfortune is (and I beg your Lordship's pardon for venturing to tell you so), that not one person whom I have seen or heard of will allow what you have done to be the effect of conviction. In that case, they say, you would have proceeded otherwise than merely by advising with those into whose communion you were hastening ; especially since it is supposed that your Lordship has not spent much time in qualifying yourself for the discussion of such points by a perusal of books of controversy. Men, they say, of sincerity and truth, are often kept in a religion to which they have been accustomed, without enquiring strictly into the grounds of it ; but seldom any man, who has a sense of piety and honour, quits a religion in which he has been educated, without carefully considering what may be said for and against it. Men, indeed, may be sometimes enlightened and convinced of all at once by an over-ruling impression from above. But, as these cases are exceeding rare, so I need not tell your Lordship that in yours, they that object to your proceedings are by no means disposed to make you such allowances. They think that, had you aimed only at satisfying your conscience, you might have done what you did in a more private manner, and enjoyed the benefit of it in secret, without giving a public and needless alarm ; but, when you chose St. Andrew's day for entering on the work, Christmas day for completing it, and the Pope's Inquisitor at Avignon to receive your abjuration, they conclude that you intended to make an *éclat*, and to give notice to all the world of your embracing a different communion ; which might be useful, indeed, with regard to some political views, but could not be necessary toward satisfying those of mere conscience.

These, my Lord, are the reflections which have been made in various conversations, where I was present, on the subject of what lately passed at Avignon. Many of them cannot be more unwelcome to you than they are to me, who suffer in a cause which such steps are far from promoting. I am mortified, my Lord, to see it thus go backward, instead of forward, and have a right to express my own free sense in such a case, though I have, in this letter, chiefly represented the sense of others ; losers must have leave to speak, and therefore I make no apology for the freedom I have taken. You seem to have approved it on other occasions ; and will

not, I hope, blame it on this, when it is equally intended for your information and service. At the distance we are now, and are likely to continue, I know not how to offer a better proof of the regard with which I am, my Lord, etc.

FR. ROFFEN.

LORD CORNBURY TO JAMES.

(Extract.)

Paris, May 17. 1733.

Upon the whole, the King's cause grows stronger in England, though there are some very unsteady to the King's advantage, and some relations of the King's friends who are not quite just to the King's cause; but I think the Parliament has been the King's friend, for its way of acting has brought the people of England very much more into his interest, put Walpole to great straights, quite ruined the Duke of Hanover and his Government with England, and at the same time taken away (which I am afraid were raised) all hopes from Lord Bolingbroke and his few friends to be well with the Court, by the means of Lord Scarborough, Lord Chesterfield, etc. Lord Carteret and his set will, I dare say, be determined by interest any where but by Walpole; and when they find the King willing to be friends, I guess will be ready to embrace it when they can very safely. The Whigs are in a great rage, and of twenty minds at the same time. The Tories very consistent, and know their own mind, though they have differences with some of the King's friends. Mr. Pulteney has done every thing for the King's service, in all appearances, that could be with prudence, and some think rather more. So that I am fully persuaded that the King's own conduct and the French Ministry's friendship will effectually provide for the King's Restoration.

For the Duchess of Buckingham I cannot say enough to do her justice.

What I mentioned once before permit me to mention again, that a letter, or a civil message, though in the strongest terms, with an eye to have it immediately made public, addressed to the Duke of Hanover and his Lady, offering them safe return to Hanover; expressing that the King has been proscribed and insulted, yet as he despised that treatment at the time, so he abhors it now, and can never forget what becomes him as a Prince, even to those who have never considered themselves but as enemies; I think it cannot but have an effect very much for the King's glory.

EARL MARISCHAL TO JAMES.

Val de Avero, June 21. 1740.

SIR,

As I am in the country any news I could send would come a post later than what your Majesty will have from the Duke of Ormond. He has asked leave to retire, and I design to do the same when he does, for since he could do nothing it is very sure I cannot; neither can I live in Madrid, not being paid, but at a very considerable expense, and though your Majesty should be pleased to offer me what might support me, I should think myself obliged to refuse it, when I knew it would be money ill employed, and that you have more necessary uses for it. I propose, when I

leave this country, to go live either in Switzerland or in Venice, both cheap places for a retirement. In Venice, I have no need of any unnecessary equipage, and I shall be nearer to pay my court from time to time to your Majesty and to the Princes, if, by misfortune, you should remain yet some time in Rome. If I could be of any real service to your Majesty with you in Rome I should solicit that honour, and I know you would grant my request. If I could be of any service as a negotiator in some other place, I would propose it to your Majesty, but I know I cannot, and that it is an employment for which I am noways fit, unless I could go home to negotiate, which I cannot. And therefore I hope your Majesty will be so good as to allow me to live quietly with a great Plutarch, in the way I wish, until there comes an occasion for real service, when you shall find me always ready. I shall expect this indulgence from your Majesty, not for my services, but for my good will to have served you, if I had had the occasion. The oddness of the proceedings of Nicholas (the King of Spain) makes an odd notion come into my head, that he manages the Court of England in the manifesto he made public. It is the pride of the people made the King make war. Every Protestant subject of Proby (Britain) has been treated with spite except two in Cadiz, and yet Mr. Keene was treated not only with civility at his going, but with kindness. They have shunned to name you, Sir, so much as once; what they have done might serve, or they might think so, to distress the people, but nothing has been intended against the English Government, which they know was forced into the war, and which, I am persuaded, they count on as ready to forward peace as soon as they dare, and therefore manage that Government still. They think the people who occasioned the war will soon grow tired of it; and therefore endeavour to distress them by all means, and manage the English Government. The King of Spain refused to the Duke of Ormond an audience: all which confirms me in this odd notion of mine.

What I say of my retiring is meant, when not being paid I cannot stay here: and when I see I can be of no use to your Majesty here.

I am, with the most respectful attachment, etc.

MR. THOMAS CARTE TO JAMES.

Indorsed, Recd. April 17. 1741.

The late attempt against Sir Robert Walpole in the Houses of Lords and Commons in England seems to have been very ill managed and concerted; at least in the latter. It was set on foot by the Duke of Argyle and the party of old Whigs, without either concerting measures with the Tories, or acquainting them with the matter; so that when it was moved in the Commons Sir John Hinde Cotton, and Sir Watkin Williams were forced to go about the House to solicit their friends to stay the debate, which they were vexed should be brought on without their concurrence: and all they could say could not keep Will Shippen and 25 others of the Tories from leaving the House in a body. All Prince Frederick's servants, and party also, except Lytleton, Pitt, and Grenville, Lord Cobham's nephew, left the House; so that though there were once above 500 members in the House, when the question came to be put, about four in the morning, there were not above 400 present. Had all Sir Robert's actual opposers staid, he would not have

carried the question by above 50 votes; but the retiring of so many, encouraged others to stay, and even vote for him, who durst not else have done it. Among those who so voted were Lord Cornbury, Lord Quarendon, the Earl of Lichfield's son, Mr. Bathurst, son of the Lord of that name, and Lord Andover, son to the Earl of Berkshire : though the fathers of the three last voted against Sir Robert Walpole in the House of Lords ; which is an odd circumstance enough. Mr. Sandys moved for an address to remove Sir Robert from all his posts, etc. ; his speech was a very good one, and his accusation of Sir Robert was very strong, clear, and methodical. He was seconded by Lord Limerick : and then Wortley Montagu got up, and moved, that Sir Robert might make his answer to the charge, and withdraw. Precedents were demanded, and searched ; but none could be found, in the hurry, for the Houses ordering a member accused to withdraw whilst his case is debated : another proof of the affair not being well concerted and considered ; for bodies of men always go by precedents ; and there are enough in the Journals of an accused member being ordered to withdraw. This weak attempt to ruin Sir Robert has established him more firmly in the Ministry ; and he was never known to have so great a levee as the next morning : though it is marking him out to the nation ; and ministers once attacked in such a manner, though the attack be defeated, seldom keep their posts long, by reason of the general odium ; and the Duke of Buckingham had a worse fate in 1628. Sir Robert, however, is as yet absolute master of the administration ; and as the squabbles and animosities between those left in it last year obstructed all business then, he will take care probably to have it so modelled, now that his master is going into Germany, for his purpose, that all the power will be in his own hands. I wish he may make a proper use of it.

MR. THOMAS CARTE TO JAMES.

Paris, May 4. 1743.

Upon my arrival in England last year, I found the majority in Parliament, which had been at first in favour of the opposition, turned to the advantage of the Court, by the defection of some of the chiefs of the old Whigs, who had entered with the late Minister into several stipulations ; the three principal of which were, to screen him from public justice ; to keep up a standing army ; and to support Hanover at the expense of England : and, in consideration thereof, one of the offices of Secretary of State, and the two Boards of the Treasury and Admiralty, were to be at the disposal of Mr. Pulteney and his friends. It was necessary to keep this transaction private, because there was such a spirit at that time in Parliament, as well as the nation, (all offers of places, of pensions, and of money, having been rejected by the meanest and most indigent member of the House of Commons,) that, had their measures been known, they would, in all appearances, have been defeated. Thus Sandys, Rushout, and Gybbon were put into the Treasury, at the head of which Lord Wilmington, an old, infirm, quiet, and inactive man, presided, till Mr. Pulteney could take the charge upon him, who, in the mean time, declaimed as much as ever against taking a place himself, and thereby preserved his credit with a great many of his party ; though his play was well enough seen into by the

heads of the Tories, and particularly by Sir John St. Aubin, who was always one of those deputed by this last party to treat with Pulteney, Winchelsea, and other chiefs of the old Whigs, and who gave me this account in the middle of March was twelve month, the first time I waited upon him after my arrival in England. But, to break with them before this was generally known was not thought advisable, so that they found means to carry their point, to screen Sir Robert from punishment, to procure greater supplies than he would have had assurance enough to ask, to keep up a standing army, and to sacrifice England to Hanover.

Notwithstanding all this, your Majesty's cause seems to me to have derived several advantages from that session. Among these I reckon the utter contempt into which Prince Frederick is fallen by his conduct at that time, so that nobody for the future will have any recourse to him, or dependence upon him; but, in case of discontent, will naturally look out for redress from another quarter: and I think the events of that session may naturally enough keep people from ever expecting redress of their grievances in a Parliamentary way, or from any change of a Ministry, or indeed in any way, but by your Majesty's restoration. Another advantage was, the removal of Sir Robert Walpole from all his posts; for whoever succeeds him will hardly succeed to that entire credit he had with his master, by which he kept him from several steps from which he will scarce be deterred by any other's advice.

Another good effect of Sir Robert Walpole's removal was, the bringing of the new set of Ministers into power, whose measures have done your Majesty so much service. There never was a bolder, more blustering and hot-headed Minister than Carteret; and the consequence of all the steps which he inspires will be seen into and felt the first moment, whereas his predecessor proceeded with more art, and it was some time after his measures were taken, that the ill consequences thereof were either apprehended or approved. The world sooner forgets an ill action in a man than an imprudent speech; and in whatever method a man designs to govern, it was certainly no very politic declaration which Carteret made publicly as soon as he got into power, namely, that *it was impossible to govern England but by corruption*; had he said that it was impossible for such men as himself, or for a Whig Ministry, he had been right.

JAMES TO CARDINAL TENCIN.

Albano, ce 27 Juin, 1743.

Rien n'est plus désirable en général pour moi, qu'un voyage du Prince, mon fils, en France; mais si vous méditez sérieusement une entreprise sur l'Angleterre, ne serait-il pas plus prudent de différer un tel voyage jusqu'à l'exécution du grand projet? Car une telle démarche fera un grand éclat, mettra le Gouvernement d'Angleterre sur ses gardes, et l'engagera à mettre tout en œuvre pour se prémunir contre une invasion qu'il regardera alors comme certaine et prochaine. J'ai cru devoir vous faire cette réflexion, mais si en attendant vous me mandez que le Roi de France souhaite que mon fils vienne en France, je l'enverrai.

EARL MARISCHAL TO ———.

Nov. 4. 1743.

Je vous envoie une estampe dont on débite grand nombre parmi le peuple en Angleterre. Le *Starve donc* vient de ce qu'on dit que le pain manquait deux jours parmi les Anglais pendant que les Hanovriens en avaient abondamment. *Bon pour Nicole* est une histoire qu'on fait d'un Français à Hanovre qui ne pouvait pas trouver dans ce pays du pain mangeable, et en ayant fait apporter du meilleur, il dit: *Bon pour Nicole* son cheval, à qui il le donna. Toutes ces choses vraies ou fausses font effet sur le peuple.

PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER (1).

(Extract.)

Paris, Nov. 30. 1744.

The only thing that is good I have to say is, as long as there is life there is hope, that's the proverb. . . . S. Littleton (Sir Thomas Sheridan) found Wright (Cardinal Tencin) in extreme bad humour at the proceeding of Adam (King Louis), and his fellow-lawyers (ministers). *On le serait à moins*. You may imagine how I must be out of humour at all these proceedings, when, for comfort, I am plagued out of my life with *tracasseries* from our own people; who, as it would seem, would rather sacrifice me and my affairs than fail in any private view of their own. Dean (Lord John Drummond) is one of those that has been plaguing me with complaints, but I quieted him in the best manner I could, saying that whatever is said of our people, though never so well grounded, was cutting our own throats.

PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

(Extract.)

Paris, Jan. 3. 1745.

If Isham (himself) had not represented that it was impossible for him to part without paying his debts, or some of them, I believe he would have got little or nothing. Now that he has got at least something, he intends to part to his imprisonment (2), where I believe he will have full occasion to have the spleen, by seeing no appearance of real business, and being entirely out of the way of company, and diversions that accompany any great town; but all this Isham (the Prince) does not regret in the least, as long as he thinks it of service for our great lawsuit: he would put himself in a tub, like Diogenes, if necessary!

(1) The MS. letters of Charles, like several others in this work, display gross ignorance of spelling; but to retain all these errors in printing them, could only serve to weary and perplex the reader.

(2) He retired for some weeks to Fitz-James, the former seat of the Duke of Berwick, near Clermont de l'Oise.

PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

Paris, February 28. 1745.

Sir,

I have received yours of the 1st and 7th current. As I have been so much hurried between balls and business, I shall refer to my next. It would be a great comfort to me to have real business on my hands, but I see little of that at present, as I shall explain in another. It is something surprising to me not to have heard from Lumley (Lord Sempill) this two weeks; and even he owes me an answer to one of mine of that standing: but I easily conceive the reason on't, which is, that after making such a noise of his being able to do a great deal, he does nothing, or he does not care to let me in the confidence of his managements, which, I believe, has happened before now to more than he, for I see here every body thinks himself to be the wisest man in the world!

I lay myself at your Majesty's feet, etc.

CHARLES P.

PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

Paris, March 7. 1745.

I have read and considered the Duke of Perth's message, which is, in the first place, to buy, if Jenkins (the Prince) can possibly, some broad-swords unmounted, for they do that in their own way. . . . He says, that he knew a place where there was a considerable sum of money that he could lay hold on when he pleased, but that not to be attempted till the happy time of action comes. It is a thing absolutely necessary, though I have little hopes myself of any thing being soon to be done anywhere for the cause, to make our friends think otherwise for to keep them in spirits, and not let them be cast down; for which reason the only thing that was in Howell's (the Prince's) power, Jenkins (the Prince) thought should not be let slip for that end, at any cost whatsoever; for which I took upon me to borrow forty thousand livres from young Waters, for to be able to dispatch the messenger back, and buying of broad-swords, which is the only comfort the Prince can give them at present: rather than to have wanted this sum, Isham (the Prince) would have pawned his shirt. It is but for such uses that the Prince shall ever trouble Trig (the King) with asking for money; it will never be for plate or fine clothes, but for arms and ammunition, or other things that tend to what I am come about to this country. I therefore wish that Hanmer (the King) would pawn all Isham's (the Prince's) jewels, for on this side the water Howell (the Prince) would wear them with a very sore heart, thinking that there might be made a better use of them, so that, in an urgent necessity, Howell (the Prince) may have a sum which he can make use of for the cause; for the Prince sees almost every thing at the French Court sticks at the money, as it did in this last enterprise, which was when the Prince insisted for an expedition in Scotland at the same time with England. They answered, they would give me troops, but had not or would not give money or arms; for which reason the having such a sum at command, would be of great use: but, at the same time, the Court of France must not suspect in the least that I have such a sum; for perhaps they may give it now, though they would not then.

PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

Paris, April 19. 1745.

Sir,

I have received yours of the 30th March, at my arrival here, where I intend to pass the week, for to see a firework and a *ball masqué*, given by the Spanish ambassador. I thank your Majesty for being so good as to order the payment of the 40,000 livres, which I took upon me to borrow, and am very sensible at the goodness you have to speak your mind so freely to me, which I am sure is a great relief to me. My want of experience is what I too much know, and would fain get as soon as possible, for to be able to serve you and our country more effectually, and to purpose, which is all that I am put in this world for. I really thought myself very sure of not erring when I took up this money, but finding I mistook, I shall be more rigorous and reserved in doing any thing that is my own thought or opinion for the future. It would be endless for me to write, or for you to read, if I was to enter in the detail of all the little malice and odd doings of Lumley (Lord Sempill), Maloch (Bohaldie), and some others; it is also very disagreeable to me the writing such things. I shall only say at present, as to these matters; this, to conjure you to be on your guard from Kerry (Bohaldie), and Morrice (Lord Sempill), for really I cannot believe a word they say after the lies they told me, particularly that of the paper, which cannot be more demonstration. I think to discharge my conscience in saying this, being very sure of it. At the same time I recommend to you not in the least to seem to be knowing of this malice, for with their *Regiros*, if disgusted, they would certainly do a great deal of harm, to which there is no help. Both Morgan (Mr. O'Brien), and Lumley (Lord Sempill), are doing all their endeavours for my making campaign, but I have too much reason to be afraid they won't succeed, which I own will be very mortifying and cruel. It is very extraordinary Maloch's and Lumley's complaining I would not see them, which is not so, for I have on several occasions said to them, over and over, that they were always welcome wherever I was; but it is certain that they both never say to me any thing to the purpose; I believe, because that they have nothing to say, which makes them both avoid seeing and writing to me as much as possible. You see by this what they are, and that their heads are filled with nothing but malice and spite. Sir Hector has lost his *proie*, for which he is not a little angry, as you may believe, against Lord John, which makes me apprehensive it should end in a challenge. I am doing all I can to hinder it, in which I hope to succeed; at least it won't be want of my pains, which I take in this case to be charity for them both; though as to Lord John, I can't say what he deserves, after such a proceeding. I lay myself at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking blessing.

Your most dutiful son,
CHARLES P.

PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

Navarre, June 7. 1745.

Sir,

I have received yours of the 18th May, there being in it also a note in your own hand. I cannot be too sensible at so much goodness you express towards me. If your Majesty was in this country, I flatter myself you would be surprised to see with your own eyes how I blind several, and impose upon them at the same time they think to do it to me. If I was not able to do this, things here would go at a fine rate, considering what malice there is in this world, and very often only for mischief-sake alone, doing hurt at the same time to themselves. I have nothing more to say at present, but to lay myself most humbly at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking blessing, and remaining

Your most dutiful son,
CHARLES P.

PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

Navarre, June 12. 1745.

Sir,

I believe your Majesty little expected a courier at this time, and much less from me; to tell you a thing that will be a great surprise to you. I have been, above six months ago, invited by our friends to go to Scotland, and to carry what money and arms I could conveniently get; this being, they are fully persuaded, the only way of restoring you to the Crown, and them to their liberties.

After such scandalous usage as I have received from the French Court, had I not given my word to do so, or got so many encouragements from time to time as I have had, I should have been obliged, in honour and for my own reputation, to have flung myself into the arms of my friends, and die with them, rather than live longer in such a miserable way here, or be obliged to return to Rome, which would be just giving up all hopes. I cannot but mention a parable here, which is; a horse that is to be sold, if spurred does not skip, or show some sign of life, nobody would care to have him even for nothing; just so my friends would care very little to have me, if, after such usage, which all the world is sensible of, I should not show that I have life in me. Your Majesty cannot disapprove a son's following the example of his father. You yourself did the like in the year 13; but the circumstances now are indeed very different, by being much more encouraging, there being a certainty of succeeding with the least help; the particulars of which would be too long to explain, and even impossible to convince you of by writing, which has been the reason that I have presumed to take upon me the managing all this, without even letting you suspect there was any such thing a brewing, for fear of my not being able to explain, and show you demonstratively how matters stood—which is not possible to be done by writing, or even without being upon the place and seeing things with your own eyes: and had I failed to convince you, I was then afraid you might have thought what I had a mind to do, to be rash; and so have absolutely forbid my proceedings.

I have tried all possible means and stratagems to get access to the King of France, or his Minister, without the least effect, nor could I even get Littleton (Sir Thomas Sheridan) an audience, who I was sure would say neither more nor less than what I desired, and would faithfully report their answer. As for Wright (the Cardinal), he is not much trusted or well looked upon by Adam (the King of France), who is timorous, and has not resolution enough to displace him. Now I have been obliged to steal off, without letting the King of France so much as suspect it, for which I make a proper excuse in my letter to him; by saying it was a great mortification to me never to have been able to speak and open my heart to him; that this thing was of such a nature that it could not be communicated by any of the ministers or by writing, but to himself alone—in whom, after God Almighty, my resting lies, and that the least help would make my affair infallible. If I had let the French Court know this beforehand, it might have had all these bad effects:—1st, It is possible they might have stopped me, having a mind to keep measures with the Elector, and then, to cover it over, they would have made a merit of it to you, by saying they had hindered me from doing a wild and desperate thing: 2dly, My being invited by my friends would not be believed; or at least would have made little or no impression on the French Court. . . .

I have sent Stafford to Spain, and appointed Sir Thomas Geraldine to demand succours in my name, to complete the work, to whom I sent letters for the King and Queen, written in the most engaging terms, to the same purpose. Let what will happen, the stroke is struck, and I have taken a firm resolution to conquer or to die, and stand my ground as long as I shall have a man remaining with me. I think it of the greatest importance your Majesty should come as soon as possible to Avignon, but take the liberty to advise that you would not ask leave of the French Court; for if I be not immediately-succoured, they will certainly refuse you...

Whatever happens unfortunate to me cannot but be the strongest engagements to the French Court to pursue your cause. Now if I were sure they were capable of any sensation of this kind, if I did not succeed, I would perish, as Curtius did, to save my country, and make it happy; it being an indispensable duty on me, as far as lies in my power. Your Majesty may now see my reason for pressing so much to pawn my jewels, which I should be glad to have done immediately; for I never intend to come back, and money, next to troops, will be of the greatest help to me. I owe to old Waters about 60,000 livres, and to the young one above 120,000 livres. I and Sir Thomas will write more fully to Edgar about these matters, both as to the sum I carry with me and arms, as also how I go. I write this from Navarre, but it won't be sent off till I am on shipboard. If I can possibly, I will write a note and send it from thence at the same time. I have wrote to Lord Marischal, telling him to come immediately, and giving him a credential to treat with the Minister for succours. To the Duke of Ormond I have writ a civil letter, showing a desire of his coming here immediately, but at the same time leaving it to his discretion so to do. I should think it proper (if your Majesty pleases) to be put at his Holiness's feet, asking his blessing on this occasion; but what I chiefly ask is, your own, which I hope will procure me that of God Almighty upon my endeavours to serve you, my family, and my country; which will ever be the only view of

Your Majesty's most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

[Second Letter.]

Navarre, June 12. 1745.

Sir,

I made my devotions on Pentecost day, recommending myself particularly to the Almighty on this occasion to guide and direct me, and to continue to me always the same sentiments, which are, rather to suffer any thing than fail in any of my duties. I write to you this apart, for to entreat your Majesty, in the most earnest manner, to desire Grevill (the King) for God's sake not to give to Howell (himself) what he designed, that is a secret; for it would be of the greatest hurt to his farm. Let not his engagement with a certain person be any hindrance, for circumstances are changed, by which, if there was any question of that, one can find ways to come off on't. I must repeat this, that Grevill and his family is ruined if he does that thing. Grevill thinks this is an absolute secret; but he is mistaken, for I have heard it from several people, to whom I flatly denied it, and said I was very sure it was not true, to which every one of these said, God be praised; for if it were so, both father and son would be undone. Sovereigns upon the throne can do such things: and even then it is not advisable; but a private man ruins himself and his family in doing on't, especially one that has great many enemies. I lay myself again most humbly at your Majesty's feet; and remain your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

PRINCE CHARLES TO MR. EDGAR.

Navarre, June 12. 1745.

I here enclose you the King's and Duke's letters; one for Lord Dunbar, and another for B. Tencin. If the bearer be one Pleve, I know him to be very honest, and a good servant. Macdonald is his master, whom I carry with me; so the servant deserves to be taken care of. Having writ a long letter to the King, I chose to refer some particulars to be added to yours, which are these:—I owe old Waters about 60,000 livres, part of which went to the payment of my debts last winter, which the French Court did not think fit to complete. Young Waters has advanced me 120,000 livres, and promised to pay several other things which I have referred to him. It will be absolutely necessary to remit these two sums immediately; and young Waters desires that his money may be sent by Belloni directly to himself, without letting the old man know he made any such advance; and whatever other money may be remitted for my use, the best way will be to send it to the young one—for the other, I believe, will be glad to be eased of that trouble. All this money I have employed in my present undertaking, having bought fifteen hundred fusees, eighteen hundred broad-swords mounted, a good quantity of powder, ball, flints, dirks, brandy, etc., and some hundred more of fusees and broad-swords, of which I cannot at present tell the exact number. I have also got twenty small field-pieces, two of which a mule may carry; and my *cassette* will be near four thousand louis-d'ors: all these things will go in the frigate which carries myself. She has twenty

odd guns, and is an excellent sailer; and will be escorted by one, and perhaps two men-of-war, of about seventy guns each. It will appear strange to you how I should get these things without the knowledge of the French Court. I employed one Rutledge and one Walsh, who are subjects. The first got a grant of a man-of-war to cruise on the coast of Scotland, and is, luckily, obliged to go as far north as I do, so that she will escort me without appearing to do it. Walsh understands his business perfectly well, and is an excellent seaman. He has offered to go with me himself, the vessel being his own that I go on board of. He has also a man-of-war that will likewise go with me, if she can be got ready in time, and a frigate of forty-four guns, which he took lately from the English, and is manning, to be sent out with all expedition. He lives at Nantes; and I expect a copier every moment from him with an account that all is ready; and then I must lose no time to get there, and go directly on board. If there be no danger of being stopped or discovered, I shall write from thence. Adieu, friend. I hope it will not be long before you hear comfortable news. In the meantime, be assured of my constant friendship.

CHARLES P.

P. S.—I send you here also, enclosed, an authentic copy of what is to be printed and dispersed at my landing. I have forgot also to mention, that I intend to land at or about the Isle of Mull. I enclose you here also five letters, and one open, to yourself; all from Sir Thomas.

PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

Navarre, June 20. 1745.

Sir,

I have just received yours of the 24th May. I do not at all doubt but that Cannilliao's tongue would go post at the news of the battle in Flanders, as he will also do for this new victory gained by the King of Prussia. I am, thank God, in perfect good health; but the time seems very long to me for to make use of it to the purpose. I have nothing in the world new. I suppose Morgan (Mr. O'Brien) and Morrice (Lord Sempill) write distinctly what they have to say. As for the latter, it is long since I have quite given up believing in the least any thing he says, which makes me never mention him. I lay myself at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking blessing.

Your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

P. S.—As I finished this, I received yours of the 1st, and am heartily sorry for poor General Macdonald's death. I shall not fail to be attentive to what you mention in your little note.

PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

St. Nazaire, at the Mouth of the Loire, July 2. 1745.

Sir,

The contrary winds that have been blowing hitherto, have deferred my embarking, which will be this afternoon, at seven, for to go to the ren-

dezvous of the man-of-war of 67 guns, and 700 men aboard, as also a company of sixty volunteers, all gentlemen, whom I shall probably get to land with me, I mean to stay; which though few, will make a show, they having a pretty uniform. The number of arms are just as I mentioned in my last of the 12th, that goes with this, except the augmentation I was in hopes of is of a hundred or two less than I expected, which is no odds. I keep this open, and do not send it until I am fairly set off from Belle Isle—*id est* the rendezvous—so that I may add a note to it, if being sea-sick does not hinder; if it does, Sir Thomas will supply in mentioning what more may occur. It is a mortification to me to want so many of your packets which are lying at Paris, because of the daily expectation of parting. We have nothing to do now but to hope in the Almighty favouring us and recompensing our troubles; which, as you may see by the nature of the thing, were not small. I hope in God my next will bring comfortable news. In the mean time I remain, laying myself at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking your blessing,

Your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

PRINCE CHARLES TO MR. EDGAR.

St. Nazaire, July 2. 1745

This being the last note I shall write this side of the seas, I would not fail to give you adieu in it, making my compliments to Lord Dunbar, and to as many of my friends as you shall think convenient and proper. I enclose herewith letters for the King and Duke. I hope in God we shall soon meet, which I am resolved shall not be but at home.

In the mean time I remain, etc.

CHARLES P.

P. S.—*Belle Isle à la Rade, the 12th July.* After having waited a week here, not without a little anxiety, we have at last got the escort I expected, which is just now arrived, *id est*, a ship of 68 guns, and 700 men aboard. I am, thank God, in perfect good health, but have been a little sea-sick and expect to be more so; but it does not keep me much a-bed, for I find the more I struggle against it the better.

PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

A bord du vaisseau le Du Belhier, à l'ancre dans la Baie de Longhaylort, le 2 Août, V. S. 1745.

Sire,

J'ai reçu des services si importants de M. Antoine Walsh, qu'il n'y a rien que je ne me croie obligé de faire pour lui en témoigner mon agrément. Ainsi je lui ai promis d'employer tout mon crédit auprès de Votre Majesté pour lui obtenir le titre de Comte d'Irlande. Il est issu d'une fort bonne famille, très en état de soutenir la dignité de ce nouveau titre, et n'a pas besoin d'autre chose. C'est la première grace que je vous demande depuis mon arrivée dans ce pays. J'espère bien que ce ne sera pas la dernière, mais en tout cas, je vous supplie de me l'accorder. Je la regarderai comme une obligation particulière, accordée à votre très-obéissant fils,

CHARLES P.

PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

Longhaylort, August 4. O. S. 1745.

Sir,

I am, thank God, arrived here in perfect good health, but not with little trouble and danger, as you will hear by the bearer, who has been along with me all along, that makes it useless for me to give any accounts and particulars on that head. I am joined here by brave people, as I expected. As I have not yet set up the Standard, I cannot tell the number, but that will be in a few days, as soon as the arms are distributed; at which we are working with all speed. I have not as yet got the return of the message sent to the Lowlands, but expect it very soon. If they all join, or at least all those to whom I have sent commissions, at request, every thing will go on to a wish. Sir Hector's (1) being taken up, is of no other consequence but of perhaps frightening some few; for they can make nothing of him, nor of some papers that were found in his room, which he denies having any knowledge of. The commissions, along with the declaration, are arrived safe, and in a proper hand. The worst that can happen to me, if France does not succour me, is to die at the head of such brave people as I find here, if I should not be able to make my way; and that I have promised to them, as you know to have been my resolution, before parting. The French Court must now necessarily take off the mask, or have an eternal shame on them; for at present there is no medium, and we, whatever happens, shall gain, an immortal honour by doing what we can to deliver our country, in restoring our master, or perish with sword in hand. Your Majesty may easily conceive the anxiety I am in to hear from you. Having nothing more particular at present to add (not being able to keep the ship longer, for fear of men-of-war stopping her passage entirely) I shall end, laying myself with all respect and duty at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking a blessing.

Your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

PRINCE CHARLES TO MORAY OF ABERCAIRNEY.

Kinlochiel, August 22. 1745.

This is to let you know that I have set up the Royal Standard, and expect the assistance of all my friends. I want money in particular; and as I depend upon what I know you have promised me, I desire you would pay it immediately into the hands of Arnprior, or send it by a sure hand to whatever place I shall be in.

You must not doubt me but that I shall be always ready to acknowledge this and all other services, and to give you proportionable marks of my favour and friendship (2).

CHARLES P. R.

(1) Sir Hector Maclean.

(2) This letter is printed in the *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 24. Several others, to the same purport, were written on that day.

PRINCE CHARLES'S INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. HICKSON.

Sept. 22. 1745.

You are hereby authorised and directed to repair forthwith to England, and there notify to my friends, and particularly those in the north, and north west, the wonderful success with which it has hitherto pleased God to favour my endeavours for their deliverance. You are to let them know, that it is my full intention, in a few days, to move towards them, and that they will be inexcusable before God and man, if they do not all in their power to assist and support me in such an undertaking. What I demand and expect is, that as many of them as can shall be ready to join me, and that they should take care to provide provisions and money, that the country may suffer as little as possible by the march of my troops. Let them know that there is no time for deliberation,—now or never is the word: I am resolved to conquer or perish. If this last should happen, let them judge what they and their posterity have to expect (1).

C. P. R.

PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

Edinburgh, Oct. 1. O. S. 1745.

It is impossible for me to give you a distinct journal of my proceedings, because of my being so much hurried with business, which allows me no time; notwithstanding, I cannot let slip this occasion of giving a short account of the battle of Gladsmuir, fought on the 21st of September, which was one of the most surprising actions that ever was. We gained a complete victory over General Cope, who commanded 5,000 foot, and two regiments of the best dragoons in the island, he being advantageously posted, with also batteries of cannon and mortars, we having neither horse or artillery with us, and being to attack them in their post, and obliged to pass before their noses in a defile and bog. Only our first line had occasion to engage, for actually, in five minutes the field was cleared of the enemies; all the foot killed, wounded, or taken prisoners; and of the horse only 200 escaped, like rabbits, one by one. On our side we only lost a hundred men, between killed and wounded; and the army afterwards had a fine plunder.

PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

Edinburgh, Oct. 15. O. S. 1745.

Sir,

I have at last had the comfort of receiving letters from you, the latest of which is of the 7th Sept. N. S. I am confounded and penetrated with so much goodness and tenderness your Majesty expresses to me in all your letters. It is a grief to me that my keeping Strickland has given you one moment's concern, but I shall send him away in all haste. I hope your Majesty is persuaded that this fault, or any others I may have committed, is no want of the respectand submission which you will always find in me. I remark your letter to the King of France, in which you do me more honour than I deserve.

(1) Mr. Hickson proceeded as far as Newcastle, but was there arrested and put into prison, and these instructions found upon him.—(See Calloden Papers, p. 226.)

I wish to God I may find my brother landed in England by the time I enter it, which will be in about ten days; having then with me near 8000 men, and 500 horse at least, with which, as matters stand, I shall have one decisive stroke for it, but if the French land, perhaps none. I cannot enlarge on this subject as on many others, for want of time, because of such a multiplicity of things which hourly occur for the service of the affair. Adam (King Louis) has sent me a gentleman (who brought me your letters) to stay with me, for to give notice of any thing that I may want, which, as he says, will be done immediately; accordingly I am sending off immediately three or four expresses, all to the same purpose, so that some one may arrive. What is said is very short, pressing to have succour in all haste, by a landing in England; for that, as matters stand, I must either conquer or perish in a little while. Thank God, I am in perfect good health, but longing much for the happy day of meeting.

In the mean time, I remain, etc.

CHARLES P.

The ship being just ready to go off, I have only time to enclose here a scrawl of the account of the battle, which I in a hurry writ some days ago.

PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

Edinburgh, Oct. 22. O. S. 1745.

Sir,

I have charged Sir James Stewart to carry this as far as Paris, and to forward it immediately by a courier to your Majesty; as also to write you a distinct account of the situation of affairs. He is an understanding capable man, and can be depended on, which has made me choose him to send to the French Court with proper compliments to the French King, and to hasten them for succours. I hope your Majesty will be satisfied with his proceedings. As I have nothing particular to add, but what he can say, makes it needless for me to say any more at present. I am, thank God, in perfect good health, but still in the usual anxiety for want of letters, to which there is no help but patience. I lay myself at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking blessing; and remaining, with the profoundest respect,

Your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

P. S.—As I writ to you in my last, I shall not fail to get rid of Strickland as soon as possible. Your Majesty, I hope, will forgive this scrawl, not having time to write it over, being so much hurried with business.

THE FRENCH ENVOY TO THE DUKE OF PERTH.

[From the Duke of Perth's Papers taken in the Retreat.]

A Carlisle, ce Dimanche (Nov. 1745).

Milord Duc,

On vient d'ôter à mes gens un pauvre lit qu'ils avaient à trois; de sorte qu'il faut que je les couche dans le mien, ou que je les envoie passer la nuit à la rue, vu le beau temps qu'il fait! Enfin, milord Duc, que ceux

qui sont chargés du détail des logemens prennent des mesures pour m'épargner la nécessité de prendre un parti qui me mettra dans le cas de n'avoir plus à me plaindre après m'être plaint si souvent et si inutilement. Vous êtes bon et avisé; vous avez mille bontés pour moi; au nom de Dieu, faites que les choses soient en règle une bonne fois, et qu'enfin mes gens aient à se coucher ce soir.

Je suis avec respect, etc. etc.

BOYER.

PROCLAMATION TO THE INHABITANTS OF MANCHESTER.

[See Chambers's History, vol. i. p. 271.]

Manchester, Nov. 30. 1745.

His Royal Highness being informed that several bridges had been pulled down in this county, he has given orders to repair them forthwith, particularly that at Crossford, which is to be done this night by his own troops, though his Royal Highness does not propose to make use of it for his own army, but believes it will be of service to the country; and if any forces that were with General Wade be coming this road, they may have the benefit of it!

C. P. R.

PRINCE CHARLES TO ONE OF HIS OFFICERS.

Je vous ordonne d'exécuter mes ordres ou de ne plus retourner.

THE PRETENDER TO PRINCE CHARLES.

Albano, June 6. 1746.

God knows where or when this will find you, my dearest Carluccio, but still I cannot but write to you in the great anxiety and pain I am in for you, from what the public news mentions from Scotland. I know nothing else; and I doubt not but those accounts are exaggerated, considering from whence they come. But still it is but too plain to see that affairs with you don't go as I could wish. I am, though, still in hopes you may be able to keep your ground in Scotland till you can have assistance from France: but if you really cannot maintain yourself in Scotland, do not, for God's sake, drive things too far; but think of your own safety, on which so much depends. Though your enterprise should miscarry, the honour you have gained by it will always stick by you; it will make you be respected, and considered abroad, and will, I think I may answer for it, always engage the French to protect and assist you, and to renew in time another project in your favour; so that you should really have no temptation to pursue rash or desperate measures at this time, for should you do so, it would be the ruin of all, and even a drawback from the honour you have already gained. In fine, my dear child, never separate prudence and courage. Providence has wonderfully assisted you hitherto, and will not abandon you for the time to come. This I firmly hope, while I shall not cease to beseech God to bless and direct you. Adieu, my dearest child, I tenderly embrace you, and am all yours. Once more, God bless you, and protect you.

JAMES R.

"A JOURNAL OF THE PRINCE'S TRANSACTIONS SINCE THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN TO THIS DAY, AS TAKEN FROM HIS OWN MOUTH."

This narrative is short and summary. The following is an account of Charles's disguise and assistance from Flora Macdonald :—

The Prince finding, as was proposed, that the best method was to disguise himself in woman's clothes, with a young lady that had a protection, he took his party to do so. The very night before he was to go off, landed General Campbell within a mile or two of him, which obliged the Prince to go a couple of miles southward to avoid the pressing danger, and wait the gloaming of the evening to get away; and for his comfort he had the men-of-war cruising before him, who luckily, towards night-fall, sailed off, which gave him the opportunity of making for Mungaster in Skye,—Lady Margaret Macdonald's house. 12th July. The Prince left Mr. O'Neal at Benbecula, as also his own arms, as the young lady refused to go if he or any other should carry any; but he insisted he might safely carry his pistols under the petticoats, as in case of search all would be discovered: but he could not prevail.

In the way to Mungaster, before mid-day, as he was crossing a point, a guard of the Mac Leods challenged the boat; but he not minding to answer, they fired on the boat.

As soon as he landed, the young lady went to Lady Margaret's, and the Prince, at some distance, to wait a friend; and that evening he walked eight miles to a gentleman's house, where he was to meet the young lady again; but being unused to petticoats, he held them, in walking, up so high that some common people remarked an awkwardness in wearing them, which being told, he was obliged to change his habit again next day; and went, being advised that Rasay was the best place to go to. He walked that evening eight miles, it pouring rain all the while, to get to the shore at——: there, being in men's clothes, he parted with the young lady, and embarked in a little boat for Rasay; being told the enemy was still on the main land.

(Another Extract.)

July 19. The Prince arrived at the main land in Glengary Morar, or North Morar, at the point of Loch Nevis, and having waited there three days to have intelligence, but to no effect, he resolved the eleventh day to try what intelligence he could get, and to cross a Loch within a mile of Scotus-house—(Nota Bene: all that time that he waited, he was exposed to wind and weather, and was excessively straightened for any kind of provision—) which he executed; and just as he crossed a little point entering the Loch, he stumbles on a boat of the enemy's, which was hidden in the Loch, when those who were ashore ran to their boats, which startled them a little; but the Prince, having along with him Mackinnon (and three Camerons) consulted with him what best to do; and he saying, that there was no possibility to avoid them, the best method was to put on a bold face, and make up to them, which accordingly was done—and proved to effect, for, as luck would have it, they happened to be only five, and so only questioned them, and let them go on; but, upon reflection, after we had passed them and gone down the Loch, fearing that more of them might have been

sont inséparables, et doivent être regardés comme tels par tous ceux qui ont l'honneur d'approcher de votre Majesté, et qui ont sa gloire et l'avantage de son royaume à cœur.

CHARLES P. R.

PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

Paris, December 19. 1746.

Sir,

I have received yours of the 28th, and have read it with tears in my eyes, not so much for the loss of my old acquaintance (1), as for the so many expressions of your Majesty's goodness to me, which I shall always be at pains to deserve, by doing what I can to serve and obey you. It is my duty to say and represent to your Majesty what I in my conscience think, as to some people; after which it is for you to judge, and I to obey what commands you think fit to give me. I cannot, without a new cipher (as I took the liberty already to say), put your Majesty into the light of several things, which, when I shall be able to do, I flatter myself you will approve of my proceedings; which I am very sensible at present must appear odd to you. It is my humble opinion it would be very wrong in me to disgrace G. K. (2), unless your Majesty positively ordered me to do it. I must do him the justice to assure you I was surprised to find your Majesty have a bad opinion of him; and hitherto I have had no reason to be dissatisfied with him, for this was the first I heard of his honesty and probity to be in question. I shall take the liberty to represent, that if what he has been accused of to you, he wrote from hence, there is all reason to believe, *id est*, in my weak way of thinking, that such that have writ so to you mistake, because of my never having heard any body accuse him to me here of such things, and my having declared that my ears were open to every body, so as to be the better able to judge the characters of people. As Sir Thomas is dead and gone, it is useless to be troubling your Majesty for to justify him, but shall let it alone at present, until you to do it order me. I must own I am now entirely convinced F. S. (3) was an ill man, by a circumstance your Majesty mentions to me of him. I have never shown to any body your Majesty's letters, but to the Duke, as I ought to have mentioned before; and for this last I have not shown it to him, as also not this answer. I do nothing without consulting my dear brother; and when I happen to do contrary to his opinion, it is entirely of my own head, and not by any body's else advice, for I can assure your Majesty I myself trust no body more than I do him, as, with reason, I tell him every thing I can: but I am afraid some people have given him a bad opinion of me, for I suppose I must own he does not open his heart to me. I shall always love him, and be united with him. Whatever he does to me, I will always tell him face to face what I think for his good, let him take it well or ill. I know him to be a little lively, not much loving to be contradicted; but I also know and am sensible of his love and tenderness for me in particular beyond expression, and of his good heart in general. Your Majesty cannot imagine what trouble I am at about trifles, which I cannot avoid without neglecting my duty—which I hope will never be the case. I am in hopes

(1) Sir Thomas Sheridan, who died shortly after his arrival at Rome.

(2) George Kelly.

(3) Francis Strickland.

I shall be able soon to send to your Majesty a person of trust—and it would be of consequence nobody should know of it; so that he should carry my dispatches, and I receive your orders without its being known he carried them. In the meantime I can say no more; and so remain, with all respect, asking blessing, your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

P.S.—I hope your Majesty will excuse the freedom with which I write this letter, as also the liberty I take to assure you that whatever I say to you will never proceed from partiality or pique, but plainly what I think. I suppose O'Brien has already given an account to you of what pains I am at, and what has been done concerning the poor Scotch. I told Marquis d'Ar-genson t'other day how sensible I was at the King's goodness for what he has done for them, and that I would go, if necessary, upon my knees for them; but that I would never ask any thing for myself; for I came only in this country to do what I could for my poor country, and not for myself. The said Marquis answered, that it was his Christian Majesty's intention to give to as many as came over, and that I should only give a list, and it would be continued; and I upon that most earnestly thanked his Most Christian Majesty, when I had the pleasure of seeing him t'other day, and must do him the justice in saying, he was extremely civil to us, as also all his family. O'Sullivan showed me the letter your Majesty did him the honour to write to him. I cannot let slip this occasion to do him justice by saying I really think he deserves your Majesty's favour. Townly is not the discreetest man upon earth. He was making a rout, that he, being the only Englishman, was neglected, when all the rest got something or another. I was plagued with him several times on that strain. At last I stopped his mouth, having the good luck to get for him the Croix de St. Louis. I suppose you have been already informed of it. I do not mention so many trifles of that kind, supposing others supply for me in that. I am in hopes poor Cardinal Acquaviva will escape this bout, for I believe him to be a good friend of ours.

PRINCE CHARLES TO HIS FATHER.

(Extract.)

Paris, January 16. 1747.

In reality I do not doubt of the honesty of those about me, though they may not have all the capacity in the world. I find it now-a-days so rare to find an honest man, that any that has given me proofs of being so, (unless your Majesty orders me, or I find I am deceived by any of them on any the least trifle,) I would part with them with a sore heart. Notwithstanding I offered to my dear brother, that any one, or all about me, that he had a disgust for, I would dismiss, to make him easy; to which he assured me he had no dislike for any body, and did not want any such thing. He does not open his heart to me, and yet I perceive he is grieved, which must proceed from malicious people putting things in his head, and preventing him against me. Notwithstanding I am persuaded he loves me tenderly, which is the occasion of my grief. God Almighty grant us better days. I lay myself at your Majesty's feet, most humbly asking blessing.

Your most dutiful son,

CHARLES P.

the town and away immediately. I told him, though I had made a long journey, notwithstanding, being young and strong, I would be ready to go away that very same night; but that, if he cared to assist me in the least, he must allow me a little time to explain and settle things with him, that if he pleased, I would be next day with him again. He agreed to that, but that absolutely it was necessary, to do a pleasure to the King, I should part the day after. I went to him as agreed upon, and brought a note of what I was to speak to him about, which, after explaining, I gave to him, a copy of which I enclose here, along with the answer he made before me, in writing, which seems to me not to say much. He pressed me again to part next day. I represented it was an impossibility, in a manner, for me to go before any of my people coming up. At last he agreed to send along with me Sir Thomas Geraldine, as far as Guadalupe, where I might wait for my family.

We parted, loading one another with compliments.

PRINCE CHARLES TO LORD CLANCARTY.

Paris, March 26. 1747.

I thought it proper to come back again in this country (but intend to keep myself absolutely in private), as the season is now favourable to make another attempt, and to bring these people here to reason if possible. On our side we must leave no stone unturned, and leave the rest to Providence. If you have any thing to let me know of, you have only to write to me under cover to young Waters, who will always know where to find me. At present I have nothing more particular to add, so remain, assuring you anew of my constant regard and friendship.

CHARLES P. R.

S—— TO MR. MURRAY (LORD DUNBAR).

Paris, April 15. 1747.

My Lord,

An Irish cordelier, called Kelly, who gives himself out for the Prince's confessor, has distributed in this town an infamous paper, entitled a Sonnet on the Death of a Caledonian Bear, and has been indiscreet enough to publish that his Majesty has been of late troubled with vapours, which have affected his judgment, and that your Lordship governs him despotically; in fine, he has said that the King is a fool, and that you are a knave. As he is known to have access to his Royal Highness, his discourse has produced very bad effects; people imagine that the Prince contemns his father. I am persuaded he does not deserve that censure. It were to be wished, however, that his Royal Highness would forbid that friar his apartment, because he passes for a notorious drunkard. The opinion prevails here that the cordeliers in general are great drinkers, yet even among them this Kelly is infamous for his excesses; in fine, the wine of the Prince's table is termed friar Kelly's wine; and the same person who governs his conscience is said to regulate his diversions, and his Royal Highness's character in point of sobriety has been a little blemished on this friar's account.

I am your Lordship's, etc.

THE PRETENDER TO PRINCE CHARLES.

Albano, June 13. 1747.

I know not whether you will be surprised, my dearest Carluccio, when I tell you that your brother will be made a Cardinal the first day of next month. Naturally speaking, you should have been consulted about a resolution of that kind before it had been executed; but, as the Duke and I were unalterably determined on the matter, and that we foresaw you might probably not approve of it, we thought it would be showing you more regard, and that it would be even more agreeable to you, that the thing should be done before your answer could come here, and to have it in your power to say, it was done without your knowledge and approbation. It is very true I did not expect to see the Duke here so soon, and that his tenderness and affection for me prompted him to undertake that journey; but after I had seen him, I soon found that his chief motive for it was to discourse with me fully and freely on the vocation he had long had to embrace an ecclesiastical state, and which he had so long concealed from me and kept to himself, with a view, no doubt, of having it in his power of being of some use to you in the late conjunctures. But the case is now altered; and, as I am fully convinced of the sincerity and solidity of his vocation, I should think it a resisting the will of God, and acting directly against my conscience, if I should pretend to constrain him in a matter which so nearly concerns him. The maxims I have bred you up in and have always followed, of not constraining others in matters of religion, did not a little help to determine me on the present occasion, since it would be a monstrous proposition that a King should be a father to his people and a tyrant to his children. After this, I will not conceal from you, my dearest Carluccio, that motives of conscience and equity have not alone determined me in this particular; and that, when I seriously consider all that has passed in relation to the Duke for some years by-gone, had he not had the vocation he has, I should have used my best endeavours and all arguments, to have induced him to embrace that state. If Providence has made you the elder brother, he is as much my son as you, and my paternal care and affection are equally to be extended to you and him, so that I should have thought I had greatly failed in both towards him, had I not endeavoured by all means to secure to him, as much as in me lay, that tranquillity and happiness which I was sensible it was impossible for him to enjoy in any other state. You will understand all that I mean without my enlarging further on this last so disagreeable article; and you cannot, I am sure, complain that I deprive you of any service the Duke might have been to you, since you must be sensible that, all things considered, he would have been useless to you remaining in the world. But let us look forward, and not backward. The resolution is taken, and will be executed before your answer to this can come here. If you think proper to say you were ignorant of it, and do not approve it, I shall not take it amiss of you; but, for God's sake, let not a step, which naturally should secure peace and union amongst us for the rest of our days, become a subject of scandal and *éclat*, which would fall heavier upon you than upon us in our present situation, and which a filial and brotherly conduct in you will easily prevent. Your silence towards your brother, and what you writ to me about him since he left Paris, would do you

little honour if they were known, and are mortifications your brother did not deserve, but which cannot alter his sentiments towards you. He now writes to you a few lines himself, but I forbid him entering into any particulars, since it would be giving himself and you an useless trouble after all I have said about him here.

You must be sensible that, on many occasions, I have had reason to complain of you, and that I have acted for this long while towards you more like a son than a father. But I can assure you, my dear child, nothing of all that sticks with me, and I forgive you the more sincerely and cordially all the trouble you have given me, that I am persuaded it was not your intention to fail towards me, and that I shall have reason to be pleased with you for the time to come, since all I request of you hereafter is your personal love and affection for me and your brother. Those who may have had their own views in endeavouring to remove us from your affairs have compassed their end. We are satisfied, and you remain master; so that I see no bone of contention remaining, nor any possible obstacle to a perfect peace and union amongst us for the future. God bless my dearest Carluccio, whom I tenderly embrace. I am all yours,

JAMES R.

PRINCE CHARLES TO MR. EDGAR.

St. Owen, July 24. 1747.

I have received yours of the 4th current (1), and send you here enclosed the usual letter. Happy would I be to have happier orders and higher spirits, which, to my misfortune, my friends hinder as well as my enemies. God forgive the last! Having not strength to say more, I remain yours,

C. P.

PRINCE CHARLES TO THE MARQUIS DE PUISIEULX, FRENCH MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Paris, le 27 Mars 1748.

Mes amis en Angleterre m'ayant demandé, Monsieur, d'y faire passer un nombre de médailles, j'en ai fait graver une ici par le Sieur Nicolas Rotier. Après m'en avoir donné l'empreinte, il m'a dit qu'il ne pouvait les frapper sans un ordre de votre part. J'ignorais à la vérité la nécessité d'une permission, et n'en pouvais prévoir la conséquence politique. Cependant, pour parer au plus petit inconvénient qui en eût pu résulter, j'ai requis le Sieur Rotier de ne point mettre Paris sur la médaille, ni même son nom; et pour remplir en même temps l'objet de l'amour propre naturel à un ouvrier pour son ouvrage, nous sommes convenus qu'il n'y mettrait que les lettres initiales N. R. F. *Ne Rien Faire* (2), comme S. P. Q. R. (3) se rend par *Si Peu Que Rien*!

Il est fâcheux de n'avoir que des bagatelles à proposer à quelqu'un dont je connais le zèle et l'amitié pour moi dans des choses bien plus essentielles si l'occasion y était. La mesure de ma reconnaissance n'en est pas pour cela plus bornée, et je suis, Monsieur, etc.,

CHARLES P.

(1) Written to announce the elevation of the Cardinal of York on the preceding day.

(2) *Nicholas Rotier Fecit*. The *Ne Rien Faire* of Charles is a satirical touch on the unwillingness of the French Court to assist him.

(3) *Senatus Populusque Romanus*.

PRINCE CHARLES TO MR. BULKELEY.

Paris, October 31. 1748.

I have just seen your letter to Kelly, and am truly sensible of your zeal, but have nothing more to say on that subject, but that *quod dixi, dixi, et quod scripsi, scripsi*.

C. P.

FROM SCRAPS, IN PRINCE CHARLES'S WRITING.

Paris, 1748.

Je suis en peine surtout pour Louis, comme je ne peux que perdre la vie, mais Louis l'honneur.

Louis se plaint que Charles veut lui donner des lois. Je ne veux pas, dit Charles, recevoir des lois qui viennent d'Hanovre. Mais ne dites pas que c'est moi, n'étant pas même ministre.

Je ne suis pas un ministre; un mot doit vous suffire si vous êtes mon ami.

IN CHARLES'S WRITING.

About 1760.

De vivre et pas vivre est beaucoup plus que eum droir.

IN CHARLES'S WRITING.

1775—1780.

Réponse qu'un homme fit à son ami qui lui conta que sa maîtresse était infidèle par vengeance. — Est-ce, dit-il, pour l'avoir trop aimée, ou trop peu? En tout cas la vengeance est douce.

Pour les hommes, je les étudie, et à quatre-vingts ans je serais peut-être moins savant qu'à cette heure; mais pour les femmes, je l'ai toujours cru inutile, comme plus méchant et impénétrable.

EXTRACTS

FROM

THE STANHOPE AND HARDWICKE PAPERS,

AND FROM

COXE'S COLLECTIONS.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

[Stanhope Papers.]

(Extract.)

*Du Yacht, sur le canal qui mène à Utrecht,
ce 6me de Novembre, N. S. 1714.*

My Lord,

Je vous écris en Français pour vous épargner la peine de faire traduire mes lettres (1) ; vous saurez donc que nous sommes arrivés à la Haye hier au matin, et nous en sommes partis ce soir à huit heures. Nous avons vu le Pensionnaire, Mr. Slingeland, Mr. Fagel, Mr. Hop, et Mr. Duvenorde, et avons parlé avec toute confiance aux trois premiers. Nous leur avons déclaré que notre commission principale, ou plutôt unique, était de porter l'Empereur à conclure le Traité de la Barrière à la satisfaction des États, afin que ces deux puissances, n'ayant plus rien à démêler ensemble, pussent s'unir très-étroitement l'une avec l'autre, et toutes deux avec le Roi notre maître, pour maintenir la paix de l'Europe selon les traités d'Utrecht et de Bade. Ils nous ont tous remerciés de la bonté que le Roi a de s'intéresser si fort dans ce qui les touche de si près que la conclusion de la Barrière, et ont promis en termes généraux d'y apporter de leur côté toute sorte de facilités. Mais je dois vous dire, my Lord, que la France a été si industrieuse à semer des bruits que l'Angleterre voulait les engager de nouveau dans une guerre, que nous les avons trouvés fort alarmés sur ce sujet : il est vrai que les personnes que je vous ai nommées reconnaissaient assez même avant notre arrivée combien peu de fondement il y avait pour de pareils bruits, mais les peuples dans ces provinces n'en ont été que trop susceptibles ; et cela rend le Gouvernement extrêmement timide, si bien qu'à peine osent-ils parler d'aucune nouvelle alliance, quoique purement défensive. Ils conviennent tous qu'une alliance défensive entre l'Empereur, le Roi et leur État est l'unique moyen d'assurer la paix et d'empêcher une guerre, qu'ils craignent tant, et cependant ils croient qu'il faut prendre des grandes précautions pour y disposer leurs provinces, tant leur a-t-on

(1) I must remind the reader that George the First understood no English ; and that, therefore, all the despatches to be laid before him were written in French.

fait peur d'aucun engagement nouveau. Nous avons tâché de reconnaître s'ils avaient quelque soupçon que la Cour de Vienne songe à échanger les Pays Bas contre la Bavière, mais ils paraissent fort tranquilles là-dessus. Ils paraissent plus alarmés sur les instances répétées, et faites en dernier lieu aujourd'hui même par le Ministre de l'Empereur, pour que cinq ou six mille hommes des troupes de l'Empereur, qui sont dans les environs d'Aix et de Cologne, puissent entrer dans les Pays Bas, et occuper non seulement les Duchés de Luxembourg et de Limbourg, mais aussi s'établir sur le Damer avant que la Convention de la Barrière soit conclue. Ils m'ont fort pressé là-dessus de faire des instances à la Cour de Vienne pour faire suspendre une pareille résolution, ce que j'ai promis de faire; mais quand je les ai pressés d'y apporter de leur côté des facilités en modérant leurs demandes, et en offrant de leur côté à l'Empereur de faire avec sa Majesté une alliance défensive, ils m'ont renvoyé quant au premier point aux instructions qu'ils enverraient à leur ministre à Vienne, après qu'ils auraient conféré de nouveau sur l'ultimatum de leurs prétentions.

Quant à l'autre point qu'on leur a touché, savoir, ce qu'on pourrait dire à Vienne si cette Cour demandait qu'ils fissent une alliance défensive, chacun en particulier a été plus embarrassé d'y répondre, personne n'osant prendre la moindre chose sur soi. Ils souhaiteraient tous que le Traité de Barrière se pût conclure avant qu'on les presse sur l'autre point; et donnent tout lieu d'espérer que dans ce cas-là il leur serait plus aisé de porter leurs provinces à y consentir, et conviennent tous que c'est le seul moyen efficace pour maintenir la tranquillité en Europe. On a eu beau leur dire que le motif le plus puissant pour engager la Cour de Vienne à se rendre raisonnable sur la Barrière serait de lui offrir cette alliance qu'ils conviennent eux-mêmes leur être si nécessaire : ils ne sauraient se résoudre à le faire de bonne grâce, et dans une conjoncture qui leur en ferait tirer avantage par rapport à leur Barrière. Voilà, my Lord, ce que j'ai pu découvrir de leurs dispositions dans deux jours, et mon sentiment en peu de mots se réduit à ceci; que si on ne les aide pas à faire leurs propres affaires ils ne les feront jamais, car il n'y a personne parmi eux qui ose rien prendre sur soi. Mais ils ont une grande confiance dans le Roi, et pourvu que sa Majesté veuille bien se donner la peine et avoir la patience de les diriger, je crois qu'il leur fera faire tout ce qu'il voudra. Le Pensionnaire m'a paru fort souhaiter que le roi y ait un ministre accrédité et de confiance. Je dois aussi vous dire, my Lord, qu'ils se plaignent fort de Mr. Laws à Anvers, et désirent extrêmement qu'il soit employé partout ailleurs plutôt que là; j'ai promis de vous le marquer.

M. le Duc d'Ossune et tous les ministres étrangers nous sont venus voir, hormis l'ambassadeur de France. M. le Duc d'Ossune m'a fait beaucoup d'honnêtetés, et paraît souhaiter beaucoup une bonne amitié entre nos maîtres. Je lui ai répondu le mieux que j'ai pu dans le même sens. Je crois vous avoir assez ennuyé pour une fois, et suis, etc.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

A Vienne, ce 13-24 Nov. 1714.

My Lord,

Nous sommes arrivés ici l'onzième au matin. J'ai demandé audience ce même jour de l'Empereur et des trois Impératrices : elle m'a été accordée

avec des marques de distinction peu ordinaires, à ce qu'on dit. J'ai été plus d'une demi-heure auprès de l'Empereur, qui a prévenu le compliment que je lui allais faire en m'embrassant, et en témoignant une joie très-grande de cette marque que le Roi lui donnait de son amitié. Après avoir répondu le mieux que j'ai pu à toutes les expressions obligeantes de S. M. I., je lui ai exposé le désir très sincère du Roi mon maître de s'unir très étroitement avec S. M. pour maintenir la paix en Europe; que la conduite passée et présente de la Cour de France faisait assez connaître l'unique moyen pour assurer le repos à l'Europe en général, et à chacune des puissances qui ont en dernier lieu fait la paix avec elle; que l'observation et l'exécution de leurs traités respectifs serait une liaison entre lesdites puissances, qui fit connaître à la France qu'elle ne pourrait violer ses traités avec une puissance sans s'exposer au ressentiment de toutes; que, pour former une telle union de mesures et d'intérêts, il était fort à souhaiter que l'affaire des Pays Bas fût réglée avec les Hollandais, de manière que la Hollande, n'ayant plus rien à démêler avec cette Cour, pût aussi s'unir très étroitement avec elle et avec le Roi mon maître; qu'une bonne et prompte conclusion de ce Traité de Barrière est d'autant plus nécessaire, que tout délai ne fournira que trop d'occasions à la France à faire de nouvelles brouilleries; qu'il n'y a que trop de personnes en Hollande susceptibles de mauvaises impressions; que la France voudrait les suggérer; que le ministre de cette Cour en Hollande, attentif à profiter de tout, parcourait Amsterdam et toutes les autres villes, pour semer des jalousies contre la Maison d'Autriche et contre l'Angleterre, comme si on voulait d'abord replonger leur état dans une nouvelle guerre; qu'il leur offrait une alliance telle qu'ils pourraient souhaiter avec le Roi son maître; que si, dans le temps que la France leur faisait toute sorte d'avances, l'Empereur se roidissait trop à leur égard, il serait fort à craindre que les mal intentionnés n'en profitassent. Je me suis étendu sur ces considérations et plusieurs autres avec toute la force qu'il m'a été possible, et surtout j'ai tâché d'inculquer que la garde d'une place de plus ou de moins dans les Pays Bas, ou un revenu de 4 ou 500,000 florins de plus ou de moins, que pourrait avoir l'Empereur en se roidissant, n'équivalent en aucune manière aux avantages que retirerait S. M. I. de la sincère amitié et bonne intelligence qui s'ensuivrait nécessairement entre ces trois Puissances; que le Roi, quoique garant d'un Traité de Barrière avec la Hollande, emploierait tous ses offices auprès de cette République pour la porter à se relâcher de son côté; que S. M. se flattait aussi que l'Empereur, connaissant le désir sincère qu'a le Roi d'avancer en toute occasion les intérêts de S. M. I., voudrait aussi pour le bien du public, et pour rétablir parfaitement cette entière confiance qui est si nécessaire entre ces trois Puissances, y apporter des facilités. L'Empereur a répondu de la manière du monde la plus obligeante sur ces avances du Roi, et a témoigné une envie très forte de s'allier le plus fortement que faire se pourrait avec S. M.; pour la Hollande il a paru n'en être pas trop content, mais est convenu cependant qu'il est nécessaire de la ménager, et a déclaré qu'il aura dans cette affaire beaucoup d'égards pour l'entremise du Roi. Il m'a fait l'honneur de me dire que je pourrais m'adresser directement à lui aussi souvent que je voudrais, pendant mon séjour ici, pour parler plus en détails; qu'aussi je devrais parler au Prince Eugène; ce que je n'ai pu faire que hier l'après-midi avec my Lord Cobham. Monsieur le Prince a commencé par nous dire que nous aurions peut-être entendu des bruits qui s'étaient répandus avec industrie, comme si aux

conférences de Rastadt et de Bade on était entré dans des autres engagements que ceux qui sont publics : il nous a assuré que ni l'Empereur aurait été capable d'ordonner rien de pareil, ni lui d'exécuter de pareils ordres ; que, véritablement, par le traité qui est publié, on est en liberté de faire des échanges avec l'Electeur de Bavière. Après ce début nous lui avons dit à peu près les mêmes choses que j'avais auparavant opposées à l'Empereur ; nous l'avons trouvé fort irrité contre les Hollandais, et fort outré de leurs dernières propositions, jusque-là qu'il s'est déclaré de ne vouloir jamais conseiller à l'Empereur d'accepter les Pays Bas à des pareilles conditions ; que les Pays Bas importaient peu ou à l'Empereur ou à l'Empire ; qu'ils seraient toujours à charge à l'Empereur, et que, s'il les acceptait, c'était plutôt le bien de ses anciens alliés que le sien propre ; que l'on pouvait traiter avec l'Electeur de Bavière pour ce qui était plus à leur convenance, et qu'il ne niait point que tant à Bade que depuis l'Electeur leur faisait parler. Vous jugerez bien, my Lord, que notre surprise fut très grande d'entendre de pareils propos ; nous le témoignâmes au Prince, qui n'a pas laissé de paraître fort piqué contre la Hollande, et quand nous lui avons dit qu'il ne fallait point regarder leurs dernières demandes comme des conditions qu'eux-mêmes espéraient de pouvoir obtenir, qu'il fallait leur en faire d'ici qui fussent raisonnables, que le Roi emploierait tout le crédit qu'il peut avoir auprès des États, pour les porter à se contenter de ce qui serait raisonnable, et qu'une place de plus ou de moins, ou quelques centaines de mille florins de plus n'importaient point à l'Empereur à beaucoup près ce que lui importerait l'amitié de la Grande Bretagne et des États, et une liaison très étroite avec ces puissances, pour s'assurer réciproquement les unes aux autres une observation des traités faits en dernier lieu ; quand, dis-je, nous lui avons allégué ces raisons, je vous avoue qu'il m'a paru y faire beaucoup moins d'attention que nous espérions : cependant, quand on a dit que si on veut finir cette affaire, il faut s'ouvrir sur les conditions que l'Empereur voudrait accorder, du moins s'en ouvrir à nous, il a paru s'en tenir aux dernières propositions données par le Comte de Koenigseck. Vous voyez, my Lord, quelles sont les dispositions ici, et par une lettre que j'ai reçue aujourd'hui de M. de Clingrave, j'apprends que les esprits sont fort aigris en Hollande. Nous avons cependant sondé M. le Prince sur le plan dont M. Slingsland m'avait parlé, et il s'est d'abord reviré sur Dindermonde, Venloo, et les forts sur l'Escaut comme n'étant point fortifiés contre la France : quant aux places qui le sont, il a dit qu'on ne romprait point pour une place de plus ou de moins. Et quant au revenu du pays conquis, et au règlement des troupes, dont on était convenu avec l'Electeur de Bavière après la dernière paix, il a dit qu'il en parlerait à l'Empereur. Cependant, my Lord, nous avons suggéré cela seulement comme notre pensée particulière, et vous ne devez point craindre que nous nous avançons trop ou engagions le Roi à quoi que ce soit : tout ce que je tâcherai de faire ici, sera de voir jusqu'où ils voudront se relâcher, et à mon retour en Hollande, j'en userai de même avec les Hollandais, si bien que je cours risque de ne pas trop obliger ni les uns ni les autres, tant ils paraissent éloignés à présent de s'accommoder. Si l'Empereur, sur ce que j'ai eu l'honneur de lui dire, juge qu'une alliance avec le Roi et la Hollande lui convienne, je ferai en sorte que l'Empereur enverra au Roi pour en faire la proposition, et on en règlera les conditions chez vous : cependant, permettez-moi de vous dire, my Lord, qu'il faudra que je leur fasse espérer que dans l'alliance défensive que l'on pourra faire avec eux, les états qu'ils

possèdent actuellement en Italie seront compris ; sans cela je vous réponds qu'ils n'auront rien à faire avec nous : et Dieu veuille qu'en leur accordant ce point-là, on puisse les porter à un accommodement raisonnable sur la Barrière. Je vous en dirai davantage par le premier ordinaire, et, en attendant, je suis, etc.

SECRETARY STANHOPE TO LORD TOWNSHEND.

A Vienne, ce 8 Déc. 1714. N. S.

My Lord,

Je compte de pouvoir partir d'ici en huit jours, et j'espère que je n'aurai pas lieu de me repentir d'y être venu. L'Empereur est assurément très bien disposé, et quoique la plupart de ses ministres aient pris à tâche de l'aigrir contre les Hollandais, ce que plusieurs auront fait, par des vues particulières de conserver les terres qu'on leur avait données en Bavière, Sa Majesté, nonobstant tous les artifices dont on s'est servi pour lui faire envisager ce troc des Pays Bas contre la Bavière comme avantageux, ne laisse pas de reconnaître ses véritables intérêts, et je me flatte, qu'étant déterminé à conserver les Pays Bas, par la raison que ces provinces sont les liens et le nœud qui doivent l'unir d'intérêt avec nous et avec la Hollande, il voudra bien aussi conclure le traité de Barrière, de façon qu'il ne reste point d'aigreur entre lui et les Hollandais. J'espère de pouvoir, par le premier ordinaire, vous mander quelque chose de plus précis ; en attendant, je suis, etc.

LORD LOVAT TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

Inverness, December 1. 1715.

Monsieur,

Permettez-moi, dans ce pays du Nord, de remercier Votre Excellence des bontés qu'elle a eues pour moi dans mes malheurs à Londres. J'en serai toute ma vie très reconnaissant ; et c'est avec joie que je suis en état d'assurer Votre Excellence que mes amis n'ont rien promis pour moi que je n'ai prouvé par mes actions depuis que je suis dans ce pays. Les Ennemis rebelles étaient les maîtres partout dans ce pays, lorsque j'ai arrivé avec Mr. Forbes. Sitôt que j'ai pris les armes avec une poignée de monde, j'ai eu le bonheur de chasser Keppoch et ses Macdonalds, qui venaient renforcer les Rebelles, alors maîtres de cette ville, que j'ai serrée de si près, que les Rebelles l'abandonnèrent par mer ; et j'ai contribué avec les amis du Roi de mettre les pays voisins sous l'obéissance du Roi. Mes gens, qui étaient menés par une force ouverte au camp de my Lord Mar, par Mackenzie de Fraserdale, qui usurpait mon pays, désertèrent tous sitôt qu'ils surent que j'étais dans mon pays ; et cette désertion de mes gens causa une plus grande dans le camp de my Lord Mar. Et Fraserdale, se voyant sans bataillon, quitta de honte le camp des Rebelles, et prétend présentement obtenir sa grâce par my Lord Athol, qui joue visiblement des deux mains. Mais si le Roi pardonne un si violent rebelle que Fraserdale, tous les amis du Roi, dans ce pays, mettront assurément les armes bas. Ainsi, j'espère que Votre Excellence, qui connaît le zèle de my Lord Sutherland, de Mr. Monro et de Mr. Forbes, avec qui j'agis, préviendra les sollicitations dangereuses qu'on pourra faire en faveur de

ce Rebelle ; et je supplie Votre Excellence de me protéger, puisque mes actions ont assez manifesté mon zèle pour le service du Roi. Et j'ose dire que la Cour ne saurait rien faire de mieux dans le nord d'Ecosse pour les intérêts du Roi, que de me soutenir et ma tribu ; et Votre Excellence me trouvera toujours avec un cœur plein de reconnaissance, et avec un profond respect, etc.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO THE DUKE OF ARGYLE.

[Coxe Papers, vol. lxxi. p. 40.]

Whitehall, January 10. 1716.

My Lord,

I am to acknowledge your Grace's of the 3d; which I have laid before the King, who was very much surprised to find your Grace attribute the continuance of the rebellion to the orders his Majesty has thought fit to send you, as not having given you sufficient powers, till you received mine of the 27th past.

His Majesty was, from the beginning of this rebellion, of an opinion, that he could not either in honour or conscience go into any measures in relation to the rebels, but such as would effectually secure the future peace and quiet of his faithful subjects; and your Grace was therefore empowered by your instructions, which were drawn, as you must well remember, by yourself, to give assurances of his Majesty's mercy and favour to such only as should, by submitting themselves to his Majesty, and by making early discoveries, or doing some other signal services, merit them. His Majesty has since several times repeated these orders to your Grace, that before any of the rebels could expect to find favour, they should surrender themselves to your Grace; and my letter of the 27th December can be understood in no other sense; and his Majesty, having received all your Grace's letters, cannot find in them any one instance, where any of the rebels have offered to comply with those terms, except the Lord Rollo and Master of Sinclair.

His Majesty observes that the offers which have been made by Mar, Huntly, and others, have been made only to separate themselves from the body of the rebels, without any offer of coming to your Grace, and bringing their followers with them, or making any discovery. As to the Lord Rollo and Master of Sinclair, though your Grace in your letter of the 30th November mentions their offering to join your Grace with the Fife squadron, yet, besides that, in your preceding letter, which was of the 27th, and to which I gave a return by mine of the 6th of December, your Grace only speaks of their offering to separate themselves from the rest of the rebels. His Majesty would have thought it very hard, that these persons should be the first objects of his Royal clemency, who had most signalised themselves in the ravaging and destroying of their country, and in the harassing and pillaging his Majesty's faithful subjects, as by particular advices his Majesty is informed the Lord Rollo and Master of Sinclair did, with the Fife squadron, and particularly in a most barbarous and inhuman manner against the Earl of Rothes, who, besides his being one of the first and best families of the kingdom, has at this time distinguished himself by his singular zeal in his Majesty's and his country's service.

Upon the whole, his Majesty is persuaded that your Grace, when you have seriously reflected on and considered this whole transaction, will in justice rather impute the continuance of this rebellion to the obstinacy of the rebels, or to some other cause, than to any defect in his orders, or to the want of powers; and since they have put the nation to such vast expense, and obliged the King to call for the assistance of foreign troops, the greater the preparations are for the suppressing of this rebellion, the less reason there is for listening to any offers of the rebels, but such as carry with them evident advantages to his Majesty's service, are absolutely consistent with the honour of his government, and tending to its future quiet and security.

My Lord, if in my letter to your Grace of the 27th, I mentioned that project sent up by Lieut.-General Cadogan as his, it was because it was transmitted by him to Mr. Secretary Stanhope, and your Grace was not pleased, in your two first letters after it came, to take any notice of it. As to the alterations that may be thought necessary to make in the scheme, his Majesty leaves that entirely to your Grace, not doubting but they will be such as will be of no obstruction to the execution of the project, and the attempting the expedition against Perth; and that the want of artillery, by reason of the ships being detained by contrary winds, may be as well supplied as possibly may be, orders are sent by his Grace the Duke of Marlborough to Berwick, for furnishing your Grace with what that place affords of cannon, ball, and other stores, and what else may be fit for them; though, if the frost be such in your parts as it is here at present, we presume your Grace will have little occasion for them.

Though your Grace mentions the arrival of the Pretender as not absolutely certain in yours of the 3d, which is the last I have received from you, yet from all our advices from France, as well as from Scotland, by letters of the 5th, the King has no reason to doubt but that he is landed in Scotland; I am, therefore, by his particular command, to let you know, that he thinks it of the last consequence to his service that no time should be lost in marching to the enemy. The least delay of that kind at this juncture may be dangerous, and grow every day, as your Grace most justly observes, more difficult.

I am, etc.

REV. MR. CHETWODE TO SECRETARY STANHOPE.

[Stanhope Papers.]

London, June 29. 1716.

Sir,

Going out of town, and not being able to find you tolerably at leisure, I think it my duty to give you some account of the state of York, and the West Riding, of which I am Archdeacon. Seeing whither things tended, about nine months before the decease of the late Queen, I went over that country, and pressed upon the clergy, and very numerous audiences (for I seem to have some interest there), the obligation of their oath for the right of the succession in the Protestant line: afterwards, I directed them to preach against rebellion and riots, and sent them printed papers to that effect: it had good success; and his Majesty has there, I am persuaded, a considerable body of loyal and dutiful clergy. All things continued there very calm, and in good order. Nor were my utmost endeavours

wanting in the county of Gloucester, where I continued many months for that purpose. But on the last thanksgiving day, about 10 at night, a hundred rascally fellows got together, crying out, "The Church and Ormond!" They were soon dispersed, and a dozen of them taken, and are in the gaol of York. Upon their trial, I believe it will appear, that they were set on by Popish emissaries, which have swarmed in town and country, crying up the Church, in order to ruin it. Hot-headed young clergymen have been very much in fault; but those of weight and consideration, of whom I know a considerable number, are sensible that our constitution in Church and State was never more secure than in his Majesty's reign. I take leave to write this as a sincere and honest man; nor did I ever think life worth a lie. Things would never have come to this pass (and it seems not improbable that the party will make a campaign of despair, as they have made one, already, of vain hopes,) if the number had not been as great of those who love themselves and the King, as of those who love the King and themselves. This is a mean insular spirit.

I hope the Survey of the kingdom of Ireland, which the late Queen told me she had put up safe in the Prince of Denmark's closet, is now in his Majesty's: but if it be again stolen, I have lost my money and my pains; but, having done my best, I have reason to be easy: and though my forefathers were the most ancient barons of this kingdom, as is pretty generally known, I am pleased, in the turn of fortune, at my country parsonage.

I am, etc.

LE MARÉCHAL D'HUXELLES TO M. IBERVILLE.

(Extract.)

Paris, le 3 Mai 1717.

Quoique l'on puisse croire avec quelque fondement que Monsieur Stanhope et son parti se soutiendront contre les attaques que ceux qui leur sont opposés méditent de leur porter, il arrive si souvent des changements imprévus dans le gouvernement d'Angleterre, qu'il est bon de se ménager également avec tout parti; et il est important que vous continuiez d'agir sur ces principes comme vous l'avez fait jusqu'à présent, en réservant, cependant, les ouvertures et la confiance sur les affaires dont vous êtes chargé pour les ministres régnants, et particulièrement pour Monsieur Stanhope, dont le crédit peut beaucoup contribuer au maintien de l'union établie par le traité d'alliance.

Il est bien difficile de concevoir quel avantage il a prétendu tirer pour le Roi son maître, et pour lui-même, de la manière dont il a parlé de ce traité au Parlement; mais il est certain que rien n'est moins propre à relever le mérite de son ouvrage et à y donner une opinion de stabilité, que de supposer que Monsieur le Duc d'Orléans n'y est entré que par la considération de ses intérêts particuliers, et contre l'avis des chefs et de toute la nation de France: il pouvait se dispenser de faire une supposition aussi dénuée de toute vraisemblance, et qui ne pouvait lui attirer que les reproches qu'il a essuyés en cette occasion.

Non seulement S. A. R. ne s'est point déterminée par la considération de ses intérêts, mais personne n'ignore que tous ceux qui ont part au Gou-

vernement de la nation Française en général désirent le maintien du repos public , et sont persuadés que rien ne pouvait y contribuer plus essentiellement que de cimenter une étroite intelligence , telle qu'elle est établie entre sa Majesté le Roi d'Angleterre et la République de Hollande ; et je puis vous dire qu'en mon particulier, ayant toujours agi sur ces principes , je ne les ai jamais vus contredits par les gens sages. Enfin , si les intérêts de M. le Duc d'Orléans se trouvent dans le traité d'alliance , l'on peut dire avec vérité que c'est parce qu'ils s'accordent parfaitement avec ceux du Roi et de l'état , et qu'ils y sont si intimement unis , que l'on peut regarder comme une même chose de travailler pour le bien des affaires de sa Majesté , et pour les convenances de S. A. R.

Monsieur Stanhope sait même mieux que personne combien elle a été éloignée d'entrer dans les ouvertures qui ont été faites pour un traité avec le Roi d'Angleterre aussi longtemps qu'il n'a été question que de ses intérêts seuls , et que la négociation a été suspendue pendant plus de six mois uniquement sur cette difficulté. L'on peut donc dire que Monsieur Stanhope s'est laissé entraîner à sa vivacité en cette occasion ; et je vous avoue que je ne serais pas fâché que vous puissiez trouver dans la conversation une occasion de traiter cette matière avec lui ; mais il faudrait que ce fût avec tous les ménagements nécessaires pour ne pas blesser sa délicatesse , en lui faisant connaître seulement que je serais bien fâché qu'il pensât ce que l'on prétend qu'il a dit sur ce sujet.

EARL OF STAIR TO MR. STANHOPE, FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY.

(Extract.)

Paris, July 7. 1717.

I find the general bent of this kingdom is against us. They consider us their natural and their necessary enemies ; that no friendship with us can be lasting or to be depended upon. This prejudice prevails with a good many of the ministers ; and having taken their impressions in the time of the last King, they can think of no system but making alliances to get the better of the Emperor. I have endeavoured as much as I could, in proper places, to show the weakness of these notions. I think I have convinced the Regent..... and my doctrine is well enforced by the impossibility there is of his succeeding to the crown of France by any other means but by the King's friendship.

The Duke of Ormond and Lord Mar are still here. I told the Regent the house in Versailles where the Duke of Ormond lived : he said he would instantly give his orders to M. d'Argenson to have him seized. I am of opinion he will now be sent away in good earnest.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD STANHOPE.

Paris, November 9. 1717.

My Lord,

The assistance of one in your Lordship's circumstances to a man who is unfortunate enough to be in mine, must be of itself a great satisfaction ; but I confess to you that I feel another which enhances the first. There is no man to whom I would be more willingly obliged than to your

Lordship. If you can reconcile serving me to the present state of public affairs, I depend on your friendship. If you think that you cannot, I will, however, please myself with the thought that you desired to have done it. In all events, and in every situation of life, I shall be, with the utmost truth, my Lord, your most obedient and most humble servant,

BOLINGBROKE.

COLONEL W. STANHOPE TO LORD STANHOPE.

Madrid, Jan. 10. 1718. N. S.

My Lord,

Notwithstanding that the King of Spain's health grows apparently better every day, there still remains a deep melancholy constantly preying upon his spirits, which makes him avoid all the world, excepting at his levee, and then he never speaks a single word to any mortal. This strange melancholy, together with his sending for his confessor sometimes two or three times in a night, gives occasion to believe that the indisposition of his body is not the only cause of his uneasiness. As I thought it might be of consequence to know from whence it proceeded, I have done every thing in my power to come at the knowledge of it; and am informed, by what I think a very good hand, though I won't presume to answer for the absolute certainty of it, that his conscience is disturbed, and continually alarms him with frightful apprehensions of his being answerable for the miseries, and for all the lives that shall be lost, if this war continues, which he looks upon himself as the author of. Upon this occasion I shall take the liberty to acquaint your Lordship with an affair of no consequence, but as it may serve in some measure to support this opinion. The King's confessor, who has the direction of the library, having several times given me leave to take books from thence, for which his name was always set down as if they were for himself, about ten days since consented to my taking Grotius *De jure Belli et Pacis*, in his name, as usual; but the week after he sent to desire I would return that book, for that he apprehended it might be a disservice to him, in this juncture, to have it supposed he was reading books of that nature, which might give occasion to have it believed that he troubled himself more with state matters than he desired to be thought to do.

If what I have mentioned be the real cause of the King's melancholy, I thought I might expect to find some alteration in the behaviour of the Cardinal Alberoni, and for that reason went to see him last night, and stayed with him alone an hour and a half. He entered very freely into the matter of the present negotiation, and several times repeated that the King of Spain sincerely desired to see a peace once settled upon a solid and lasting foundation; and that if the Emperor was equally sincere, the mediators would meet with but very few difficulties: that the Catholic King did not enter upon this war to aggrandise himself, but was forced into it by the continual insults he daily received from the Emperor; and in particular that to Molines, at Milan, determined him; that the only view in continuing it is to settle a balance in Italy: and though he, the Cardinal, is of opinion that it is for the interest of all Europe that part of Italy should be put into the hands of Spain, as the most effectual means to preserve that balance, yet, if any other way can be found out to answer the same

end, the King will readily come into it. But upon my alleging to him that the guarantee of all the Powers of Europe, as proposed by the plan, was the greatest security an affair of that nature could admit of, especially when, as he confessed himself, it was equally all their interests to observe it, he replied, that they had but too lately proofs of the small account made of such treaties, by the expense they were at to reduce Barcelona and Majorca. Upon my pressing him extremely to open to me in some measure what would satisfy the King of Spain, and what were the objections of the greatest consequence to the plan, he told me that, as to what related to the dominions of the House of Parma, the King would not interest himself particularly in that affair in the life-time of the present Duke, but would leave it to the treaty; but as for the dominions of Tuscany, before he entered into any treaty, he expected to have some expedient found out more effectual than guarantees that should secure those countries from falling into the hands of the Emperor; and if that was once offered, it would be a very great step towards his receiving the other parts of the plan.

I am sensible I have taken up too much of your Lordship's time by this long letter, and will not, therefore, increase my fault by endeavouring to excuse it.

I am, etc.

W. STANHOPE.

I never see the Cardinal but he always professes the very great esteem and respect he has for your Lordship, and desires me to let you know it.

EARL OF STAIR TO LORD STANHOPE.

(Extract.)

Paris, January 23. 1718.

Mr. Pulteney, who is here, condemns Walpole for the part he acts in joining with the Tories, and distressing the King's service; and declares to me that, if he had been in England; he would most heartily have concurred with the King's service in the points that have been before the House of Commons.

LORD STANHOPE TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

London, Jan. 23. 1718.

My Lord,

We have at last framed our project of the treaty to be made, which will be delivered to your Lordship by the bearer, M. Schaub. As he has been present at all the conferences we have had on this subject, I refer your Lordship to him for whatever may want explanation. The Regent will perceive by this plan how careful the King has been, in what concerns the renunciation, to give all the strength possible to the Regent's title; the same regard to the interest of his Royal Highness, who has so frequently and so strongly represented and insisted, that his honour, and even his security in France, depend upon its appearing to the world that in this treaty he shall have given just attention to the interests of King Philip; these motives, I say, have engaged his Majesty to such a complaisance for the Regent's sentiments in the article of Tuscany, as your Lordship will

see. I wish we have not gone too far, and that it may be possible to get the Court of Vienna to adjust this article, as it is proposed. We have yet no indication but to the contrary. This, I am sure, ought be an invincible argument for the Regent to give in every other part of the treaty all the facility he can; and if I were worthy to advise him, he should not aim at altering what is mentioned concerning Leghorn and Pisa. Your Lordship will, however, perceive by the King's intentions, that in case he should rather insist to break off the negotiation than depart from his pretensions to all Tuscany, M. Schaub is, in such case, to carry the project so altered by the Regent to Vienna, and to repeat and enforce, in the best manner he can, the arguments which we have been trying, without success, these two months.

Since your Lordship's letter of the 23d, we learn that the Regent has turned out the Chancellor and the Duke of Noailles. This step of vigour makes us hope that his Royal Highness will continue to pursue his own real interest, and to show less regard and management for those who, under the specious pretence of making this treaty palatable to Spain, are endeavouring to set up that King's title to France, and to strip the Regent of all foreign support, by breaking off this negotiation. I cannot suggest any thing new to your Lordship upon this occasion, but shall only, therefore, recommend to you to repeat with that energy you are master of, your own reasons to his Royal Highness, who, since this change of ministry, will probably be more susceptible of the force of them.

We have from several other hands some hints of what your Lordship intimates, touching some new stirring amongst the Jacobites. I therefore beg of your Lordship that you will continue to be alert. Their hopes from Muscovy, or even from any understanding between the Czar and Sweden are chimerical, since those two princes are in no way of being reconciled: on the contrary, I may tell your Lordship, that we see more daylight towards an accommodation with Sweden than has appeared yet.

I am, etc.

LORD STANHOPE TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

Cockpit, Feb. 17. 1718.

My Lord,

I am to acknowledge the favour of your Lordship's despatch, with the treaty and the letter of his Royal Highness to the King; all which have been laid before his Majesty, who is extremely pleased with your Lordship's whole management in this great affair, which seems now to be in a very good way. I hope your letter to Prince Eugene will not a little contribute to the Court of Vienna's taking a good resolution upon this conjuncture, which I think the most critical for the House of Austria that ever was. I will own to your Lordship that I am not much concerned at the alteration made by the Regent; for we are to consider that, when we shall have signed with the Emperor and France, it will remain to settle with Spain; and I will venture to say to your Lordship, that it is of greater consequence than any man who is not at present at this time in England can imagine, that Spain be brought into our scheme without force, which will certainly be more easy now, than if, by a previous engagement with the Emperor, we had so much less left to tempt them with. I cannot but think that the

Emperor, as head of the Empire, will have a prodigious bargain as it is; since, without striking a stroke, he will get not only the state of Florence, but that of Siena and that of Parma recognised to be fiefs of the Empire; one of which is unquestionably a fief of the Crown of Spain, and, as such, guaranteed to that Crown by us, in a secret article of the Treaty of Utrecht; and the other is as undoubtedly a fief of the See of Rome. There are besides, in the dominions of the Great Duke, several other parcels to which the Empire has no pretensions. I heartily wish that upon this foot we may induce Spain to come in amicably; and you will agree with me that it very much behoves us in England to be very cautious how we engage in any war, when I shall tell you that the united strength of the Tories and discontented Whigs, headed and animated by one you may guess (1), are to give us battle to-morrow in the House of Lords, upon the bill for punishing mutiny and desertion. Upon this occasion they intend, by disagreeing with the preamble of the bill sent up by the Commons, to lessen very considerably the number of forces for which the Commons have provided pay. We think ourselves sure of carrying the question; but I am sorry to tell you that it will be by a slender majority. The happiest thing, therefore, for us is to hide from foreign nations, if possible, our nakedness; and depend upon it, my Lord, that if the Emperor should refuse our scheme, and summon us to perform our guarantee, which in that case he will strongly insist upon; depend upon it, I say, that we shall make a wretched figure. We shall not be without our difficulties nor our opposition, even though the Emperor, acquiescing, and being, jointly with France, engaged with us against Spain, we should still be forced to make war; but in this case I hope we might wade through it. You see I open my heart to your Lordship, who have, in our former difficulties, with so much skill and success, concealed our weakness from the Court where you are. The same task is at present incumbent upon you. I have withdrawn myself for a few minutes from a great meeting of Lords, who are now at my house, making their dispositions for to-morrow, to write this letter, which I shall make no longer than by assuring you that I am ever, etc.

STANHOPE.

If you have any interest with Count Konigsek, and he any at his own Court, you ought to spare no pains to engage him to persuade his master to accept of the treaty as it stands.

ABBÉ DUBOIS TO MR. SCHAUB.

A Londres, ce 1er Mars 1718.

Je suis ravi, Monsieur, que vous ayez été content de la candeur et de la droiture de S. A. R. *Credidisti, Thomas, quia vidisti.* Vous êtes trop honnête homme, pour ne pas rendre témoignage à la vérité; et trop éclairé pour ne pas juger que cela part de source et de principes qui ne peuvent varier ni se démentir. Si sa Majesté impériale et M. le Prince Eugène en avaient autant vu que vous, je gagerais pour le repos de l'Europe. C'est à vous, Monsieur, à transporter S. A. R. à la Cour Impériale, et à la lui faire

(1) Robert Walpole.

voir telle qu'elle est, pour dissiper tous soupçons, toutes défiances, toutes inquiétudes, et tous manèges de chicanes et de négociations. Si S. A. R., qui a ajouté même des facilités au projet, avait pu faire davantage pour marquer ses bonnes intentions pour la paix et sa considération pour le Roi de la Grande-Bretagne, certainement elle l'aurait fait ; et je suis assuré que vous avez vu qu'elle ne laissait plus rien dans le sac. Le Roi m'a fait l'honneur de me dire hier que la conduite du Régent était claire et nette, et qu'il en était aussi content qu'on pouvait l'être. Je souhaite que sa sincérité, et l'envie qu'il a de prendre des liaisons particulières avec sa Majesté Impériale, fassent le même effet à Vienne qu'elles ont fait ici ; et que sa Majesté Impériale veuille bien ne se laisser pas imputer d'avoir refusé le repos à tous les peuples de l'Europe. Quoique vous ayez bataillé comme un grenadier pour les intérêts de la Cour de Vienne, S. A. R., bien loin de vous en savoir mauvais gré, estime votre zèle, et a parlé de vous avec éloge. Il n'y a qu'à prier Dieu qu'il bénisse votre mission ; car je ne crois pas que jamais apôtre, si Catholique et si Protestant qu'il soit, pourvu qu'il ne soit pas Romain, puisse faire un ouvrage plus agréable au Ciel, que celui dont vous êtes chargé. J'espère que vos négociations ne vous empêcheront pas de faire mention de moi à M. le Comte de Bonneval, et de vous souvenir que vous m'avez promis de rendre à mon intention un hommage à mon héros (1), que je n'ai pas perdu de vue un moment depuis que le bon homme Martignac, qui n'était pas un sorcier, m'a fait des prophéties au-dessous à la vérité de ce que nous avons vu, mais pourtant assez grandes pour m'inspirer un grand respect pour ce Prince, dans les temps mêmes qu'il était le plus caché. Vous jugez bien que nous attendrons votre retour avec une grande impatience : la mienne est pleine de confiance, comme celle des dévots de bonne foi. Vous serez un des saints de ma chapelle, surtout si vous êtes persuadés autant que je le souhaite de l'estime avec laquelle je suis, etc.

DUBOIS.

ABBÉ DUBOIS TO MR. SCHAUB.

A Londres, ce 5me Mai 1718.

Je vois, Monsieur, avec un grand plaisir, approcher le temps où je pourrai vous embrasser, et vous féliciter sur le succès de vos négociations. Je ne gronderai point du peu de cas que vous avez fait de mes lettres, et de votre indifférence à me donner la moindre marque de votre souvenir. Mais je suis équitable, et reconnais en cette qualité, que quand on est chargé d'aussi grandes affaires, et qu'on a une petite maîtresse, on n'a point de temps de reste ; et que quand on reçoit de grandes satisfactions, on ne doit pas se plaindre d'être privé des petites. Comme vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire de Paris, que vous aviez reconnu par expérience que les avis que j'avais pris la liberté de vous donner étaient raisonnables, cela m'encourage à vous avertir que la vivacité avec laquelle vous sollicitâtes, en passant à Paris, ce qui pouvait être avantageux à la Cour de Vienne, fit assez d'impression pour faire croire que vous étiez très-partial pour l'Empereur. J'ai répondu que la chaleur que vous aviez montrée pour l'Empereur ne tendait qu'à mettre les choses en état qu'il pût accepter le projet, et que si vous aviez paru Impérialiste à Paris, vous paraissiez encore plus

(1) Prince Eugène.

Français à Vienne. Malgré cette juste remarque, je crois que la prudence veut que si, outre les choses que S. A. R. a ci-devant accordées, les ministres Impériaux ont fait des changements dans le traité, vous ne devez insister que sur ceux sans lesquels vous savez positivement que l'Empereur ne conclurait pas, quelque mérite que cela vous fit à la Cour de Vienne de les faire tous passer; et j'ai des raisons solides pour vous donner ce conseil, dont l'une est pour le bien de la chose; savoir, que plus le projet sera chargé de clauses désagréables à l'Espagne, plus on aura de difficulté pour obtenir son accession, qui doit mettre la perfection à l'ouvrage, et qui en fera tout l'agrément si elle se fait sans violence, et tirera l'Angleterre du danger qu'il y aura pour elle, c'est-à-dire, pour le Roi, pour le gouvernement et pour la nation, de faire des hostilités contre elle. L'autre raison vous regarde en particulier, et consiste dans l'intérêt que vous avez, tant pour vous personnellement que pour le ministère qui vous emploie, de ne pas paraître dévoué sans mesure à la Cour de Vienne. Vous avez obtenu de S. A. R. au delà de ce qu'on pouvait espérer à Vienne et en Angleterre; tenez-vous-en là, quand même vous pourriez espérer d'en tirer autre chose, parce que vous courriez risque de l'aliéner, et de lui faire penser que vous voulez abuser de sa générosité et de sa facilité: ce qui est capable de faire une révolution en Elle à votre égard. Je vous donne ce conseil en ami: et si vous le négligez, je crains que vous vous le reprochiez, et que vous n'essuyiez même des reproches de ceux de cette Cour de qui vous souhaitez le plus l'approbation. J'attendrai votre retour avec toute l'impatience qu'inspirent la confiance que j'ai en vous, et l'estime particulière avec laquelle je suis, etc.

DUBOIS.

SECRETARY CRAGGS TO LORD STANHOPE,

(Extract.)

Whitehall, July 17. 1718.

Since I began this letter there is a mail arrived from France, which brings a letter from your Excellency to Lord Sunderland; and having seen it, and my Lord Sunderland having laid it before his Majesty, I am ordered by the King to let you know that he approves of your proposition relating to Gibraltar; and in case your Excellency finds it will conclude and settle every thing, you are hereby authorised to make that offer when you shall find it expedient.

COL. W. STANHOPE TO THE EARL OF STAIR.

(Extract.)

Madrid, the 18th July, N. S. 1718.

Two days since I had the honour of a letter from Paris, of the 4th instant, signed by your Lordship and my Lord Stanhope; but not having been at the Escorial since I received it, I cannot say any thing positively as to the present disposition the Cardinal (1) is in with regard to our merchants; but as I shall see him to-morrow, I don't in the least question but his natural disposition, which gives him great pleasure in saying what

(1) Alberoni.

he thinks will terrify those he has to deal with, cannot fail leading him to open himself to me fully upon that affair; and according to the resolution I shall find he has taken, I shall govern myself in relation to the accounts I send to Sir George Byng.

I don't write to Lord Stanhope, as taking it for granted that he is, before this time, upon his journey to London or Madrid; if it be to the latter, I shall be extremely sorry for what he will suffer from the excessive heats we have here at present; and I fear affairs here are gone too far, and are in too desperate a condition to be retrieved.

Lord Essex has been with me ten days, which I dare say is long enough to make him repent his expedition, though as yet he is too brave to own it. I take him with me to-morrow to the Escorial, in order to present him to the King and the Cardinal, which latter is by much the greatest curiosity we have in Spain.

EARL STANHOPE TO SECRETARY CRAGGS.

[Hardwicke Papers, vol. lvi.]

Fresneda, ce 15 Août, 1718.

Monsieur,

Après un voyage fort pénible, je suis arrivé de Bayonne le huitième jour à Madrid : j'ai dû m'y arrêter un jour pour me faire habiller de noir, la Cour étant en deuil; et je suis allé hier à l'Escorial. M. le Cardinal avait eu l'attention de me faire préparer un logement très-commode, à une demi-lieue de ce palais, d'où je vous écris. Dès que j'y fus arrivé j'en-voyai en donner part à son Éminence, et lui demander une heure. Il me donna depuis cinq heures après midi jusqu'à onze heures du soir. J'y allai sur les six heures, et restai environ deux heures et demie avec lui. Il me reçut très-obligeamment, et toutes sortes d'honnêtetés se sont passées de part et d'autre. Je commençai de parler d'affaires par lui présenter deux lettres de créance de S. M. au Roi et à la Reine d'Espagne; et S. E. doit me faire avertir quand je dois avoir audience de Leurs Majestés. Il n'est point aisé, ni nécessaire, de vous donner les détails d'une conversation qui a roulé sur beaucoup de choses. M. le Cardinal a reconnu, par ce que j'étais autorisé à lui dire, que véritablement il ne croyait pas que le Roi ni son Gouvernement eussent de mauvaises intentions envers le Roi d'Espagne; que l'on avait même probablement eu dessein de lui faire plaisir, et à la Reine, dans cette négociation; mais que comme LL. MM. Catholiques n'envisageaient point les choses ainsi, ils avaient à se plaindre que nous eussions pris engagement; que c'était un très-grand malheur, et qu'il en prévoyait de très-fâcheuses suites, et même des catastrophes très-terribles; que Dieu savait où elles pouvaient tomber. Il s'est récrié le plus contre la destination de la Sicile pour l'Empereur; et, autant que j'ai pu juger par cette conférence, je vois peu ou point d'apparence d'un accommodement. Ce qui m'a paru, cependant, le plus singulier, c'est qu'il m'a protesté à diverses reprises que lui n'avait point été auteur de cette guerre, et que s'il était le maître présentement il ne la continuerait pas. Que même il ne voudrait point d'états en Italie; que l'Espagne serait beaucoup plus puissante, et plus en état de se faire respecter en se renfermant dans son continent et les Indes, et les gouvernant bien, qu'en se dispersant, comme elle a été par le passé. Il dit aussi (à l'occasion que me fournait

une carte qui était auprès de nous, où je lui montrai la côte de l'Afrique opposée à l'Espagne, comme une conquête très-aisée à faire, même cette campagne, avec les forces qu'il a) qu'il aimerait mieux, s'il était le maître, Oran que l'Italie; mais que le Roi et la Reine avaient pris à cœur les affaires d'Italie, et ne souffriraient point que l'Empereur s'en rendit le maître; qu'il sentait bien que la paix et l'amitié de ses voisins était ce qui convenait le plus à ses intérêts particuliers, et le mettrait en état de soutenir la forme du gouvernement qu'il a établi ici, laquelle, il avoue, ne pourrait durer trois jours après qu'il aura quitté les affaires. Mais par toutes les mêmes raisons qu'il prouve qu'il ne convient ni à l'Espagne, ni à lui personnellement, de se mêler des affaires d'Italie, il voulait conclure, et me faire sentir, qu'il importait extrêmement à toutes les autres puissances de n'y point souffrir l'agrandissement de l'Empereur, et de ne point s'opposer à un Roi qui, bien loin d'agir par motif d'ambition, agissait contre ses propres intérêts pour établir et maintenir un juste équilibre en Europe. Ce qui m'a le moins plu est, qu'il n'a pas dit un mot de notre flotte, de laquelle il devrait certainement proposer l'inaction, s'il avait envie de s'accommoder. M. de Nancré, du procédé duquel je ne puis que me louer extrêmement, est convenu avec moi que nous remettrons ensemble chacun une copie de la convention signée à Paris. M. de Nancré augurait moins mal que moi de ma conférence avec M. le Cardinal, dont je lui ai fait un récit circonstancié; mais je crois qu'il ne fonde ce peu d'espérance que sur les manières de M. le Cardinal, qui en a agi avec moi avec une honnêteté et une politesse extrême, et duquel je n'ai essuyé aucune des saillies que l'on dit lui être familières. Pour moi, je vous avoue que j'en raisonne différemment, et que son sang-froid me fait plus de peine que n'en auraient fait des vivacités. Au reste, Monsieur, je tâcherai d'exécuter le plus exactement que je pourrai les ordres que S. M. me donne par votre lettre du 17 Juillet V. S. de mener les choses à une conclusion, bonne ou mauvaise, le plus tôt qu'il se pourra, et de sortir dans peu de jours de ce pays-ci.

EARL STANHOPE TO SECRETARY CRAGGS.

[Hardwicke Papers, vol. lvii.]

A Fresneda, ce 22 Août 1718.

Monsieur,

Dans la première visite que je fis à M. le Cardinal, le 14, il me promit de m'avertir quand je pourrais avoir audience du Roi et de la Reine. J'attendis son message le 15. Et comme il ne me fit rien dire, j'allai chez lui le 16 après midi avec M. le Marquis de Nancré; et nous lui remîmes chacun un exemplaire de la convention signée à Paris. Il raisonna beaucoup avec nous, et il nous parla avec plus de chaleur qu'il ne m'avait parlé la première fois. Il nous invita à dîner avec lui pour le 18, et me dit que je pourrais voir le Roi et la Reine ce jour-là. Le 17, il vint me faire une visite, honneur qu'il n'a fait encore à aucun autre ministre étranger; mais il évita d'entrer en matière avec moi. Le 18, je me rendis chez lui avec M. de Nancré un peu avant le dîner; et il nous parla de manière à nous donner plus d'espérance que jamais. Pendant que nous étions à table, il reçut un courrier de Sicile, avec la nouvelle que les troupes Espagnoles s'étaient emparées de Messine à la citadelle près. Après le repas j'eus audience du Roi et de la Reine. En leur délivrant les lettres du Roi, j'ai

représenté à L.L. MM. combien il leur convenait d'entrer dans les mesures qui leur étaient proposées pour le rétablissement de la tranquillité publique, et combien le Roi s'était donné de soins et de peine pour leur procurer des conditions avantageuses. Le Roi Catholique m'a répondu avec beaucoup de fermeté, et comme étant bien déterminé à rejeter notre traité. Et si je ne me trompe, il a ajouté qu'il écrirait lui-même à sa Majesté. La Reine m'a dit qu'elle était bien obligée au Roi mon maître de ses bonnes intentions. C'est peut-être un malheur que je n'ai vu L.L. MM. qu'après qu'elles ont su que la ville de Messine était en leurs mains, ce qui aura bien pu contribuer à les rendre plus difficiles. Ensuite je suis retourné auprès de M. le Cardinal, qui nous a aussi parlé, à M. de Nancré et moi, d'un ton différent de celui du matin, et à ne nous laisser plus guère d'espérance. A peine étais-je de retour chez moi que je reçus le messenger Randall, que my Lord Stair m'avait envoyé avec les extraits de vos dépêches du 28 juillet V. S., dont le contenu m'a fort édifié. Sur la nouvelle de la signature faite à Londres le 2 de ce mois, M. de Nancré et moi allâmes d'abord, le 19 au matin, remettre à M. le Cardinal chacun un exemplaire de l'extrait ci-joint des articles secrets. Nous avons jugé qu'il serait mieux d'extraire pour S. E. ce qui concerne le Roi d'Espagne dans les articles secrets, que de lui donner copie de ces articles mêmes, puisqu'ils contiennent diverses choses qui ne regardent point S. M. Catholique. M. le Cardinal ayant lu nos extraits, nous dit que les engagements qu'ils contiennent étaient dans les règles ; et que si on ne voulait pas la paix, il fallait bien faire la guerre. Après quoi nous lui avons demandé que comme par ses engagements on avait laissé au Roi d'Espagne trois mois depuis la signature pour accepter le traité, pourvu que pendant ce temps il s'abstint de toute hostilité, nous lui avons demandé, dis-je, si une pareille suspension d'armes serait agréable à S. M. Catholique. Il a paru goûter cette proposition. Il nous a dit qu'il en parlerait au Roi. Le soir du même jour il m'écrivit une lettre, dont je joins la copie, de même que de la réponse que j'y fis. Le 20, nous allâmes voir si S. E. avait quelque chose à nous répondre sur la communication et la proposition que nous lui avions faites le 19. Mais il nous dit qu'il avait remis ma lettre au Roi, qui ne lui avait pas encore donné aucune réponse là-dessus. Et les discours qu'il nous tint, et ce que le Roi m'a dit lui-même, ne nous permettent pas de rien espérer de notre négociation ici ; mais M. le Cardinal continue toujours à nous parler comme si en son particulier il souhaitait l'accommodement tant pour ses propres intérêts que pour ceux de S. M. Catholique. Et les raisons qu'ils nous en dit sont si fortes et si solides, que je suis quelquefois tenté de croire que ce sont là ses sentimens. Par exemple, il reconnaît ingénument que la guerre va ruiner tous les arrangemens qu'il a faits en Espagne, et qui lui font véritablement beaucoup d'honneur ; et il ne cesse de répéter qu'il convient beaucoup mieux à un Roi d'Espagne d'avoir les affaires bien réglées en Espagne et dans les Indes, et d'être bien le maître chez soi, que de porter ses vues en dehors ; et il a dit souvent que si la guerre se fait, elle ne pourra finir que par la ruine entière de quelqu'une des parties. Cependant il lui échappa de temps en temps des expressions qui seraient croire qu'il a de grandes espérances de pouvoir exciter des troubles en Angleterre et en France. Si bien qu'à prendre ensemble toute sa conduite, le jugement le plus naturel qu'on en puisse faire, est qu'il roule de grands desseins dans sa tête, qu'il est bien agité, et qu'il n'a pas encore pris de parti bien fixe.

Nous avons cru devoir lui donner la journée de hier de répit; mais nous sommes allés le retrouver ce matin, et lui avons demandé s'il avait quelque chose à nous dire. Il nous a répondu, que le Roi voulait consulter sur cette affaire avec d'autres, et qu'il en était bien aise pour son particulier. Ceci pourra causer un délai de quelques jours; et je ne déciderai point si de cette résolution de consulter d'autres ministres nous devons augurer bien ou mal. Si le parti est pris d'en venir aux extrémités, il se peut fort bien que M. le Cardinal ait voulu se couvrir, et s'autoriser par l'avis du Conseil. Il se peut aussi que si M. le Cardinal est porté à un accommodement, et qu'il y sent une forte répugnance de la part du Roi, il veuille se fortifier par le sentiment de gens qui naturellement ne doivent point souhaiter de voir l'Espagne en guerre contre tout le reste de l'Europe. Ce qu'il y a de sûr, c'est que M. le Cardinal nous a parlé aujourd'hui en homme qui veut nous faire accroire qu'il souhaite un accommodement. Au reste, il nous a paru extrêmement abattu et inquiet. Peut-être qu'il aura reçu par un courrier, que nous savons lui être venu hier de Barcelone, quelques nouvelles désagréables. Il y a d'autant plus lieu de le croire, que l'on ne parle point de ce qu'il a apporté. Peu de jours, vraisemblablement, nous mettront en état de vous envoyer la résolution finale de cette Cour.

EARL STANHOPE TO EARL OF STAIR.

[Hardwicke Papers, vol. xxvii.]

Bayonne, Sept. 2. 1718.

My Lord,

I find here your Lordship's letter of the 20th of August, being the duplicate which you had the foresight to lodge here, the messenger having; as you judged, missed me, by taking the post road. You will have received by M. de Nancré's courier my letter to Mr. Secretary Craggs from Madrid, enclosed in one from Colonel Stanhope to your Lordship. Whether the Cardinal deceives M. de Nancré and me, I cannot determine; but I will own to your Lordship that I think he was desirous to have had the suspension of arms, and that he will still endeavour to accommodate matters. He complains bitterly of the King's obstinacy, who is at present governed more by his personal animosity against the Emperor and Regent, than by any reason of state. He represents him, besides, as excessively jealous and mistrustful of all about him; insomuch that, for a considerable time past, no person whatever, not the Cardinal himself, has ever spoken about business to the King or Queen asunder; nor does any other minister ever dare to speak but in the presence of the King, Queen, and Cardinal, who, by what I can judge, are every one jealous of each other. The Queen has taken a *pli*, to affect being more angry than any body at our treaty, thereby to convince the King that she will sacrifice all private interest to his will and pleasure. This is but affectation; what she really stomachs is, that more regard is shown to her issue than to herself; and I really think care should have been taken to have secured the guardianship of her children, and consequently, the administration of the government of those two siefs, to her Majesty during the minority of her children; as likewise to have made some provision for a pension to her during life out of those dominions, if her children should die, and the siefs consequently be disposed of to another family. Something of this kind may still be done; and would, I

verily believe, determine her to give us what assistance she can; for, if I mistake not, she is far from being insensible of the advantages procured to her family; and this I gather even from her behaviour to me, at my taking leave; for, besides a more than usual affection of being civil to me, she did in a manner, and very skilfully, in the King's presence, beseech my friendship for the future. The King talked longer to me than he does usually, with less heat and emotion than the first time I saw him, but with an air, I think, as much determined as possible to abide all extremities. The Cardinal shed tears when I parted with him, has promised to write to me, and to let slip no occasion that may offer of adjusting matters. Upon the whole, I am of opinion that before next spring *fata viam invenient* of adjusting this business amicably; and, notwithstanding the ill success I have had, I am far from repenting my having made this journey. I learn here that the citadel of Messina is taken. The Cardinal seemed very doubtful about it, and still more so of Syracuse. The best, or indeed only service our fleet could do, if the citadel of Messina is lost, is to concert measures with the Viceroy of Naples to save Syracuse; for if the Spaniards are entirely masters of the port of Messina, he will not be able to hurt their fleet. I hope measures are taken in England for a squadron wintering in the Mediterranean: upon that will depend every thing. For at the same time that I will own to you that it is my opinion that we should have a door open to negotiate with Spain, — and that I believe they will at last come to, — at the same time, I say, I think it absolutely necessary to redouble our vigour, upon their hanging back, and to let them see that what shall not be complied by fair means will certainly be done by force. For that reason, I am extremely pleased to observe in your Lordship's letter the style in which the Regent speaks to you; let him but continue that language, and act accordingly, one may venture to answer for success. Enclosed I send you a copy of what I write to the fleet.

I cannot describe to you how troublesome a journey I have had: it has not, I thank God, affected me in my health, but poor Schaub is very ill of a fever. I had much ado to bring him thus far; here I must leave him, where he will have all possible help; and indeed I cannot say enough of the civilities of these people to us. Having nobody with me to copy, I shall refer Mr. Secretary Craggs to what I write to your Lordship, and pray you to have a copy made of this letter, and transmit it to him (1).

EARL STANHOPE TO SECRETARY CRAGGS.

[Hardwicke Papers, vol. xxxvii.]

(Extract.)

Paris, Sept. 14. 1718.

The common talk of Paris, and what is universally believed, is, that the plan is not only made, but the fleets of Moscow and Sweden actually joined, and have a great number of Tories aboard, bound on some expedition against the king.

I forgot to mention to you, in my several relations from Spain, that the Cardinal could not disguise the hopes he had of something considerable

(1) A small part of this letter has been already printed, but not very correctly, from the Schaub Papers in Coxe's *House of Bourbon*, vol. ii. p. 331.

from that quarter. I had likewise, near Bordeaux, at my return, a conversation with the Duke of Berwick, who told me he had the same advices of the Czar and King of Sweden concurring, and joining their forces upon some great expedition. He seemed to believe it levelled against Mecklenburg; and the judgment he made upon it, and which seemed to me very sensible, was, that such an attempt would, or would not, prove to be of great consequence and trouble, according to the part the King of Prussia should act in that affair.

MEMORANDUM ON THE FOLLOWING PAPER, BY PHILIP SECOND EARL STANHOPE.

"The original paper put into the hands of the Roman Catholics was written by James Earl Stanhope. After having been approved of by some of the chiefs of the Roman Catholics in England, they got it conveyed to Rome. The scheme was prematurely blabbed by the late Earl Waldegrave afterwards ambassador at Paris; which having been found out by Abbé Strickland, afterwards Bishop of Namur, he contrived to get possession of the original paper, and sent it back to James Earl Stanhope. His son Philip Earl Stanhope obtained this copy from George Bubb Dodington, afterwards Lord Melcombe."

There is another copy among the Hardwicke Papers.

A Paper put in the Hands of Roman Catholics.

In order to put the Roman Catholics in a way of deserving some share in the mercy and protection of the government, it is required that some of the most considerable depute a proper person with a letter to the Pope, to inform him that, whereas they must be otherwise utterly ruined, they may yet obtain some liberty and security for their religion upon four conditions, all in his own power, and evidently consistent with the Roman Catholic principles.

- I. It is required that he order his former decree about the oath of allegiance, now dormant in the hands of the internuncio at Brussels, to be published and executed by proper delegates, and in the most effectual manner, for the information of the people.
- II. That he take from Cardinal Gualtieri, the Pretender's declared agent at Rome, the title and office of Protector of England, and confer the same on one no ways engaged in any national faction, or otherwise obnoxious to the government.
- III. That he revoke the indult granted the Pretender for the nomination of Irish bishops, and solemnly promise the Emperor to govern the mission without any direct or indirect communication with the Pretender, or regard to his interest.
- IV. That any person hereafter employed in the mission shall immediately be revoked and called away *bonâ fide* upon information of any offence by him given to the government. As the Emperor has engaged to bring the Pope to these terms, it will be necessary to send also a proper person to him, with a letter, to desire his mediation in this affair.

As any delays or tergiversation in coming into these measures can never be coloured with any pretence of conscience or religion, so, if any should

be made by persons obstinately disaffected to the government, they would have no means left to secure the peace of the realm, but in the real and full execution of the penal laws, and more particularly of the act for transferring the rights of succession of the next Protestant heir, the immediate heir not conforming at the age of eighteen, of the late Register Act, and all the consequences it may have.

FORM OF OATH.

I, A. B., do promise and swear that I will pay a true and entire submission to his Majesty King George, and no way disturb the peace and tranquillity of this realm; and that I will not assist any person whatever, directly or indirectly, against his said Majesty, or the present government.

I also declare that I detest the abominable doctrine of the Pope's having power to dispense with allegiance or submission solemnly sworn to princes, or to dethrone or murder them.

SECRETARY CRAGGS TO MR. SCHAUB.

[Coxe Papers, vol. lxxii. p. 143.]

Whitehall, June 30. 1719. O. S.

I cannot sufficiently thank you for the useful intelligence you gave me in your letters of the 24th and 30th N. S., nor can I sufficiently lament with you the bad situation of affairs in the North. I should not, however, regard it in that light, were we permitted to employ such means as may be found to extricate ourselves with honour. But as long as that mischievous old man (1) retains his influence, it will hardly be possible. So contracted are his views with regard to the public, and so confined his ideas to his own Mecklenburg and his three villages, that the credit and security of all Europe are not able to rouse him. Besides, as he minds nothing but his own interest and prerogatives in particular districts, and the gratifying of his resentment against Monsieur Ilgen, etc., such principles will never advance our affairs. Wherefore, happen what may, I am entirely of opinion, that we should adopt the method proposed by the Duchess (2), of making every one speak who possesses the least degree of influence.

You see that, at the rate we are now going on, Lord Stanhope is on the point of resigning every day. It is possible that his friends may continue in, out of pure respect to the King; but without hoping to do the least good, and thus becoming certain victims to an useless point of honour. Besides, you would see a new faction. Those who serve the King would have just credit enough to be sacrificed to the rage of one party, or to the interested views and adulations of another. Believe me, my friend, consult with the Duchess and Lord Stanhope, and exert your utmost efforts; for nothing worse can happen than what I foresee. My most humble and sincere compliments to the Duchess. Show her this letter, which will save her the trouble of one from me. I have but one objection to Gortz's coming, which is, the filling of a new purse. It is incredible what prejudice all these sales of offices and other underhand dealings occasion to the King's service; for, to complete our misfortunes, I have remarked that there is no

(1) Bernsdorf.

(2) Of Kendal.

distinction of persons or circumstances : Jacobites, Tories, Papists, at the Exchange or in the Church, by land or by sea, during the session or in the recess,—nothing is objected to, provided there is money. You see that I, too, write pretty freely to you. I have burnt your letters. Should you show mine, there is not a thought of which I am ashamed, nor any consequences that I dread. But, to conclude, as long as we are in the boat we must pull with all our might, and meet difficulties only to surmount them. I desire you will continue your informations with the same punctuality. Among the very few reasons which induce me to support the burthen of business as well as I am able, the hope of being one day of some use to you is not the least.

EARL STANHOPE TO SECRETARY CRAGGS.

[Hardwicke Papers, vol. xxix.]

Hanover, July 10. 1719. N. S.

We have been in very great agitation here for some time, but have, at last, got a complete victory over the old man (1). The King has twice, in council, before all his German ministers, overruled him with an air of authority in relation to our negotiation with Prussia. One of these rebukes ought to be the more sensible to him, as it concerned the three villages you have so often heard of. The old gentleman affects to appear very supple to me since, and the new instructions for M. Henrich are preparing as I would have them.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO EARL STANHOPE.

[Stanhope Papers.]

London, July 31. 1719.

My Lord,

I have the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 3d of August N. S. The affairs of the North do, indeed, seem to be in a very confused condition ; but you have already got the better of so many difficulties in relation to them, that I cannot help thinking you will get through the rest at last. We had, yesterday, an account of St. Sebastian being taken : things in Spain seem to be in as good a way as one could wish. We have, yesterday, ordered another man-of-war, of 70 guns, a clean ship, and full-manned, to join Sir John Norris, besides the former four : she was ready in the Downs, and will sail to-night or to-morrow morning, the wind being fair. If these ships can get to him in time, I cannot but think he will be strong enough to make his party good with the Muscovites ; for though their fleet may be something more numerous, doubtless they are but sad wretches at the manœuvre of a ship ; and their case, if there is an action, will be like that of the Spaniards last year.

I send you, enclosed, a warrant for the King's licence to me to go over, which M. de la Faye has drawn up ; if the King approves of my going, you will get his hand to it, and send it me as soon as you can, that I may prepare for my journey.

(1) Bernsdorf.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO EARL STANHOPE.

London, Aug. 4. 1719.

My Lord,

I heartily congratulate with your Lordship upon the conclusion of the treaty with Sweden, because, among many good consequences that will attend it, it will give us a just occasion of joining them against the Czar, and giving his naval force a like blow to what was given the Spaniards in the Mediterranean. I am indeed very much concerned to see the difficulties Sir John Norris makes, for I think I never saw a stranger letter than that which he wrote to your Lordship, and of which you sent me a copy. I own I never did expect better from him, for he is one of those unreasonable, blustering men, that make a great noise, and are capable of doing nothing. I have talked with Sir John Jennings and Sir Charles Wager upon all this matter : and when I told them of the certainty of the four Swedish men-of-war and the two frigates, which Spar had acquainted Norris were ready to join him, besides the probability of several more, which Lord Carteret sends you an account of, they lifted up their shoulders, and were astonished, thinking it was a sure thing, in case he did join them, and attack the Czar. For besides that his ships are but of the middling size, there is no such thing as for a nation never accustomed to the manœuvre of ships, to be able to cope with those that are, though their numbers are greater. This was the case of the Spaniards, who struck in the very line; for God's sake, therefore, let positive orders go to Norris forthwith to join the Swedes, and not lose this opportunity, now the Czar's fleet is in a pound; for that seems to be their case now, in the river of Stockholm. Your Lordship will see, by M. de la Faye's letter, the opinion of the Lords Justices, which they humbly lay before the King, that Norris should immediately join the Swedes, and not lose this opportunity. I own my poor opinion is, that if Norris should persist in making his difficulties, the King should send express for Sir John Jennings to go and take upon him the command of the fleet, besides the 70-gun ship which I acquainted you was ordered to join Norris. We have ordered the Prince Frederick, another 70-gun ship, clean and full-manned, to sail forthwith to him, with a fire-ship; so that when all these come, the last of which will sail to-night from the Downs, he will have a reinforcement of six ships of the line, and a fire-ship, if it be not too late when they come. This sure will leave him no room to hesitate, though I hope the King's orders will not have allowed him to stay for these ships, but that he will have joined the Swedes before. You see we have sent all we can, that can be there in any time, and with as much expedition as could be. We expect with great impatience your next letters, hoping to hear then of the conclusion of the treaty at Berlin. I must not forget telling you that Bothmar has shown me his letters from his brother at Copenhagen, in which he has the same opinion that we have of Norris's backwardness; and says that, if he was in his place, he would join the Swedes immediately, thinking the success sure. He confirms what Lord Carteret writes of the number of the Swedish ships that are ready, and seems to think there is no reason to apprehend the Danes doing any thing against us. I must beg leave to put you in mind

of the warrant for the Saxon arrears, the Commissioners of Accounts being very uneasy about it.

My compliments to the good Duchess (1).

EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO EARL STANHOPE.

London, Aug. 7. 1719.

My Lord,

I return your Lordship many thanks for the favour of your letters, with the King's licence, and your kind invitation to Hanover, which I shall make use of as soon as possibly I can; I reckon to be going in less than a fortnight. I have read the draft you sent of the treaty with Sweden, and I think it is in every particular right. I sent immediately to the Commissioners of Accounts, who are so pleased with the signing of the Saxon warrant that they are ready to do whatever one will, and they are making so much haste in the Danish account, that I believe it will be ready for me to send you the warrant for the King's hand by the next post, so that you may depend upon the money being ready the moment the treaty is finished. I hope, by the middle of next week, the six line-of-battle ships and the fire-ship that have been ordered to go to Norris will be with him, for they are all sailed, and the wind has been and is as fair as one can wish. I own I have set my heart upon not losing this opportunity of giving a blow to the Czar's fleet; for, besides the solid and lasting good, no one thing would be more popular here. But if that cannot be, one must do the next best, and in all events the treaty with Sweden will secure us, and, if the King of Prussia acts like a reasonable man, will hasten his signing with us. For God's sake, hasten the King's going to the Göhr, for I hear he thinks of being in England not sooner than the middle of November: if so, that entirely defeats the doing any considerable business before the holidays, the ill consequences of which are but too plain: whereas, if, by meeting early, as has been for these two last sessions, the main of the money affairs are got over by that time, the King has the session in his hand.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO EARL STANHOPE.

London, Aug. 14. 1719.

My Lord,

I most heartily congratulate with your Lordship upon the signing of our Prussia treaty. The King is really now master of the affairs of the North, and you will most justly have the honour of being the projector and finisher of the peace, both in North and South. Your project of the preliminary treaty with Sweden, and the orders you have sent in all events to Lord Carteret, are the justest and rightest that ever were formed, and what strikes one as soon as one reads them; and, without a compliment to you, they are what nobody but yourself could have formed in so nice and just a manner. Our six ships of the line and the fire-ship must have reached Sir J. Norris before this; if, after that, he should persist in making diffi-

(1) Kendal.

culties in the execution of what you shall expect from him, I must beg leave to repeat, what I wrote before, that you should forthwith send for Sir John Jennings to take the command. If this does agree with your opinion, I am very willing it should be known to be mine, to take my share in the advice: for, to lose such an opportunity, is what one cannot think of with patience. There is one Mr. Crisp, a gentleman of estate in Lancashire, a sensible worthy man in every respect, who has this particular merit, that, in the time of the late rebellion, he undertook the office of sheriff in that county when nobody else would, and executed it with the greatest zeal and vigour for the Government; so much, that he has never been able to live in the country since: he has been, for nearly two years past, in treaty, by the King's permission, with Mr. Hide, for the place of Commissary-general of the army, who had that place for life. This Hide is now dead, and Mr. Crisp hopes he may have the place; with this difference, that he only desires it during pleasure, and does not pretend to it for life. I think that, considering the King had allowed him to treat for it upon that other foot, and that he has had the promises of every body in business to do something for him, his pretensions have a just foundation. If you think so, I must beg you would mention it to the King; for, in justice, something ought to be done for this gentleman. I shall embark on Thursday, and make what haste I can to kiss your hands at Hanover. Mr. Johnson goes thither by to-day's packet-boat. Hamerstein and the Grand Mareschal have written to him to come about the King's gardens: as far as his talking may be of any use in any thing, he will be entirely governed by you and the Duchess of Kendal.

EARL OF SUNDERLAND TO EARL STANHOPE.

Hague, Aug. 25. O. S. 1719.

My Lord,

I came yesterday to this place, where I shall stay till Friday, and then make the best of my way to Hanover. I have seen the Pensionary and the rest of the ministers, who are in the dispositions one would wish them; but, notwithstanding that, the factions are so high, and particularly at Amsterdam, that their accession seems as uncertain as ever. I suppose you will have received at Hanover, as soon as they had it here, the good news of Messina's being surrendered; this will make us masters of five or six more Spanish men-of-war that were in that port. I am very glad to hear Norris is at last sailed to join the Swedes; I only wish he does not come too late, for the Czar will, I believe, hardly stay for him, notwithstanding the other seemed to reckon him so terrible. I am very much concerned to hear the King has put off his going to the Göhr so late as to the 24th N.S. of September; for I know the consequence of that will be, that we shall run the hazard of losing the advantage of the session before the holidays. Holding the Parliament by the middle of November, as the King has done these two last years, with the wonderful success you have had both in the North and in the South, would make every thing easy, and fix his authority in England as much as it is every where abroad. I hope your Lordship and our good Duchess will be able to bring this about; for it is of more consequence than can be imagined. We received yesterday at Helvoetsluis the Danish warrant, and other treasury papers, which you sent

by Hayward the messenger ; so that you may depend upon the money being ready for Sweden whenever you shall want it.

EARL STANHOPE TO ADMIRAL SIR JOHN NORRIS.

(Extract.)

Hanover, Aug. 17. 1719. N. S.

You will, after sending a letter to the Czar by an officer, wait at Hanoe such a competent time as you may judge sufficient to receive an answer. If the answer be to your satisfaction, the King will obtain his end, in the manner he likes best, of saving a brave people, without any loss of his own subjects ; but if either an insolent or a captious answer be sent, or none at all, you will then join the Swedes, and act together in the manner you shall judge most effectual to destroy the Czar's fleet, than which a greater service cannot be done to your country. It is impossible, under the circumstances we are, for the King to give you more positive and unconditional orders ; he judges it a happiness to have at the head of his fleet, at this juncture, a man so able to help out the lameness or imperfections of any orders. You know his Majesty's view, which is to save Sweden, if possible, and to destroy the Czar's fleet ; you are the only judge [whether the means you have are sufficient. If you think not, you must not attempt, and, consequently, not send the letter to the Czar. If you think you are likely to succeed, attempt, in the name of God ; and be sure of all the support the King can give you, even though the event should not answer your expectations.

WHIGS AND TORIES OF 1712 AND 1832.

"On examination, it will be found that, in nearly all particulars, a modern Tory resembles a Whig of Queen Anne's reign, and a Tory of Queen Anne's reign a modern Whig." — (*History*, p. 4.) — Some instances of this curious counterchange may not, perhaps, be unwelcome to the reader.

First, as to the Tories. The Tories of Queen Anne's reign pursued a most unceasing opposition to a just and glorious war against France. They treated the great general of the age as their peculiar adversary. To our recent enemies, the French, their policy was supple and crouching. They had an indifference, or even an aversion, to our old allies the Dutch. They had a political leaning towards the Roman Catholics at home. They were supported by the Roman Catholics in their elections. They had a love of triennial parliaments in preference to septennial. They attempted to abolish the protecting duties and restrictions of commerce. They wished to favour our trade with France at the expense of our trade with Portugal. They were supported by a faction, whose war-cry was "Repeal of the Union," in a sister kingdom. To serve a temporary purpose in the House of Lords, they had recourse (for the first time in our annals) to a large and overwhelming creation of peers. Like the Whigs in May, 1831, they chose the moment of the highest popular passion and excitement to dissolve the House of Commons, hoping to avail themselves of a short-lived cry for the purpose of permanent delusion.

The Whigs of Queen Anne's time, on the other hand, supported that splendid war which led to such victories as Ramillies and Blenheim. They had for a leader the great man who gained those victories. They advocated the old principles of trade. They prolonged the duration of parliament. They took their stand on the principles of the Revolution of 1688. They raised the cry of "No Popery." They loudly inveighed against the subserviency to France — the desertion of our old allies — the outrage wrought upon the peers — the deceptions practised upon the sovereign — and the other measures of the Tory administration.

Such were the Tories and such were the Whigs of Queen Anne. Can it be doubted that, at the accession of William the Fourth, Harley and St. John would have been called Whigs—Somers and Stanhope Tories? Would not the October Club have loudly cheered the measures of Lord Grey, and the Kit-Cat have found itself renewed in the Carlton.

On the preceding passage a reviewer has truly observed :—

"There is another remarkable coincidence between the position of the Tories in 1713 and the Whigs in 1836. It is that, in both, there is the same union with another party, (namely, the Jacobite in 1713, and the Radical in 1836,) that party acting for the time subordinately to them, and suffering them to take the lead, yet preserving a distinct character, possessing a powerful influence in the country, and intent upon carrying out their objects to a much greater extent."— (*Quarterly Review*, No. cxiv. p. 338.)

From the year 1721, when Walpole became Prime Minister, until 1742 when he resigned, his biographer, Mr. Coxe, has published, in his very valuable work, nearly all the despatches, and diplomatic correspondence, of any moment. In the Memoirs of Sir Robert, the documents for these twenty years fill above a thousand quarto pages of the second and third volumes, and other large extracts are given in the Life of Horace Lord Walpole. The remaining papers of this kind which I have seen in MS., though very numerous, are I think of much less interest and value. Of this period, therefore, I shall insert no despatches at length, and confine myself to a few extracts or private letters.

In the first edition of my first volume (p. 294.), I stated that the Earl of Nithisdale escaped from the Tower in 1716, by the aid of his mother, who brought him a woman's dress. I was aware that his wife was spoken of in some modern allusions to the story; but I observed that the contemporary or early writers, Boyer, Tindal, Smollett, John Wesley, etc. all mentioned the lady in question as being his mother. Tindal says, that "his mother came with some relations (1)," and I supposed that the wife might perhaps be included among the latter, but that the mother was the chief contriver of the escape, and that the name of the wife was substituted in later tradition as being more romantic. Those early writers however

(1) Hist. vol. vi. p. 546.

misled me. My attention has since been called to a letter from Lady Nithisdale herself to her sister Lady Traquair, giving an account of the adventure, and establishing the point at issue beyond all doubt.

It appears also from this letter, that the King, instead of the good-natured reply ascribed to him when he was told of Lord Nithisdale's escape,—namely, that it was the best thing that a man in his situation could do,—was highly irritated.

The letter itself is of great length, giving an account how this admirable woman not only saved her husband's life, but secured the family estate for her son. It is printed in the first volume of the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, (pp. 325—358.) but I shall here extract from it the principal passages relative to Lady Nithisdale's rescue of her husband. The reader will be gratified to observe how the noble heroism of her act is enhanced by her unpretending grace and simplicity of style. He will be no less pleased to learn that she safely rejoined her husband, and continued to reside with him abroad till his death at Rome, in 1744. She herself survived till 1749. They were both Roman Catholics.

Dear Sister,

My Lord's escape is now such an old story, that I have almost forgotten it; but since you desire me to give you a circumstantial account of it, I will endeavour to recall it to my memory, and be as exact in the narration as I possibly can.

* * * * *

My Lord was very anxious that a petition might be presented, hoping that it would at least be serviceable to me. I was, in my own mind, convinced that it would answer no purpose; but as I wished to please my Lord, I desired him to have it drawn up; and I undertook to make it come to the King's hand, notwithstanding all the precautions he had taken to avoid it. So the first day I heard that the King was to go to the drawing-room I dressed myself in black, as if I had been in mourning, and sent for Mrs. Morgan (the same who accompanied me to the Tower); because, as I did not know his Majesty personally, I might have mistaken some other person for him. She stayed by me, and told me when he was coming. I had also another lady with me; and we three remained in a room between the King's apartments and the drawing-room; so that he was obliged to go through it; and as there were three windows in it, we sat in the middle one, that I might have time enough to meet him before he could pass. I threw myself at his feet, and told him in French, that I was the unfortunate Countess of Nithisdale, that he might not pretend to be ignorant of my person. But perceiving that he wanted to go off without receiving my petition, I caught hold of the skirt of his coat, that he might stop and hear me. He endeavoured to escape out of my hands; but I kept such strong hold, that he dragged me upon my knees from the middle of the room to the very door of the drawing-room. At last one of the blue ribbands who attended his Majesty took me round the waist, whilst another wrested the coat out of my hands. The petition, which I had endeavoured to thrust into his pocket fell down in the scuffle, and I almost fainted away through grief and disappointment.

* * * * *

Upon this I formed the resolution to attempt his escape, but opened my

intentions to nobody but to my dear Evans. In order to concert measures, I strongly solicited to be permitted to see my Lord, which they refused to grant me unless I would remain confined with him in the Tower. This I would not submit to, and alleged for excuse, that my health would not permit me to undergo the confinement. The real reason of my refusal was, not to put it out of my power to accomplish my design. However, by bribing the guards, I often contrived to see my Lord, till the day upon which the prisoners were condemned; after that, we were allowed for the last week to see and take our leave of them.

By the help of Evans, I had prepared every thing necessary to disguise my Lord, but had the utmost difficulty to prevail upon him to make use of them. However, I at length succeeded by the help of Almighty God.

On the 22d of February, which fell on a Thursday, our petition was to be presented to the House of Lords; the purport of which was to entreat the Lords to intercede with his Majesty to pardon the prisoners. We were, however, disappointed the day before the petition was to be presented; for the Duke of St. Albans, who had promised my Lady Derwentwater to present it, when it came to the point, failed in his word. However, as she was the only English Countess concerned, it was incumbent upon her to have it presented. We had but one day left before the execution, and the Duke still promised to present the petition; but, for fear he should fail, I engaged the Duke of Montrose to secure its being done by one or the other. I then went in company of most of the ladies of quality who were then in town, to solicit the interest of the Lords as they were going to the House. They all behaved to me with great civility, but particularly my Lord Pembroke (1), who, though he desired me not to speak to him, yet promised to employ his interest in our favour, and honourably kept his word; for he spoke in the House very strongly in our behalf. The subject of the debate was, whether the King had the power to pardon those who had been condemned by Parliament; and it was chiefly owing to Lord Pembroke's speech that it passed in the affirmative. However, one of the Lords stood up and said, that the House would only intercede for those of the prisoners who should approve themselves worthy of their intercession, but not for all of them indiscriminately. This salvo quite blasted all my hopes; for I was assured it aimed at the exclusion of those who should refuse to subscribe to the petition, which was a thing I knew my Lord would never submit to; nor, in fact, could I wish to preserve his life on such terms.

As the motion had passed generally, I thought I could draw some advantage in favour of my design. Accordingly, I immediately left the House of Lords, and hastened to the Tower, where, affecting an air of joy and satisfaction, I told all the guards I passed by, that I came to bring joyful tidings to the prisoners. I desired them to lay aside their fears, for the petition had passed the House in their favour. I then gave them some money to drink to the Lords and his Majesty, though it was but trifling; for I thought that, if I were too liberal on the occasion, they might suspect my designs, and that giving them something would gain their good humour and services for the next day, which was the eve of the execution.

(1) Lord Pembroke was a kinsman of Lady Nithisdale, she being Lady Winifred Herbert, daughter of the Marquis of Powis.

The next morning I could not go to the Tower, having so many things in my hands to put in readiness; but in the evening, when all was ready, I sent for Mrs. Mills, with whom I lodged, and acquainted her with my design of attempting my Lord's escape, as there was no prospect of his being pardoned; and this was the last night before the execution. I told her that I had every thing in readiness, and that I trusted she would not refuse to accompany me, that my Lord might pass for her. I pressed her to come immediately, as we had no time to lose. At the same time I sent for a Mrs. Morgan, then usually known by the name of Hilton, to whose acquaintance my dear Evans had introduced me, which I look upon as a very singular happiness. I immediately communicated my resolution to her. She was of a very tall and slender make; so I begged her to put under her own riding-hood one that I had prepared for Mrs. Mills, as she was to lend hers to my Lord, that, in coming out, he might be taken for her. Mrs. Mills was then with child; so that she was not only of the same height, but nearly of the same size as my Lord. When we were in the coach, I never ceased talking, that they might have no leisure to reflect. Their surprise and astonishment, when I first opened my design to them, had made them consent, without ever thinking of the consequences. On our arrival at the Tower, the first I introduced was Mrs. Morgan; for I was only allowed to take in one at a time. She brought in the clothes that were to serve Mrs. Mills, when she left her own behind her. When Mrs. Morgan had taken off what she had brought for my purpose, I conducted her back to the staircase; and in going I begged her to send me in my maid to dress me; that I was afraid of being too late to present my last petition that night, if she did not come immediately. I despatched her safe, and went partly down stairs to meet Mrs. Mills, who had the precaution to hold her handkerchief to her face, as was very natural for a woman to do when she was going to bid her last farewell to a friend, on the eve of his execution. I had, indeed, desired her to do it, that my Lord might go out in the same manner. Her eyebrows were rather inclined to be sandy, and my Lord's were dark and very thick; however, I had prepared some paint of the colour of hers to disguise his with. I also bought an artificial head-dress of the same coloured hair as hers; and I painted his face with white, and his cheeks with rouge, to hide his long beard which he had not time to shave. All this provision I had before left in the Tower. The poor guards, whom my slight liberality the day before had endeared me to, let me go quietly with my company, and were not so strictly on the watch as they usually had been; and the more so, as they were persuaded, from what I had told them the day before, that the prisoners would obtain their pardon. I made Mrs. Mills take off her own hood, and put on that which I had brought for her. I then took her by the hand, and led her out of my Lord's chamber; and in passing through the next room, in which there were several people, with all the concern imaginable, I said, My dear Mrs. Catherine, go in all haste and send me my waiting-maid: she certainly cannot reflect how late it is: she forgets that I am to present a petition to-night; and if I let slip this opportunity, I am undone, for to-morrow will be too late. Hasten her as much as possible; for I shall be on thorns till she comes. Every body in the room, who were chiefly the guards' wives and daughters, seemed to compassionate me exceedingly; and the sentinel officiously opened the door. When I had seen her out, I returned back to my Lord, and finished dressing him. I had taken care that Mrs.

Mills did not go out crying, as she came in, that my Lord might the better pass for the lady who came in crying and afflicted; and the more so because he had the same dress which she wore. When I had almost finished dressing my Lord in all my petticoats, excepting one, I perceived it was growing dark, and was afraid that the light of the candles might betray us; so I resolved to set off. I went out, leading him by the hand; and he held his handkerchief to his eyes. I spoke to him in the most afflicted and piteous tone of voice; bewailing bitterly the negligence of Evans, who had ruined me by her delay. Then said I, My dear Mrs. Betty, for the love of God, run quickly, and bring her with you. You know my lodging; and, if ever you made despatch in your life, do it at present: I am almost distracted with this disappointment. The guards opened the doors; and I went down stairs with him, still conjuring him to make all possible despatch. As soon as he had cleared the door, I made him walk before me, for fear the sentinel should take notice of his walk; but I still continued to press him to make all the despatch he possibly could. At the bottom of the stairs I met my dear Evans, into whose hands I confided him. I had before engaged Mr. Mills to be in readiness before the Tower to conduct him to some place of safety, in case we succeeded. He looked upon the affair as so very improbable to succeed, that his astonishment, when he saw us, threw him into such consternation, that he was almost out of himself; which Evans perceiving, with the greatest presence of mind, without telling him any thing, lest he should mistrust them, conducted my Lord to some of her own friends, on whom she could rely, and so secured him, without which we should have been undone. When she had conducted him, and left him with them, she returned to find Mr. Mills, who by this time had recovered himself from his astonishment. They went home together, and having found a place of security, they conducted him to it.

In the mean while, as I had pretended to have sent the young lady on a message, I was obliged to return up stairs, and go back to my Lord's room in the same feigned anxiety of being too late; so that every body seemed sincerely to sympathise with my distress. When I was in the room, I talked to him as if he had been really present, and answered my own questions in my Lord's voice as nearly as I could imitate it. I walked up and down, as if we were conversing together, till I thought they had enough time to clear themselves of the guards. I then thought proper to make off also. I opened the door, and stood half in it, that those in the outward chamber might hear what I said; but held it so close, that they could not look in. I bid my Lord a formal farewell for that night; and added, that something more than usual must have happened, to make Evans negligent on this important occasion, who had always been so punctual in the smallest trifles, that I saw no other remedy than to go in person: that if the Tower were still open when I finished my business, I would return that night; but that he might be assured that I would be with him as early in the morning as I could gain admittance into the Tower; and I flattered myself that I should bring favourable news. Then before I shut the door, I pulled through the string of the latch, so that it could only be opened on the inside. I then shut it with some degree of force, that I might be sure of its being well shut. I said to the servant as I passed by, who was ignorant of the whole transaction, that he need not carry in candles to his master till my Lord sent for him, as he desired to finish some prayers

first. I went down stairs and called a coach, as there were several on the stand; I drove home to my lodgings, where poor Mr. Mackensie had been waiting to carry the petition, in case my attempt had failed.

Her Grace of Montrose said she would go to Court, to see how the news of my Lord's escape was received. When the news was brought to the King, he flew into an excess of passion, and said he was betrayed; for it could not have been done without some confederacy. He instantly despatched two persons to the Tower to see that the other prisoners were well secured.

When I left the Duchess, I went to a house which Evans had found out for me, and where she promised to acquaint me where my Lord was. She got thither some few minutes after me, and told me that when she had seen him secure, she went in search of Mr. Mills, who, by the time, had recovered himself from his astonishment; that he had returned to her house, where she had found him, and that he had removed my Lord from the first place where she had desired him to wait, to the house of a poor woman, directly opposite to the guard-house. She had but one very small room up one pair of stairs, and a very small bed in it. We threw ourselves upon the bed, that we might not be heard walking up and down. She left us a bottle of wine and some bread, and Mrs. Mills brought us some more in her pocket the next day. We subsisted upon this provision from Thursday till Saturday night, when Mrs. Mills came and conducted my Lord to the Venetian ambassador's. We did not communicate the affair to his Excellency; but one of his servants concealed him in his own room till Wednesday, on which day the ambassador's coach and six was to go down to meet his brother. My Lord put on a livery, and went down in the retinue, without the least suspicion, to Dover, where Mr. Mitchell (which was the name of the ambassador's servant,) hired a small vessel, and immediately set sail for Calais. The passage was so remarkably short, that the captain threw out his reflection, that the wind could not have served better if his passengers had been flying for their lives, little thinking it to be really the case. Mr. Mitchell might have easily returned without being suspected of being concerned in my Lord's escape; but my Lord seemed inclined to have him continue with him, which he did, and has at present a good place under our young master.

EARL OF PETERBOROUGH TO EARL STANHOPE.

Novi, November 20. 1719.

My Lord,

Having contributed to obtain a liberty to the Duke of Parma, that he might send a minister to Spain, in order to facilitate a peace, and the Cardinal having, in so priestly a manner, imposed upon that gentleman (1), only to remove him from Madrid, you cannot conceive, my Lord, how great the concern of the Duke of Parma has been, nor how much he desires the opportunity of making that insolent minister repent that, and all his other mistaken measures. I assure your Lordship I have had my share of uneasiness for the disappointment.

The Duke having desired me, if possibly I could allow the time, that I

(1) Marquis Scotti.

would meet one of his ministers on the confines of Lombardy, I took post from Paris, to give him the satisfaction he expected, and I find that Prince in dispositions which I think may be made useful.

Italian princes are great lovers of negotiation, but seldom disposed to take the proper methods to bring matters to a conclusion; but the Duke of Parma will and must exert himself, and sees the necessity of getting rid of Alberoni at any rate, or reducing him, without loss of time, to reason; and, certainly, the Duke of Parma is the most proper person to make these representations to their Catholic Majesties, which, in the present circumstances, cannot but have speedy effect.

The interest of the King of Spain, rightly understood, the relief of his country, the deplorable condition of the Italian princes, require that an end should be put to the follies and visions of this turbulent minister; and I am of opinion it would be a great ease to our English ministers, in the ensuing session, that the war of Spain were ending, if there be danger of a new one beginning with the Muscovites.

I have writ at large to the Abbé Du Bois upon this subject, and have acquainted him with what the Duke of Parma thinks might bring the war to a speedy conclusion; proposing to him what the prince esteems necessary, on the part of the Allies, to give authority to his endeavours.

The Cardinal, to obviate the Duke of Parma's representations to their Catholic Majesties, endeavours to persuade that the Duke is willing to sacrifice the interests of the King of Spain, to get rid of his present pressures by the German contributions: he desires therefore a letter from the Regent, to intimate that the Allies will have no longer patience, but are taking the resolution to enter into no negotiations of peace till the Cardinal be removed from the ministry. The Duke is of opinion, that if he can represent this as the determined resolution of the Allies, he shall be able to deal with the Cardinal, and persuade their Catholic Majesties to an immediate compliance to what is desired. When I was at Paris, I left the Abbé Du Bois in the sentiment that this was necessary and proper to bring matters to a conclusion.

My Lord, as soon as I receive an answer to my letters from Paris, I take my post-chaise to come northwards, in an improper season; I shall not fail to meet your Lordship in the middle of this critical parliament. I wish I could contribute as I desire to the measures necessary to preserve the Government from contempt and ruin. Forgive the expression. No person can better judge of our circumstances, and those of our neighbours, than yourself. You must give me leave to say, it is high time to make the utmost efforts; ordinary remedies will not overcome the national disease of near sixty millions of debt, to which must be added our unfortunate divisions, and all those other circumstances which render all endeavours for the public good difficult, if not impossible.

My Lord, I shall add but one word. Pray consider all I have done, and suffered, for the interest of the present Emperor. The jealousies of the Court of Vienna, upon my subject, are as pitiful as unjust: I am confident you will answer for me. I endeavour nothing but a peace, upon those terms which might satisfy, in my opinion, his Imperial Majesty.

My Lord, I am persuaded you will tell some of their ministers they are in the wrong. I am fully persuaded of your friendship, and your Lordship shall be convinced I am, with all sincerity, etc.

PETERBOROUGH.

EARL STANHOPE TO ABBÉ DUBOIS.

(Extract.)

A Londres, ce 18 Décembre, V. S. 1719.

Rien ne pouvait nous arriver de plus affligeant que la malheureuse animosité qui s'est élevée entre Milord Stair et M. Law; nous en sommes d'autant plus en peine, que Milord Stair nous l'apprend lui-même, et s'en fait un mérite. Il attribue à M. Law beaucoup de mauvaise volonté contre nous; d'avoir fait à S. A. R. des rapports aussi contraires à la vérité qu'à notre amitié, et d'avoir tenu à beaucoup de gens des discours comme s'il était le maître de notre crédit, et résolu de le détruire.

Je vous avoue, Monsieur, que je ne saurais m'imaginer que ce soient là les sentimens de M. Law; je sais combien il s'est intéressé au traité qui devait affermir notre union, et qu'il a regardé l'union des deux couronnes comme la base de ses projets. Les suites doivent l'avoir confirmé dans cette opinion; et s'il lui est échappé quelques paroles qui pouvaient faire croire qu'il commence à envisager les choses autrement, je suis persuadé que ce n'était que pour piquer Milord Stair personnellement, et à nul autre dessein; car s'il en avait réellement contre notre crédit, et qu'il fût en état de pouvoir lui nuire, sans nuire au sien propre, il n'y a pas d'apparence qu'il eût voulu nous en avertir. Mais vous, Monsieur, qui êtes sur les lieux, pourrez mieux juger que nous ce différend. Et telle est notre confiance dans V. Exc., que le Roi ne balance point de vous en faire arbitre, et ne veut avoir recours qu'à vos soins, et à votre prudence, pour y trouver le remède nécessaire, soit en rectifiant les idées de M. Law, si elles pouvaient tendre à notre préjudice, soit en retirant Milord Stair, si le mal ne vient que de ses défauts personnels, comme nous n'avons que trop sujet de le supposer. Que V. Exc. examine donc ce démêlé et ses sources; qu'elle songe aux moyens de le composer, ou de prévenir, du moins, qu'il n'ait de fâcheuses suites pour nos deux maîtres. Qu'elle en consulte S. A. R. Et si vous trouvez que le seul rappel de Milord Stair puisse y mettre fin, dites-le nous franchement, et je vous promets que le Roi le lui fera expédier aussitôt que cette séance de notre Parlement sera finie.

SECRETARY CRAGGS TO EARL STANHOPE.

(Extract.)

Cockpit, December 21. 1719.

The town is very empty. That fool, Tom Vernon, moved for a call of the House, which I was forced to second for the appearance, the day we adjourned. I believe our project to pay the debts, or rather to lessen them, will succeed; and I do not despair of the Civil List, but I am not so sanguine as our good friend the Earl of Sunderland. When that is done, we shall have, in my mind, made no bad session. We may begin next year, at least by the Scotch part of the Peerage Bill; and I will tell you that the report of a new Parliament seems to me to frighten several of our mutinous friends into better manners.

The alternative of having a more consistent tractable majority does not suit with these petulant and interested humours, always ready to take advantage of the King's necessities.

LORD STANHOPE OF SHELFORD (AFTERWARDS EARL OF CHESTERFIELD) TO—.

This Letter is in Coxe's Collections, vol. lxxii. It has no address nor date of year, but was, in all probability, addressed to some one in office or at Court, and dated in 1720, just after the Ministers had been joined by Walpole and Townshend.]

Paris, June 27.

Dear Sir,

I remember when I left England, I threatened you that I would write to you, and you promised you would write to me; and it has happened, as it generally does in the world, that the threats are performed and the promises broke. It would sincerely have been a very great satisfaction to me to have heard from you, though I know you have so much other business that I scarce expected it. You may possibly now have some idle time upon your hands since the recess of the Parliament and the King's journey. If you have, I can assure you, you cannot bestow any part of it upon one that will be more obliged to you for it than myself. I must congratulate you upon the great addition of strength you have acquired by the late changes, and must own you are liberal rewarders of true penitents; but still remember a line in *Othello*, "Look to her, Moor: she has deceived her father and may thee."

I cannot help mentioning to you what I spoke to you of in England, and desiring to know whether you have taken any step in it yet. I own, the more I think of it, the more I wish it may be thought either proper or practicable; it being, in my mind, the only way of my coming into any business, and leaving an idle life that I am grown weary of. I leave entirely to you as the best judge what methods to take in it, and rely so much upon your friendship that I am convinced you will not omit any that may promote it. I should only be glad to know whether you think there is any probability of success, that I may regulate my conduct in the next Session accordingly, for as on the one side I should be very willing to engage in debate, and the business of the House, as well as I am able; which though I should do very indifferently, I could not do worse than the present possessors: so of the other side to enter the lists and get a broken head merely as a volunteer, would be childish and impertinent.

SECRETARY CRAGGS TO EARL STANHOPE.

[Stanhope Papers.]

(Extract.)

Cockpit, July 15. 1720.

Would you believe that the Duke of Marlborough, at a visit he and his good Duchess made at Richmond, told the Prince he was ashamed to see his Royal Highness in such a country-house, like a private gentleman, while such an insignificant creature as the Duke of Marlborough was playing the King; that he had out of decency attended the Lords Justices once at the first summons, but that he would return no more? Last Saturday when I was at that Court, I observed that the Prince talked of the perfect state of His Grace's understanding; but Mr. Walpole told me afterwards, that His Royal Highness had trusted him with this secret.

SECRETARY CRAGGS TO EARL STANHOPE.

[Stanhope Papers.]

(Extract.)

Cockpit, July 19. 1720.

I am to add to what I wrote you about Lord Marlborough's conversation with the Prince and Princess, that by a farther account I have received from Walpole, the Duke expressed himself with bitterness, saying that, although he did not expect to recover his health and strength to the degree he formerly enjoyed it, he found himself well enough to make those people's heart ache who had been waiting for his spoils. He complimented the Prince extremely upon his military capacity, and advised him, whenever he wore the crown, never to have a Captain-General.

DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO MRS. CLAYTON.

[Coxe's Collections, vol. xliii.]

August, 12. 1720.

After I had writ to you of Mr. Jennens, he began the discourse again, and told me he believed the Company would give me what conditions I would for our annuities, or to that purpose, adding, "*What will satisfy you?*" and then ended the discourse with saying, that he had no commission from any body to make me offers, but he believed they would do it, because it was their interest to bring people with great effects into them. This assurance which he gave me, that he was not employed, made me think that he certainly was, for I have found him very insincere and very interested.

You seem to think that money may be got by subscribing in annuities, but that does not yet appear plain to me. I do believe some have sold their lottery and long annuities for good advantage after they were subscribed in; but there are not near so many as are said to be that have sold and are entirely out of the power of the South Sea; and I am certain such an estate as the Duke of Marlborough and I have upon those funds, cannot be sold for ready money; and if one should take security upon bargains made, if any stock should come to that stock, how will such securities be made good, where so many people are deep in it? Every mortal that has common sense, or that knows any thing of figures, says that it is not possible, by all the arts and tricks upon earth, long to carry on four hundred millions of paper credit with fifteen millions of specie. This makes me think that this project must burst in a little while and fall to nothing, unless by the correction of the Legislature they will carry their projects on with French government. If that happens, I think there is no great difference in what place it is put; therefore I am determined to keep my fortune as long as there is a law as it is, though that is but a slender twig to hang by; yet I still like it better than the South Sea, and, like a true Briton, I am resolved to stand or fall by it. I can't believe that our governors would let the Stock fall if they could help it. I am much inclined to believe it proceeds from great numbers of people's selling, that had a mind to secure themselves, though it is probable that they may find out new tricks to get it up again. Every body says that Law has undone France, and

that their affairs grow worse and worse every day. The Daily Courant gives a dreadful account of what they do there, and I always think, when I read it, that it is what we shall come to here. But it is a strange paradox that the South Sea men shall give 134,000 for 45,000 in land, and at the same time people should crowd to subscribe into their stock, and give a thousand pounds.

M. DESTOUCHES, THE FRENCH ENVOY, TO DUBOIS, ARCHBISHOP OF CAMBRAY.

(Extract.)

A Hanovre, ce 8 Septembre, 1720.

La manière dont My Lord Stanhope et M. Schaub s'intéressent à la gloire et au maintien de l'autorité de S. A. R., paraîtra plus évidemment que jamais, Monseigneur, dans le conseil qu'ils jugent à propos de vous donner.

M. Schaub a rapporté à My Lord Stanhope que partout où il a passé en France, il a trouvé les peuples si aliénés et si déchaînés contre M. Law, qu'il y a lieu de craindre un éclat dangereux, et, pour parler naturellement, un soulèvement prochain et général ; étant indubitable que la haine qu'on a pour M. Law ne peut manquer de retomber sur S. A. R.

On ne saurait douter, disent My Lord Stanhope et M. Schaub, que les Parlemens, et surtout celui de Paris, qui garde un profond ressentiment de l'ordre qu'il a eu de se retirer à Pontoise, n'emploient tout leur crédit, qui augmente à mesure que celui du Prince diminue, à fomentier la haine et l'animosité des peuples.

Ce qui augmente les craintes de My Lord Stanhope et de M. Schaub à cet égard, c'est qu'ils sont sûrs que le Roi d'Espagne sera ravi de profiter de ces dispositions, et qu'outre qu'il est en état de le faire par les intelligences qu'il conserve en France, il peut y joindre la force des armes.

Voici le moyen que My Lord Stanhope imagine pour calmer au plus tôt les esprits et relever les espérances.

1. Il pose pour principe avec S. A. R. qu'il est essentiellement nécessaire de renoncer au système de M. Law, et de remettre autant qu'il sera possible les choses dans leur ancien ordre.

2. Il va plus loin, et il est persuadé que quelque projet que l'on mette en usage, quand même il ne serait pas meilleur que celui de M. Law, ce qu'il ne croit guère possible, du moment qu'il paraîtra le détruire ou du moins s'en éloigner, et le reformer considérablement, il suffira pour rappeler la confiance, remettre la tranquillité dans les esprits, et donner le temps à S. A. R. de perfectionner un nouvel arrangement.

3. Mais il croit que ce sera la manière de s'y prendre plutôt que la chose même, qui assurera le succès de cette affaire.

Il suppose, Monseigneur, que vous connaissez ce qu'il y a de plus habiles gens à Paris pour les finances. Il est d'avis que parmi ces gens-là vous preniez quelques personnes des plus éclairées, et dont vous soyez sûr ; qu'après un mûr examen avec eux vous conveniez secrètement d'un système nouveau, et que quand vous l'aurez en main bien dressé et bien digéré, vous alliez à S. A. R. pour achever de le convaincre de la nécessité absolue d'abandonner les arrangemens de M. Law, et qu'en même temps vous lui proposiez les vôtres pour y suppléer sur-le-champ, afin que ce dernier,

n'étant pas averti des mesures que vous avez prises, n'ait pas le loisir de les traverser, et qu'il n'en soit informé que par l'événement.

Il croit que lorsque ce plan sera dressé, il faut que vous le communiquiez en secret, et comme de vous-même, à quelques Membres du Parlement que vous jugerez assez des amis de S. A. R. et des vôtres pour les mettre dans cette confiance. Que ces amis proposent ce nouveau projet comme une chose qu'ils auraient imaginé eux-mêmes pour le bien public à ceux qui sont le plus accrédités dans le même corps; qu'après le leur avoir fait goûter ils cherchent les moyens de le faire approuver par tout le Parlement, et de le porter à prendre la résolution de le proposer à S. A. R. comme un expédient que la compagnie a imaginé pour le soulagement des peuples, et auquel elle supplie S. A. R. de donner son agrément.

Que S. A. R., après avoir pris quelques jours comme pour examiner ce projet nouveau, paraisse l'approuver en tout ou en partie, et que, sous prétexte de le perfectionner, elle charge le Parlement de nommer une députation pour venir examiner ce projet avec elle.

Qu'après qu'on sera convenu de part et d'autre qu'il est bon, S. A. R. fasse dresser une déclaration du Roi, qui, après avoir détaillé avec noblesse et simplicité les différens efforts que S. A. R. a faits pour le bien du royaume, le soulagement des peuples, l'acquit des dettes, et l'augmentation du commerce, marque, qu'afin de porter plutôt ce louable dessein à sa perfection, elle a pris l'avis des plus habiles sujets de S. M., et principalement du Parlement de Paris, et que l'on est demeuré d'accord de ce qui s'ensuivra, etc.

Que cette conduite et la tournure du préambule de la déclaration non-seulement toucheront le Parlement, qui la regardera comme son propre ouvrage, et qui l'enregistrera d'une manière solennelle, mais charmera les peuples, et les ramènera à un tel degré de confiance que S. A. R. se trouvera tout d'un coup plus aimée, plus accréditée, et plus affermie que jamais, d'autant plus que pour l'accomplissement de son ouvrage, Elle devra faire en même temps deux choses essentielles; l'une de rappeler le Parlement à Paris, et l'autre de faire sortir M. Law du royaume, en lui permettant néanmoins d'emporter assez de bien pour jouir d'une retraite agréable.

My Lord Stanhope se flatte que S. A. R. considérera que tant qu'on n'a alarmé le Roi de la Grande-Bretagne et ses ministres que sur les vues que M. Law pouvait avoir au préjudice de l'Angleterre, il se sont tenus en repos et n'ont fait nulle tentative pour le faire éloigner, comptant bien que S. A. R. elle-même saurait le contenir et l'empêcher de leur nuire. Mais à présent qu'ils sont persuadés qu'il s'agit de S. A. R. elle-même, dont la situation sera tous les jours plus violente tant que M. Law se mêlera de nos finances et restera dans le royaume, ils croiraient se rendre complices en quelque sorte de tous les malheurs dont Elle est menacée, s'ils ne lui donnaient pas les meilleurs conseils qu'ils puissent lui suggérer, pour la mettre en état de regagner promptement la confiance publique, et la déterminer à renvoyer M. Law.

EARL STANHOPE TO SECRETARY CRAGGS.

[Hardwicke Papers, vol. xxxviii.]

A Hanovre, ce 1 Octobre, 1720.

Monsieur,

A mesure que le Congrès de Cambray approche et que le Roi considère le tour que prennent les affaires de l'Europe, sa Majesté se persuade que ses intérêts et ceux de la nation exigent que ce que nous pouvons avoir à régler avec l'Espagne soit réglé avant ce Congrès, ou de manière, au moins, que les demandes respectives entre nous et l'Espagne n'y puissent pas être discutées. Sa Majesté croit que rien ne nous est plus essentiel, à tous égards, que de ne laisser aucune prise sur nous aux autres Puissances qui assisteront audit Congrès. La France, jalouse de notre commerce, s'intriguerait à nous rendre difficiles les choses les plus claires, lorsque nous viendrions à en traiter sous ses yeux ; et il est fort à présumer qu'elle s'efforcerait à nous susciter bien d'autres embarras, si elle voyait jour à nous commettre avec l'Espagne. Nous avons contenu jusqu'à présent le Régent ; mais il ne nous a ménagés qu'autant qu'il craignait pour lui-même ; et au milieu des démarches publiques de bonne foi que nous lui extorquions, il n'a cessé de travailler sous main à détourner de dessus lui les vues du Roi d'Espagne en lui présentant d'autres objets. Nous devrions naturellement faire fond sur l'Empereur. Mais non-seulement il ne croit point nous devoir de la reconnaissance pour les secours que nous lui avons fournis en vertu de nos engagements ; il paraît même nous savoir mauvais gré d'avoir plus figuré que lui en le sauvant et ajoutant la Sicile à ses autres états. Il en use mal avec nous dans le Nord. Il se cache à nous de ses intentions, et élude nos instances, tantôt sous un prétexte, tantôt sous un autre. Il fait même des démarches qui le feraient plutôt croire dans les intérêts du Czar que dans les nôtres. Nos liaisons avec les Puissances Protestantes lui font ombrage ; et tandis qu'il reste spectateur tranquille de nos embarras dans le Nord, quelque urgent intérêt qu'il ait à y prendre part, peut-être verrait-il volontiers qu'il nous en survint dans le Sud, afin que nous en fussions moins en état de soutenir les Protestans opprimés dans l'Empire. Mais quand l'Empereur n'aurait nulle seconde vue à notre égard, du moins n'aurions-nous pas à attendre de lui qu'il se mît en peine de nos conveniences, dès qu'en les sacrifiant il pourrait ménager pour lui-même le moindre avantage, ou éviter le moindre inconvénient.

Non-seulement traiterions-nous avec beaucoup de désavantage au Congrès de Cambray ; mais nous y perdriions aussi tout notre poids, en ce que les autres Puissances traiteraient ensemble, s'il fallait que nous eussions recours à elles pour nos propres affaires. Nous dépendrions de tous en quelque manière, et nous leur serions inutiles à tous, puisque nous n'oserions appuyer sur rien avec dignité, ni vers la France, ni vers l'Espagne, ni vers l'Empereur, crainte de nous en ressentir : au lieu que si nous et l'Espagne n'avions plus rien à nous demander l'un à l'autre, nous aurions ensuite les mains libres pour obliger qui nous voudrions, et pour faire rechercher et respecter nos offices par tous les divers contractans.

Mais s'il nous est essentiel d'arrêter incessamment avec l'Espagne tout ce qui doit entrer dans notre paix particulière avec elle, sans en rien réserver pour le Congrès, nous ne devons pas nous flatter que le Roi d'Espagne y donne les mains, sans que nous fassions rien pour lui. Il ne se propose

point de nous rétablir et faire jouir des avantages stipulés en notre faveur par les traités précédens, et moins encore de les mieux régler ou d'y en ajouter de nouveaux : à moins que nous ne l'en tentions par quelque endroit. Dès que nous lui proposerons de traiter avec nous, il nous proposera de son côté la cession de Gibraltar ; et si nous la lui refusons, il renverra notre traité au Congrès, où il sera sûr d'être appuyé dans cette demande par la France, et peut-être encore par d'autres Puissances. Ce point doit donc être déterminé avant que nous commencions à négocier avec l'Espagne.

Sa Majesté avait permis que Gibraltar fût offert au Roi d'Espagne, pour éviter la rupture, et les frais et les pertes qu'elle entraînerait. La rupture qui a suivi a annulé cette offre, et ensuite le Roi d'Espagne a purement et simplement accepté le traité de la Quadruple Alliance, duquel la cession de Gibraltar n'a jamais été une condition. A la vérité le Roi d'Espagne a prétendu l'en faire une, depuis son acceptation, et la France l'a hautement soutenu, deux motifs également forts pour que sa Majesté s'opposât constamment à cette prétention. Elle a fait voir au Roi d'Espagne qu'il n'a nulle espèce de droit de la former ; mais c'est tout ce qu'elle a pu faire. Etsi elle l'a convaincu qu'il n'est point fondé à prétendre à Gibraltar, elle n'a pas pu parvenir à lui en ôter le désir.

Le Roi d'Espagne se pique personnellement du recouvrement de cette place par point d'honneur et par scrupule de conscience. Il a compté sur les assurances que le Régent lui en avait renouvelées à notre insu que Gibraltar lui serait cédé à la paix. Il l'a annoncé aux Espagnols avec la paix, et il ne voudrait pas volontiers s'en dédire ; et il sera inquiet, tant qu'il verra une garnison Protestante dans le continent de l'Espagne. Ce sont les raisons qu'il a lui-même remontrées à ses Ministres, ne pouvant disconvenir que sa Majesté est en droit de lui refuser Gibraltar.

Ces raisons ont induit sa Majesté à m'ordonner de faire considérer aux Seigneurs Justiciers, si l'on ne devrait pas profiter de cette forte envie qu'a le roi d'Espagne de recouvrer Gibraltar, pour tâcher d'en obtenir un équivalent avantageux à notre commerce, et qui mette solidement à couvert les branches que les traités précédens ont laissées les plus exposées. En ce cas il paraîtrait à sa Majesté que Gibraltar ne serait guère à regretter pour nous.

Le Roi d'Espagne, après s'être ouvert à nos Ministres des raisons qui lui font souhaiter Gibraltar, y ajouta celles qui pourraient prouver que la conservation de cette place nous est de peu d'importance. Il dit qu'en temps de paix nous en aurions l'usage sans les dépenses, quand elle serait entre ses mains ; et qu'en temps de guerre il peut nous l'enlever à peu de frais, ou nous en rendre le port inutile, par des batteries dressées sur son propre terrain.

Quant à l'utilité que nous pouvons tirer de Gibraltar, en temps de guerre, quelle qu'elle soit, on doit la peser, non-seulement contre l'équivalent qu'on tâcherait d'en retirer, mais aussi contre l'apparence quasi certaine, que, moyennant cette complaisance, nous pourrions empêcher que de longtemps l'Espagne ne s'unisse à la France, pour conjointement avec elle nous faire la guerre.

L'aversion qu'a le Roi d'Espagne pour le Régent pourra nous aider à faire valoir avec succès la cession de Gibraltar pour l'une et l'autre de ces deux fins. Ni nos engagemens, ni nos intérêts ne sauraient nous permettre de conniver aux vues du Roi d'Espagne contre le Régent ; mais ses vues pour-

ront nous servir pour entretenir ces deux princes dans un éloignement salutaire. Notre sûreté et la tranquillité publique l'exigent, parce qu'ils ne sauraient s'entendre ensemble, que ce ne soit contre un tiers, trop faible à leur résister. Or, il semble que ce serait agir contradictoirement à ce principe que de persister à refuser Gibraltar au Roi d'Espagne contre un équivalent. Nous savons combien la restitution de cette place lui tient à cœur. S'il ne peut l'obtenir de notre bonne volonté, il aura de nouveau recours à l'assistance du Régent ; celui-ci serait prêt à se faire un mérite auprès de lui en l'obligeant à nos dépens, et conséquemment en le com-mettant avec nous ; et quand une fois ils seraient d'accord contre nous, il serait fort à craindre que leur intelligence n'allât plus loin, et que nous ne serions plus à temps de l'arrêter. Alors nous ferions également le jeu de la France, en refusant Gibraltar, ou en le cédant.

Le Roi d'Espagne nous témoigne vouloir vivre en bonne amitié avec nous, et il nous importe sans doute de ne pas l'en décourager. Or, nous venons de lui imposer un traité auquel il avait refusé de concourir ; nous avons détruit sa marine ; nous lui avons arraché la Sicile, pour la donner à l'Empereur ; il nous voit résolu de nous opposer de toutes nos forces aux desseins qu'il a sur la France ; et qu'espère-t-il de notre amitié si en ce que nous pourrions lui accorder, sans manquer ni à nous-mêmes, ni à nos alliés, il nous trouvait tout aussi inébranlables que dans la foi de nos traités.

Sa Majesté sait qu'il ne conviendrait ni à sa dignité, ni au bien de ses affaires de céder Gibraltar aux instances de la France, à qui l'Espagne s'en croirait alors redevable. Sa Majesté sait aussi qu'il serait de dangereuse conséquence de céder Gibraltar au Roi d'Espagne, tant qu'il le prétendrait de droit, puisque alors il ne nous en tiendrait nul compte, et pourrait même de là prendre prétexte pour taxer à l'avenir par de nouvelles prétentions ce que nous exigerions de lui en vertu de nos traités. Mais Sa Majesté croit que ce serait nous exposer de gaieté de cœur à bien des embarras et des périls, que de refuser Gibraltar au Roi d'Espagne, lorsqu'il ne le recherche plus que comme une faveur, et de nous immédiatement ; au lieu qu'en lui en assurant la restitution, avant qu'il vient à traiter avec ses autres ennemis, nous assurerions nos avantages, nous tournerions toutes ses espérances vers nous, nous influencerions même ses conseils, et pourrions par nos soins acquérir sur lui un ascendant, que le Régent aurait ensuite peine à détruire.

Sa Majesté étant ainsi d'opinion que c'est présentement le temps où nous pourrions tirer le meilleur parti de Gibraltar, par rapport au personnel du Roi d'Espagne, elle expose aux Seigneurs Justiciers toutes ces considérations sur ce sujet, afin qu'ils soient d'autant mieux en état de lui donner leurs avis sur la question qu'il s'agit de résoudre avant toutes choses, si en aucun cas on ne doit céder Gibraltar, ou si l'on pourrait en faire un meilleur usage que d'en retirer un équivalent.

Quelque favorables que nous soient les dispositions des Espagnols, il ne faut point se flatter que nous puissions nous emparer de leur confiance, tant que nous nous opiniâtrerions à garder Gibraltar ; monument qui leur rappellerait toujours le souvenir des maux que nous leur avons causés, et serait aux prêtres le motif le plus puissant pour inspirer contre les étrangers hérétiques une nation fière et bigote. Il s'agit aussi de savoir de quelle importance il est de garder Gibraltar comparativement aux frais qu'il faut pour son entretien ordinaire, et aux frais extraordinaires qu'il faudrait pour en faire une véritablement bonne place.

SIR LUKE SCHAUB TO MR. WILLIAM STANHOPE AT MADRID.

[Hardwicke Papers, vol. xxxviii.]

(Extract.)

A Londres, ce 17 Novembre, 1720.

My Lord Townshend n'a pas osé désapprouver entièrement la lettre de my Lord Stanhope (1). Il dit même qu'en gros il est du même sentiment, mais que les équivalents qui y sont avancés ne contenteront pas le Parlement ; et si l'on obtenait du Roi d'Espagne un équivalent en terre , alors il ne faudrait pas balancer de céder Gibraltar. Quand on lui demande quel terrain il a en vue , il dit que c'est la Floride , ou bien la partie orientale de l'île Hispaniola. Il prétend que ces pays sont très-inutiles aux Espagnols, et que même il leur conviendrait beaucoup mieux de nous remettre la Floride que de la garder.

Vous , Monsieur, qui êtes sur les lieux , et qui vivez en confiance avec Don André de Pez, prenez occasion en lui racontant les difficultés qui se rencontrent dans notre nation par rapport à Gibraltar, de lui dire qu'un équivalent en terre pourrait les aplanir ; et demandez-lui en bonne amitié s'il ne saurait pas quelque morceau de terrain dans les Indes qu'il conviendrait mieux aux Espagnols de nous donner que de posséder eux-mêmes. Vous pourrez même dans la conversation lui glisser un mot ou de la Floride ou d'Hispaniola , et donnez-nous là-dessus tous les éclaircissements , et le plus-tôt que vous pourrez.

Je vous supplie de faire mes complimens à Monsieur de Grimaldo, comme aussi au Père Confesseur, en le faisant souvenir du Crucifix dont il m'a fait présent à mon départ.

La désolation ici est très-grande : l'on espère d'y remédier quant au public ; mais quantité de particuliers ne laisseront pas d'être abîmés sans ressource.

MR. W. STANHOPE TO LORD CARTERET.

Madrid, June 8. N. S. 1722.

I had intelligence to be relied upon, that the Duke of Ormond intended speedily to pass into England, with a great number of Irish officers now in the service of his Catholic Majesty, in order to put himself at the head of the rebels there, and for that purpose would set out from hence to-morrow, under the pretence of going for the rest of the summer to Ventosilla, a house of the Duke of Medina Celi, half way from hence to Bilbao; but in reality to be thereby readier to pass to that port with less suspicion, and embark from thence for England, whenever matters should be ripe for his so doing. I thought it my duty to use my utmost endeavours for the preventing him from putting his designs in execution ; and although I had not been commanded by his Majesty to make any instances to this Court in relation to the said Duke, etc., I hoped if I should have erred in taking upon myself the doing of it, his Majesty would be graciously pleased to pardon it, as an effect of zeal, that would not suffer me to neglect any thing that carried the least possibility of being for his service in an affair of

(1) The preceding letter.

the nature of the present one, and therefore I ventured to send a private letter to the Marquis de Grimaldo (of which herewith is a copy); who immediately on the receipt of it writ me the enclosed answer, which I received this morning; and although the success fully answers what I proposed by my said letter, yet as the writing of it might possibly have an ill effect in case the King of Spain had refused what I demanded, as carrying an appearance of his not being so zealous in his friendship for his Majesty, as in the present circumstance it is convenient he should be thought to be, I hope your Lordship will excuse my troubling you with the reasons that weighed with me for the getting over that consideration, namely the undoubted knowledge I flattered myself with having of the sincere friendship of his Catholic Majesty for the King our master, and of his having entirely abandoned the interests of the Pretender, from the assurances he has been pleased to give me himself of both; and from the repeated confirmations of the same things from the Marquis de Grimaldo. I am assured by a good hand, that there is at present in Mr. Browne's hands, an Irish merchant at Bilbao, near 12,000 arms for the Pretender's service; that one Captain Morgan, formerly an agent in England, and at present commanding three small ships of thirty odd guns upon the coast of Spain, is to sail to the Bay of Biscay, in order to transport the said arms to England, together with the Duke of Ormond, and what officers and men can be got; that the place for landing is most certainly either Bristol, Milford, or Hylake, though the unexpected discovery of the conspiracy may possibly stop the Duke of Ormond's departure.

LORD TOWNSHEND TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

[Hardwicke Papers.]

(Extract.)

Hanover, Sept. 17. N. S. 1723.

The chief occasion of my despatching this messenger is to let you know that I have received his Majesty's commands to draw a bill on the treasury for 800*l.*, and another bill for the like sum, a post or two hence; for a service which it is his Majesty's pleasure should remain an entire secret; and which I must therefore beg of you may be kept as such even from the Duchess of Kendal. I make no doubt but this reservedness towards her Grace, towards whom we have sworn an eternal and inviolable attachment, will at first surprise you not a little; but your astonishment will cease when I acquaint you, that the share I have had in this affair has been in obedience to the Countess of Walsingham.

SIR LUKE SCHAUB TO MR. W. STANHOPE.

[Goxe's Collections, vol. lxxv. p. 14.]

A Calais, ce 20 Juin, N. S., 1724.

Je ne quitterai pas la France entièrement sans prendre congé de vous. Étant appelé à Londres il y a deux mois, je vous promis de vous écrire de là, et je l'aurais fait, si Monsieur votre frère ne s'était chargé de vous écrire pour lui et pour moi. Ce qui m'a consolé dans le changement arrivé dans notre ministère, c'est l'assurance que le Duc de Newcastle signalera

tant qu'il le pourra son zèle pour la mémoire et les proches de feu my Lord Stanhope. Quant à moi, je devrais tout espérer des présens ministres à en juger par leurs complimens; mais vous croyez bien que cela ne me retiendrait pas un instant si le Roi lui-même n'avait exigé de moi, que je demeurasse avec lui. Et effectivement je ne saurais assez vous dire combien il m'a marqué de bontés, et combien j'y suis sensible. S. M. m'a envoyé en France pour m'y congédier, et pour assister au mariage de Mademoiselle de Platen avec le Comte de St. Florentin. J'ai passé environ six semaines tant à Paris qu'à Versailles, et vous auriez eu pendant ce temps de mes nouvelles, si je ne m'étais fait une loi de n'écrire à âme vivante tant que je serais à portée de la Cour de France. J'avais déjà essuyé assez d'impostures, pour m'attendre qu'on m'accuserait de traverser Monsieur Walpole, si je me mêlais de la moindre chose, ou pour peu que je parusse être instruit de ce qui se passait. C'est ce qui m'a fait cesser abruptement toutes mes correspondances. Encore Monsieur Walpole ne ne laisse-t-il pas de se plaindre de moi; mais je m'en mets peu en peine. Je me soucie moins d'éviter ses plaintes que de n'y pas donner lieu: s'il était juste il s'en prendrait plutôt à soi-même qu'à moi du peu d'empressement que bien des gens ont pour lui; et vous conviendrez que s'il ne plaît guère, c'est plus sa faute que la mienne. Il est vrai qu'il s'est assez employé à me faire du mal pour qu'il me fût légitime de lui en rendre quelque peu; mais outre que je ne suis pas né vindicatif, vous serez aisément persuadé que je le suis encore moins là où je ne le pourrais être sans nuire au service du Roi, quand ce ne serait que par le mépris de son ministre. Je vais m'embarquer pour retourner à Londres. Je tâcherai d'obtenir de Sa Majesté la permission de me retirer dans ma patrie.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

[Walpole Papers.]

[Whitehall, June 11th, O. S., 1724.

I hear Sir L. Schaub arrived here last night, and you may be assured he shall not be better treated than he deserves. They say he has had a fall from his horse, which hinders him from stirring out; but I have heard nothing directly from him. When I have more time I shall trouble you with some curiosities that I have learnt from Chavigny. You will not wonder if we all here dread Mr. Broglio's arrival; but we are determined to show him all manner of respect and civility. It is very plain, by Mr. Morville's way of talking to you now, that he has been so idle as to give some credit to Schaub's representations; but I hope all that is now over; and I doubt not but you will endeavour, as far as is consistent with your intimacy and correspondence with 672 (Fleury), which is to be preferred to all other considerations, to set yourself well with Monseigneur le Duc and him. But you will see I have not so much as hinted at this in any of my other letters, lest the King should apprehend the coolness that Mr. Morville shows to you was occasioned by your behaviour towards him, when it is very certain that Schaub has been the chief occasion of it, with some jealousy he may have conceived about 672. The last paragraph in your letter, relating to the Duchess of Kendal, I shall not fail to communicate to her; but she has been of

late so ill, and we have been in such fears for her (though I hope she is now out of danger), that we have not talked of any business to her.

HORACE WALPOLE TO ROBERT WALPOLE.

Paris, August 28. 1724.

Dear Brother,

Lord Peterborough having desired that an express may be ready to carry his letters for Lord Townshend to Calais, although I have nothing to write to the Secretary's Office, having not yet been at Fontainebleau, as well on account of my wife having miscarried, as because I have at present no business there; yet I think I cannot well omit this opportunity of writing to some of you, if it is only to give you a plain account of what has passed since his Lordship's arrival.

He came to Paris the 25th instant; made me a visit that night; mentioned his having talked with Lord Townshend about his design to meet Monteleon; that you had given him some directions which Lord T. had since put in writing for his conduct; and so took his leave without entering into particulars. The next day in the evening his Lordship came to see me with M. de Monteleon; and in our conversation Monteleon took occasion to tell me that he should, in what he had to propose, confine himself to the Quadruple Alliance, and the execution of that without any design of entering into a new war; but only to make the Emperor sensible that the three Powers of England, France, and Spain, are resolved to see it executed; but that he was not such a fool as to enter into wild projects, etc. After this general declaration, Monteleon took his leave; and leaving Lord Peterborough with me, his Lordship's discourse entirely turned in praise of Monteleon, as the honestest man that was ever known, and as the greatest friend to England; that his chief view was to please the King; but that he must be careful not to disoblige France by showing too great a preference to His Majesty; and therefore he would propose his scheme first here, and make a merit with France by it, reserving to be finally regulated and settled in England according to His Majesty's intentions; and therefore Lord Peterborough desired me to be easy in letting Monteleon make his court here first, without a previous communication to me of his project, as a means to be better able to serve England. I told his Lordship I should be very easy in the matter; but, indeed, he would find the French Ministers would not resolve upon any thing without His Majesty's approbation; and I think we had little discourse besides, except it was a few words about the Czar, wherein I told him that I was persuaded this Court would not make a treaty with the Czar without us; and that was all which passed then. His Lordship dined yesterday with me *en famille*; but nothing passed about business. He entertained the table with some of his old frolics in Spain; with my having been his enemy formerly; but having reconciled himself to the chief of the family, he believed all was now well again with us.

After dinner I carried him to see Count Landi, the Minister of Parma, where Monteleon and a great deal of company had dined; where, after he and his friend had entertained the company some time, I left him, being obliged to make some visits, as his Lordship was to go and see some ladies.

MR. W. STANHOPE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

[Harrington Papers.]

(Extract.)

Madrid, Feb. 10. N. S. 1727.

All the advices that come this day from Andalusia agree that the Spanish army is actually encamped in sight of and within a little half league of Gibraltar, with which place all sort of communication by land and sea has been publicly prohibited upon pain of death, and the utmost diligence and preparations made use of for the beginning the siege, which only waited for the coming up of the artillery, part of which was already arrived, and the rest upon its march, as fast as the badness of the weather and the roads would possibly allow; and as positive orders were sent from hence eight days ago for the immediate opening of the trenches, this Court is in hourly expectation of a courier with an account of the siege being actually begun; upon whose arrival I shall immediately write to your Grace by a French Officer, who returns post to Paris, and only waits here for that purpose.

Every thing remains in the same situation as when I had the honour to write last to your Grace, no courier being since arrived from Vienna, which is the only thing capable of occasioning any alterations in the systems or proceedings of this Court.

As I am fully convinced of this Court's having for the present laid aside their intended expedition in favour of the Pretender, and as I have taken the most effectual measures to be informed immediately, though absent, of any that may afterwards be retaken of that nature, I humbly think I ought to demand a passport from this Court as soon as the news shall arrive of Gibraltar's being actually attacked.

MEMORANDUM BY KARL WALDEGRAVE.

[Waldegrave Papers.]

Notes relating to my coming here.

(Paris, 1730.)

D. of Newcastle childish about it. Takes it to be an encroachment. Pleads his promise to Essex.

Essex grounded on a former promise of Lord Carteret: a very bad argument at this time.

D. of N. insists it's a job of Lord Townshend for me, which I could not allow.

Threats used to make me decline it, ineffectual.

Refer myself wholly to Lord T.

Writ nothing to Lord T. of the difficulties between the first advice, and my declaring I would wait Lord T. further orders. I am told that if I would have given up I might have a pension of 1200*l.* till a place, that I sowed discord between two brothers, that I could hope for no advantage but from the Treasury.

That Mr. Walpole was disobliged. I did not find it in the sequel; but found the D. of N. to be angry.

No sort of lights given me from the D. of N.'s Office; but the day before

I set out, received some small favour from D. of N. in copies of letters from Mr. W. the ambassador.

The directions from D. of N. given mighty short, and a seeming dislike to my going, though after my arrival at Paris received an obliging letter.

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD TO THE PLENIPOTENTIARIES.

Hague, Sept. 15. 1730.

My last letters from Berlin inform me that the King of Prussia had beaten the Princess Royal, his daughter, most unmercifully; dragged her about the room by the hair, kicking her in the belly and breast, till her cries alarmed the officer of the guards, who came in. She keeps her bed of the bruises she received. Twenty pence a day is allowed for the maintenance of the Prince Royal in the Castle of Custrin; and the enquiry is carried on with rigour, under the direction of Monsieur Grumkow.

JACOBITE PROPHECY.

Baron Polnitz tells us, in his Memoirs (vol. ii. p. 65. ed. 1737) that in 1731 the following Prophecy was in every body's mouth at Rome. It points to the year 1734.

CUM MARCUS CANTABIT HALLELUJAH,
ET ANTONIUS VENI CREATOR,
ET JOANNES BAPTISTA CŒNABIT,
TUM REGNABIT ET TRIUMPHABIT REX IN ANGLIA JACOBUS III.

When Easter falls on St. Mark's Day,
And Whitsunday on St. Antony's,
And when St. John the Baptist's is a Sacrament Day,
Then King James III. shall reign and triumph in England!

MR. KEENE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Seville, Feb. 2. 1731.

There have been several little disputes between their Catholic Majesties about their irregular way of life and the time of hearing mass; but they still continue in the same method, and go to bed at ten in the morning and rise at five in the afternoon. It is generally thought that the Queen is with child.

LORD HARRINGTON TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

[Harrington Papers.]

Whitehall, March 15. 1733.

My Lord,

The affair of the intended excises, upon which so much ferment has been artfully raised in the nation, came on yesterday. There scarce ever was a greater appearance of Members in the House, and a more numerous crowd in the Court of Requests, Westminster Hall, and the adjoining places

and passages. The precaution usual on such occasions, of having Justices of Peace and constables at hand, was taken, but proved happily quite unnecessary, for there did not happen the least incident tending to a tumult.

The debate was opened, about three quarters past 12 at noon, by Sir Robert Walpole, who, in a speech that lasted two hours and a quarter, explained his scheme as to the tobacco (for that relating to wine is deferred till after the holidays), which he did with so much perspicuity and strength of argument, that it was allowed to exceed any speech he ever made. I will next name the speakers in their order, underlining those who were against the question. *Alderman Perry*, Sir W. Yonge, *Sir Paul Methuen*, the Attorney-General, *Sir John Barnard*, (here the Commissioners of the Customs were called in and examined as to certain facts,) *Sir John Barnard* again, Mr. Winnington, Mr. Henry Pelham, *Mr. Shippen*, the Master of the Rolls, *Mr. Heathcote*, the Solicitor-General, *Mr. Pulteney*, *Sir William Wyndham*. Sir Robert Walpole closed the debate; and about half an hour after midnight the question was put for putting fourpence of the duty on tobacco under the Excise, and carried by 263 against 204. The fifth penny, which goes to the Civil List, remains in the customs, which obviates one objection, that this is done to augment the Civil List revenue.

The debate on the side of those who spoke for the question was urged with great dignity and strength of reasoning. The speeches that were most admired were Sir Robert Walpole's, of whom it was observed that he possessed himself, and was in as high spirits when he spoke last as at the beginning of the day; the Attorney's and Solicitor's, and the Master of the Rolls⁽¹⁾, which last gentleman, though strongly attached to the Royal Family and Constitution, does, your Excellency knows, through a particular turn of mind, seldom vote with the Court party, as it is called. He solemnly protested (and every body believes with great truth) that he came quite unbiassed, and fully resolved to be determined by the debate, to which he said he had diligently attended, had heard strong arguments on one side, and trifling and evasive ones on the other, which he recapitulated fairly on both sides, adding some good reasons of his own, which induced him to be for the question. Two other members have been named to me, who have owned that they came determined to have voted against the question; and from their known principles and conduct, and the company they keep, it could not well be otherwise; yet they were convinced by the debate, and voted for the question.

I must own the majority was much greater than I expected, considering what art has been used to inflame the country boroughs, and make them (though in several places it was done by stratagem) write to their representatives to oppose the scheme, which could not but influence several of the members, with an eye to their future re-elections, which your Excellency knows are not very distant. However, the debate was well attended; for besides 474, as full a House, perhaps, as was ever known, there were in town Sir Robert Furnese, who died that morning, and eleven more that are so ill, that the state of their health would not possibly permit them to come to the House.

Give me leave, my Lord, to wish you joy of the carrying a point of as

(1) Sir Joseph Jekyll.

great importance as almost any one that has been brought into debate since the Revolution; for besides the putting an end to frauds and perjuries, etc., too frequently practised in the Customs, and other considerations relating to the revenue, this event will show that neither the Ministry nor the Parliament are to be deterred by popular clamour from doing what is for the King's and Country's service. Then, my Lord, without a farthing new or additional impost being laid, but only an alteration in the manner of collecting the revenue, here will be such an improvement of it (calculated at 5 or 600,000*l.* a year) as will enable the Parliament to take the Land Tax off entirely; which will always be a sure, known, ready fund of two millions a year upon any emergency, and might produce much more could it be equally laid, for which its having been disused might possibly give an opportunity. The land owners having had the comfort to find that they are not to be eternally burthened with this tax, will upon an extraordinary occasion pay it cheerfully, when they find it is to end with the necessity (whenever it should unfortunately happen) that might bring it upon them. Then, as to the present time, the shopkeepers finding this excise, in the practice, not to be so terrible a monster as it has been painted to them, may be easy with it; and if any dissatisfaction should remain, which can scarcely be expected with them in the country, who will only see the same officer who already visits them on account of their tea, coffee, etc., the gentlemen of estates in their neighbourhood, being put into good humour, will have influence enough over their tradesmen, whose subsistence depends upon them, to bring them likewise into temper. This takes off one objection to the land forces, that they are the occasion of perpetuating the Land Tax. The taking off of this tax ought surely to reconcile all those who are eased by this means to the present administration, and incline them to wish for such another Parliament when a new one shall be chosen, and to conciliate their interest towards it.

LORD HERVEY TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Kensington, Sept. 9. 1735.

Dear Sir,

If you find this prompt payment of so kind a letter as you honoured me with by the last post a troublesome return to so agreeable a distinction, your only way to prevent it for the future is not to put me in your debt: for whenever I am so obliged, unless you will point me out some other way, it must be so acknowledged.

The natural and sensible account you give of your present situation in Holland would certainly make me pity you in the midst of all the difficulties you have to struggle with, if I was not very well assured that the same honesty and good sense that have carried you through as intricate and delicate negotiations in former times, will now extricate you out of these with credit to yourself, satisfaction to your master, pleasure to your friends, and benefit to your country.

I took the liberty to repeat to the Queen that part of your letter that related to her: for though, to people I am indifferent to, I make it a general rule to repeat nothing they say or write to me, yet with those to whom I feel I mean friendly and wish well, I act differently, and always think there

is a discretionary power lodged in me to make the use I think fit of what they communicate. If ever therefore I err in this way towards you, you may find fault with me perhaps for judging ill, but I am sure it will never be in your power to reproach me with not meaning well.

The Queen is so perfectly recovered, that I never knew her in better humour, health, and spirits than she has been this morning. I wish some of those wise sanguine people in the opposition could have seen her, who affect such joy, and give out that a vacant apartment is to be inhabited this winter by a new favourite. The joy this prospect gives them might perhaps be a little damped when they found our apprehensions did not keep pace with their hopes, and that those who are as nearly concerned, and a little better informed, think as differently on the truth of this report as they would feel to the consequences of it if it were true.

It is no news to you, I suppose, that the Duchess of Buckingham and her son are gone abroad again, any more than the particulars of the very extraordinary letter she wrote to your brother to notify her departure; however, there was one expression I cannot help repeating to you, which perhaps things of more importance prevented him from telling you of, and that is her calling her son *a subject of this place*, without saying of whom.

The University of Oxford have lately paid my Lord Chancellor (1) a great compliment by giving him his degrees in person in the theatre; which is a distinction that was never before shown to any body but a prince of the blood. I remember formerly to have read in Cicero's epistles to Atticus, that when the Senate of Rome conferred the Senatorian rank, by an extraordinary law, on young Octavius, Tully says this compliment was paid as much to mortify Antony as to oblige Octavius. Whether the Bishop of London is the Antony of this compliment I know not; but whatever the University and the clergy meant by this act, it is thus the world and the laity interpret it; and though the father's prudence is silent on this particular, the son's triumph, as I am informed, is less private.

The Bishop of Winchester's (2) late Book upon the Sacrament has made many enemies, or at least has given occasion to many people to show themselves such. Those who censure him on this occasion say it is written to take off all reverence for the Sacrament; those who justify him say it is only to take off the horror; but those who are reasonable about it, I think should neither censure the doctrine nor justify the publication. Things are very well as they are; why stir them?

It is with many parts of policy, both in government and religion, as it is with some liquors: they will neither bear being shaken, nor going too near the bottom; for which reason, in both these cases, it is very ill judged to run the risk of spoiling all that is clear and good, only to squeeze a little more out of what is bad. When I reproached the Bishop of Winchester for publishing this book, without ever saying one word to me about it beforehand, his answer was, that he would not tell me of it, because he knew I should advise him against it, and he was determined to do it. Adieu; I have not room for a formal conclusion; but am, etc.

HERVEY.

(1) Lord Talbot.

(1) Dr. Hoadley.

LORD HERVEY TO HORACE WALPOLE.

Kensington, Sept. 12. 1735.

You need not fear my troubling you, dear Sir, with another long letter this post, after the unreasonable one you had by the last; for I now write to you from the waiting-rooms, with Mrs. Selwyn and her family talking so fast round me, that I hardly know whether I am writing my own thoughts or their words. My only reason for writing at all is, because I cannot send you the enclosed (1) without telling you it gives general satisfaction on a point that has long been the occasion of a Craftsman triumph against us. Upon the whole, I think it well written; but the two last paragraphs (I do not mean the advertisements) incomparable: they are perfectly what the Italians call *ben trovato*. I disapprove the motto extremely: they are reflections which ought never to be cast, as they never, with sensible people, hurt those on whom they are thrown, if they are true, and always hurt those who throw them, true or false; and I think, too, that much more might have been said in justification of Sir Robert's drawing this contract, than that he was implored and importuned to draw it: the circumstances of those times, and general ruin in that general confusion being apprehended, was, sure, a full justification of any body who tried to prevent it by the only method that the whole world then thought would prevent it.

The news of Prince Eugene's having left the camp, and being returned to Vienna, is at present the topic of every coffee-house conversation, as well as every Court whisper; till the reason of this sudden unexpected step becomes as public as the fact, it will occasion great speculation among the politicians, and give birth to many conjectures among the refiners. I may talk, perhaps, my dear Mr. Walpole, extremely *en ignorant*; but to one who, like me, sees nothing more than the surface of events, and knows nothing of the deeper springs of causes, surely this war must seem the oddest that ever was carried on: the campaign last year in Italy was not more unreasonably bloody, than that of this year on the Rhine is unaccountably bloodless. France is refractory in all reasonable proposals for peace, and yet seems afraid to prosecute the war. On the other hand, the Emperor ransacks the remotest parts of barbarism under the pole, to fetch 30,000 Russian bears to strengthen his troops; and the moment he has fetched an army to his general he sends for his general from the army: *tout cela me passe*.

I set out with a promise not to trouble you with a long letter; but I have kept my word very ill, and, I fear, have broken it very ill too; for in the noise I write I fear the little meaning I have to boast of will be quite unintelligible. There is one truth I am sure I can answer for, which is my being,

Most sincerely yours,
HERVEY.

(1) Sir Robert Walpole's vindication for drawing the outline of a contract between the Bank and South Sea companies, in the autumn of 1720,

MR. WALTON TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

[Coxe's Collections, vol. III.]

(Extract.)

Florence, le 30 Juin, 1736.

Je n'ai pas eu un journal suivi d'Albano.... Je sais seulement que Hay, dit Lord Inverness, est revenu à Albano de son voyage de Naples, et que dans peu il doit retourner à Avignon. Le Prétendant, pendant cette villegiature, a été plus qu'ordinairement mélancolique et sombre, et sa santé devient de jour en jour plus faible.

Depuis les vexations souffertes par les Espagnols, il est entré un tel enthousiasme dans l'esprit du menu peuple habitant l'État Ecclésiastique que presque tous sont devenus partisans de l'Empereur. Un vigneron demeurant hors de la Porte Latine de Rome, sur son lit de mort, a institué par testament l'Empereur son héritier universel, lui laissant sa vigne et habitation y annexée, deux sacs de blé, quatre *scudi* en espèces, et ses meubles, proportionnés à la condition du testateur. Le comte de Harrach, pour seconder l'affection du peuple pour son maître, a envoyé prendre inventaire de l'héritage, ayant donné part à l'Empereur de cette étrange aventure !

The three following letters of Bolingbroke to Lord Harcourt are amongst the papers at Nuneham, and were communicated to me by the kindness of George G. Harcourt, Esq., M. P., since the publication of the first edition of this volume. I therefore had inserted them at first in the third volume.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD CHANCELLOR HARCOURT.

Kensington, July 19. 1714.

My Lord,

This messenger comes to you by the Queen's command. Her Majesty desires you to be in town on Wednesday, as early as conveniently you can. Besides the Irish dispute, which some consideration must be had upon Thursday morning, there are too many other affairs of consequence now on foot to dispense with your Lordship's absence.

I beg your Lordship's answer by the messenger, who has orders to return with all possible speed, and am, my Lord, etc.

P. S.—Pray, my Lord, be punctual, and bring back with you a more sanguine disposition than you left town with ; at least, don't fancy that the Queen and all the rest of us are to be the slaves of him (1) who was raised by the favour of the former, and the friendship of the latter.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD HARCOURT.

London, July 26. 1723.

My Lord,

I think it a case of conscience to interrupt your Lordship in the enjoyment of the pleasures of the country, which you love so well, and can follow so little. But a return of my fever, which Dr. Mead hopes he has stopped by

(1) Lord Oxford.

the bark, makes me in haste to be going for Aix, where he thinks I may promise myself to find a radical cure for this ill habit of body.

There are some other reasons which are fortified to my apprehension since your Lordship left us, that incline me to go away about Thursday or Friday sevensnight, which time is later than that your Lordship set for your return. If, by any accident, your return should be deferred, I must beg leave to wait on you in the country, or desire you to give me a meeting, where it may be least inconvenient to your Lordship, on the road, for I cannot think of leaving England without embracing the person, to whom I owe the obligation of having seen it once more. I will not descend into any particulars at present, but I cannot help saying that I see some clouds rise which it is certainly much more easy to hinder from gathering than to dispel when gathered. I am, and shall be in all circumstances of life, and in all the countries of the world, my Lord,

Your most faithful and obedient servant,
BOLINGBROKE.

LORD BOLINGBROKE TO LORD HARCOURT.

Dawley Farm, March 22. 1725.

My Lord,

Whilst I am here troubling myself very little about any thing beyond the extent of my farm, I am the subject of some conversations in town, which one would not have expected. I will mention one of these to your Lordship. Arthur Moore has, in two several companies, answered persons who were inquisitive, whether my attainder would be repealed in this session, by saying that it could not be imagined the Government would do any thing in my favour, whilst I was caballing against it with Mr. Pulteney. If this report was to be thrown into the world, Arthur Moore might, with a better grace, have left it to be propagated by some other emissary; and if it be designed as an excuse for leaving me in my present condition, than which none more cruel can be invented, I do assure your Lordship that the excuse shall not stand good.

I have very much esteem for Mr. Pulteney. I have met with great civility from him, and shall, on all occasions, behave myself towards him like a man who is obliged to him. But, my Lord, I have had no private correspondence, or even conversation with him, and whenever I appeal to the King, and beg leave to plead my cause before him, I will take care that his ministers shall not have the least pretence of objection to make to me in any part of my conduct. I will only say upon this occasion, that if I had caballed against them, there would have been other things said than were said, and another turn of opposition given. I dare say your Lordship acquits me upon this head, but I do not know whether you will so easily forgive me the length of this letter upon so trifling a subject.

Do, in this matter, what you think proper; perhaps you will mention it to my Lord Privy Seal (1), as I shall, when I have the honour of seeing him.

My return to London will depend on the arguing my plea in Chancery, and that cannot be long delayed.

I am faithfully, etc., etc.

BOLINGBROKE.

(1) Lord Trevor.

THE PRETENDER TO MR. T. CARTE.

Walpole Papers and Coxe's Copies, vol. lli. It is thus endorsed in Sir Robert Walpole's own handwriting. "This original letter, written to Mr. Thomas Carte, when at Rome, and given to him, was "delivered to me by the said Mr. Thomas Carte, September 18. 1739, together with the heads" (of a plan of government).]

Rome, July 10. 1739.

The message you bring could not but appear very singular and extraordinary to me, because you deliver it only from second hand, and that I have no sort of proof of your being authorised by the person in question, who cannot but feel that it is natural for me to mistrust what may come from him. It may be, and I hope it is, the case, that he wishes me and my cause well, and I am sensible it may be greatly in his power to serve both. If he has really my interest at heart, let him send to me some trusty friend and confidant of his, to explain to me his sentiments and views, and if he pursues measures which manifestly tend to my restoration, I shall be persuaded of his sincerity, and shall consider and reward him after my restoration, in proportion to the share he may have had in bringing it about. But whatever may or may not be in this matter, I have no difficulty in putting it in your power to satisfy him authentically on the two articles about which he is solicitous, since, independent of his desires, I am fully resolved to protect and secure the Church of England according to the reiterated promises I have made to that effect, and shall be ready, after my restoration, to give all reasonable security which a fresh parliament can ask of me for that end. As for the Princes of the House of Hanover, I thank God I have no resentment against them, nor against any one living. I shall never repine at their living happily in their own country, after I am in possession of my kingdoms, and should they fall into my power upon any attempt for my restoration, I shall certainly not touch a hair of their heads. I thought it proper to explain in this manner my sentiments on these heads, not absolutely to neglect an occurrence which may be of great importance, if well grounded, and if otherwise, no inconvenience can arise from what I have here said.

JAMES R.

[LORD DESKFORO TO MARQUIS VISCONTI.]

Hanover, December 26. 1740.

Upon my arrival here last week, I had the pleasure to find yours of the 3d December, which had lain here for some time, I having made my stay at Berlin longer than I at first intended, being willing to see as much as possible, and to form as just a notion as I could of the character of that young ambitious Prince (1), who is like to act a part of so much importance in Europe. He certainly has many qualities worthy of praise. His activity and application to business is surprising; his secrecy commendable. He has a vivacity, too, and a liveliness of thought, with a justness of expression, that is uncommon. But his thoughts seem rather of the brilliant, than of the solid, kind; and, even in common things, one sees him dail take a resolution, and execute it in a moment. His fire appears too great

(1) Frederick the Second.

to let him have time to weigh the difficulties that may attend it ; and the idea he has of the superiority of his own parts, creates in him a presumption which makes him contemn and act almost in every thing without counsel. The insinuations of M. Podweis, who is remarkable for his attachment to France, are said, sometimes, to have some effect. Field-Marshal Schwerin is the man in his service whom he esteems the most ; but if the King of Prussia's genius and parts would make him estimable if they were joined with common integrity, they make him more detestable and dangerous, when we consider what a villainous heart they are directed by. His falsehood and want of faith is well known to you at Vienna. I wish to God you had not trusted him so long : neither could I find that he was possessed of any one *qualité de cœur* that was not detestable. He is avaricious to a great degree, but has an avarice subordinate to his governing passion—ambition. He seems incapable of friendship, and his ingratitude is surprising. I shall only give you two instances of it. Two young gentlemen, captains in the Prussian service, after having dissuaded him from the attempt, were at last induced, by solicitations, to expose their lives and fortunes in endeavouring to assist him to make his escape when he was seized. Luckily for them they got off. The one went into the Dutch service, and, at the death of the late King of Prussia, had risen to be a captain of horse there. This King, upon his accession to the crown, writ for him, and offered him a pension of 1000 dollars, if he would come and settle at Berlin. The gentleman's answer was, that he had very near twice as much by his commission in Holland, and he flattered himself that his Majesty would not desire one, whose attachment to him had made him expose his life in his service, to make so disadvantageous a change. The King said he could do no more for him, and so let him go back into Holland, I believe, without paying his journey. The other gentleman retired into England, where, being a foreigner, he could not be employed ; but he there obtained letters of recommendation to the general who is at the head of the troops in Portugal, and who, as soon as he arrived at Lisbon, granted him the commission of Major of Horse. The King of Prussia, likewise, upon his accession to the crown, wrote to him, who did not balance a moment, but immediately laid down his commission, and set out for Berlin. Since his arrival there, the King has given him the *brevet* of Lieutenant-Colonel, and made him Ecuyer, with 1300 crowns pension, which is not half so much as he had by his commission in the Portuguese service. He had likewise a small estate, which the late King of Prussia confiscated, and gave to the recruiting cash. The King, instead of restoring to him the revenues of so many years, which, upon his account, he had lost, still leaves it addicted to the recruiting cash, and retains it from him. Base ingratitude ! When I join this with his unexampled falsehood and shocking breach of faith to your Queen, there is nothing so villainous, nothing so bad, that this Prince does not seem to me capable of doing. He has deceived you once at Vienna. I flatter myself your Court will not be weak enough to let Gotter deceive you again.

MR. ROBINSON TO LORD HARRINGTON.

[Grantham Papers, and Coxe's Copies.]

Presburg, September 20. 1741.

The inclosed is the speech the Queen made on the 11th instant to her Hungarian Diet. They answered, *vitam et sanguinem!* The Diet, it is thought, will break up this week, after which the Queen, it is presumed, will remove for some time to Raab, and afterwards to Pesth, over against Buda. There are as little conveniences in the one as the other place for the Court. I shall follow as close and as well as I can in this almost desert and unprovided country, till I am honoured with the King's orders.

Mr. Dunant has orders to send, while Vienna is open, all the particulars of the dispositions making there for a good defence. The Archduke (1) is still in Vienna.

The Chancellor says that there is no safety left for Europe, but an immediate and vigorous diversion in Flanders.

MR. ROBINSON TO MR. WESTON.

Presburg, October 9. 1741.

We have no place yet fixed for our winter residence. Vienna we cannot certainly return to, siege or not; this place is not secure in case of a siege there; Raab is too little; Buda too unwholesome. In the meanwhile I have neither house nor home. Unless you have some scheme on the anvil to save us, I do not see that you can long have occasion for a minister to the Queen of Hungary. The *maladie du pays* comes very fast upon me.

MR. ARTHUR VILLETTE TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

Camp of the Concordia, July 19. 1742.

I am informed on good authority, that when the news first came to Versailles, by a gentleman of Don Philip, that the Spanish galleys had been burnt, Cardinal Fleury clapped both his hands on his eyes, and kept them there for some time without uttering any thing else but these words, *si mea credita trahunt me*; which he repeated more than once, and he said, that all Mr. Campo Florida said to incense him and excite him to resent such an indignity offered to the cannon of one of the French King's fortresses, produced no effect, and was received but very coldly.

SECRET INTELLIGENCE FROM ROME.

[Grantham Papers, and Coxe's Collection, vol. III.]

January 25. 1744.

On the 19th instant, in the afternoon, the Pretender sent his favourite Dunbar to the Pope, to let him know that his eldest son set out from hence

(1) The Archduke, son of Maria Theresa, was then a child in arms; but the word is undoubtedly an error of the transcriber for the "Grand Duke," her husband, who had undertaken the defence of her capital.

in the night of the 9th of this month, in order to go to France as secretly as possible, excusing himself that he had not sooner acquainted his Holiness with this, because he thought thus to prevent the umbrage of those who might have hoped to stop this motion.

The Austrian minister and the ambassador of Venice were immediately informed of this notice ; and the former, in particular, towards the evening of that same day, sent away an express by the way of Florence, that an information of this might be given, both at the camp of Rimini and at the Court of Vienna. On the 20th, the Pretender being at dinner, he declared publicly this departure of his son to all his servants and others, adding, that at the time he was speaking, he thought that his son had reached the frontiers of France, upon which he received the congratulations of all that were present ; and at night he was also congratulated by the ministers of France, of Spain, of the Court of Frankfort, and of all those that concern themselves for that family.

As to the manner of this departure, the following account may be depended upon. On the 7th instant was sent out of town publicly, the hunting equipage and the harness for the service of the two brothers. On the 8th, notice was given to all those that were to be of their party, to set out at their ease in the conveniences that were assigned them. On the 9th, in the morning, the eldest son sent one of his servants to the Cardinal, Secretary of State, to beg of him to leave the keys of the gate of St. John with the officer of the guard, that he might not be obliged to wait till the hour that this gate is commonly opened at, he being desirous to go out that way for Cisterna, together with his brother, and that he wanted to get thither time enough to prepare every thing that was necessary for their hunting on the 11th, which request was complied with, so that he set out in the night of the 9th, a little after midnight, whilst his brother was asleep. He got into his own chaise with Dunbar, having no other followers than one of his grooms, who is a Norman, and who led another horse well saddled. Mr. Fitzmaurice, who was privy to the secret, was charged to tell the younger brother, when he should awake, that his brother, being excessively fond of hunting, had gone before, but that he would meet him at Albano, insomuch that the second son set out at the appointed hour, being 12 of the clock, according to the Italian way of reckoning, that is to say, at 6 in the morning on the 10th, having all the retinue with him. After the eldest son had gone a few posts, he begun to complain that he was cold, and said that to warm himself he would get on horseback. This was concerted with Dunbar, to deceive the postilion that drove them and the servant that attended. Dunbar at first opposed his desire, but at last agreed to it, so that the other, being got on horseback, was followed by his Norman groom, who accompanied him afterwards during his whole voyage (this groom is thought to be a man of consequence, though he has been for some time in the service of that house upon the footing of a servant belonging to the stable); and thus being come with his servant to the turning of the road which goes to Frascati, he stopped there and waited for Dunbar's chaise. When it was come, he feigned that he had had a fall from his horse, and that he had hurt his foot, upon which Dunbar desired him to go into the chaise again, but he insisted upon his getting on horseback to go quicker, and instead of going to Albano, there to wait for his brother, he took the road of Marino, to go straight to Cisterna, saying that he should there take some hours of rest, and that Dunbar might

go to Albano by himself, there to wait for his brother. and to tell him of his accident ; that the other should not stop but go on to Cisterna ; and thus staying with his faithful Norman alone at the turning, after Dunbar was gone on in the chaise, he and his groom took the road to Frascati, and having coasted along the Marana (1), they entered into the Consular Way, and then into the Florence road, from whence they went to Lerici and to Genoa, and then to Antibes, and that they did without any loss of time. In the meanwhile the Bailif de Tencin had dispatched on the 6th, with great secrecy, his intendant to Paris, not only to give notice to the Court there of the resolution that was taken here about this departure, but also to make proper dispositions both at Lerici and at Genoa, for his embarkation under a feigned name.

The second son being come to Albano, and finding Dunbar there, asked him where his brother was. Dunbar told him at first of the pretended accident ; but it is said that in private he acquainted him with the truth of the thing, and desired him to go on to Cisterna, and to talk of his brother's fall, and to say that he would soon come to him. He also desired that nobody should publish this accident, for fear it should come to the ears of his father. He ordered the company to begin their hunt, and to divert themselves in the best manner they could. Dunbar himself remained at Albano, and went on every day in giving to the Duke of Sermoneta, to whom Cisterna belongs, an account of the eldest brother's health, saying that he grew daily better and better, and desired the said Duke not to mention any thing of this in the letters he writ to his friends at Rome, for fear it should come to the ears of the Pretender, but to say that the brothers had very good sport, and spent their time very well. The better to cover all this, the younger son sent some wild boars to Rome, in his brother's name and his, some of which were given as presents to the Pope, to Cardinal Acquaviva, and to other people. This feint lasted till the 17th instant, when a letter was sent to Cisterna, in the elder brother's name, to let the company know that the weather being bad he did not care to go a hunting, and that he would go back to Rome, but that his brother might do what he pleased. Upon this Dunbar returned to Rome that very evening, with a young Englishman, son to one of the Pope's horse guards, who is about the same age with, and very like in the face to, the eldest son. Dunbar had had this young man dexterously brought to him at Albano ; there were also come thither two servants of the second son, from Cisterna, who went back to Rome with Dunbar ; so it was reported in town that the eldest son was come back.

It is said in the best companies here, that some days before the setting out of the eldest son, Cardinal Acquaviva had desired Abbot Franchini, Minister of Tuscany, to grant him a passport for a certain Marquis Spinelli, his kinsman, who wanted to go to Genoa for his own business, which passport was immediately given at his request. It is also said that M. de Thürm, at the desire of the fore-mentioned Abbot, had given some letters of recommendation to the supposed Marquis. I can't say whether this is true or no, but I much question that these gentlemen should have been deceived by all the management of this affair. They seemed to believe that the Court of Paris had no thoughts of this young man, and gave out such reasons for it that appeared very natural ; but perhaps they did this

(1) A small stream in the Campagna of Rome.

to disgust other people from hearkening to any accounts that should be given of this undertaking.

SIR THOMAS ROBINSON TO MR. WESTON.

Vienna, September 16. N. S. 1744.

Dear Sir,

The last post brought no letters from England. We have Prince Charles (1) himself here; a better testimony of all that passed upon the banks of the Rhine than either Noailles's relation to his Court, or the Emperor's fourteen postillions at Frankfort. Don Rodrigue, of Cologne, has inserted the inclosed relation of it in the Brussels Gazette, and Königseck Erps printed it, I hear, for the particular edification of those who had been surprised with the French accounts.

I do not doubt but you will hear of many *such* victories from Bohemia, though perhaps preceded with the *real* news of the loss of Prague. That loss will fall heavy upon the poor inhabitants, but it will be the triumph, perhaps the conflagration, of a day; after which the Prussians must look to themselves. *He* (2) is supposed to have said, upon the news of Prince Charles's return, and the manner in which the French let his Highness pass the river, *Voilà ce que c'est que de faire des traités avec des J—*. The French came to the Neckar, wondering the Duke of Wurtemberg would not join. "Prince Charles is so ruined he has not a grenadier left, and Bernclau is cut in the wood of Hagenau!" The Duke answered, that he had seen the Prince in good health two days before; that he had seen the whole army pass column by column, in the best order; that he had not perceived there was a grenadier wanting, and that, as for Bernclau, if they would be pleased to stay a little, they would find him returning back to teach them truth. Upon this the French retired, but not without threatening the Wurtembergers with corporal punishment, if they did not furnish the most exorbitant rations of all sorts. The Margrave of Baden has had the like compliments. The Court of Frankfort seems to have taken its iron sceptre into its hands. But I have the better opinion of things, as finding that they have never gone better for the good cause than at the very moment that the Court of Frankfort begins to be in spirits. So many illusions will at last open their eyes. I think I can prove by the poetical number *ter* the several distinct times that the French, the Imperialists, and the Prussians, have been for deceiving one another. Adieu, and believe me to be ever with *more* truth

Yours, etc.

T. ROBINSON.

MR. P. H. CORNABÉ TO SIR THOMAS ROBINSON.

[Coxe's Collections, vol. cvi.]

London, January 25. 1745.

The day before yesterday Sir William Yonge moved in the House of Commons that the 28,000 English in Flanders should be continued for the present year, and gave the principal reason for it in few words, excusing

(1) Prince Charles of Lorraine.

(2) The King of Prussia.

himself upon his bad state of health. Mr. Wilmington seconded him *pro formâ*, and hardly added any thing to what the Secretary at War had said; then Mr. Powlett, Lord Hinton's brother, got up and proposed that the said troops should be continued for two months only, till the resolution of the Dutch should be known. Mr. Pelham, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, made a long discourse to show the necessity of carrying on the war with vigour, in order to attain to a good peace. Speaking of the Dutch, he said, he was afraid of saying too much or too little—too much for fear he should be thought to speak without foundation, too little because they had already given the most positive assurances of seconding the King's designs, and had given proofs of their sincerity by the remittances they had made to the Elector of Cologne and to the King of Poland: he showed the danger for Flanders in general, and for its maritime towns in particular; he entered into a great detail relating to the Queen of Hungary's and the King of Sardinia's present situation; in short, he spoke for about an hour with an universal approbation, which was perceived in every body's countenance.

Sir Watkin Williams Wynn gave Mr. Pelham great praise as to his abilities and his honesty: he said he was truly an English Minister, and that for that reason he would vote for this first time for the army, and that he did not doubt but all his friends would do the same, and that the whole nation would be unanimous in it, because we must all stand or fall together, there being no medium. Sir Roger Newdigate spoke much in the same manner, and made great encomium of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Strange, Lord Derby's son, was for adjourning the debate till Lord Chesterfield had finished his negotiations: he talked *strangely* and was not minded.

Mr. Pitt made strong declarations of approving the measure proposed and supporting the new Ministry; he reflected on the late Secretary of State (1) in very severe terms; he recalled all the transactions of the three last years, and made his remarks upon them, finding fault with most things that were done; he made great compliments to Mr. Pelham and to Lord Chesterfield; insisted on the King's condescension in removing those that were grown obnoxious to his people: that out of gratitude, as well as for other reasons, the nation ought now to acquiesce in the desire of the Court; he took notice of the discredit in France, and of the good situation of the Queen of Hungary and our other Allies; of the King of Sardinia, he said that he was as immoveable as the rocks he so bravely defends; he spoke of himself as of a dying man, that came to the House purely to preserve the health of his country; he said, that for a good while he thought we were under great danger, but that now he saw a dawn, and would follow it in hopes it might bring us to salvation; he seemed extremely moved, used a good deal of gesture, employed all the figures of rhetoric, and made a great impression upon most that heard him.

Sir John Barnard vindicated Lord Granville, saying, that the last three years were the most glorious which England had seen since 1710, that that Lord's conduct would bear the strictest inquiries, and that he wished it might be examined by the House to convince people at home who were unjust to him, that all foreigners did him justice, and looked upon him as the ablest statesman we had; he grew quite warm upon this subject, and, recollecting himself, desired the indulgence of his hearers if he had gone too far.

(1) Earl Granville.

Mr. Bowes of Durham, and Lord Barrington, took him up one after the other, desired he would move for an inquiry, and they would second him; they commended the new Ministry and their plan, which they called the Old Plan, supported by wise Englishmen.

Mr. Cholmondeley, a young gentleman of Cheshire, attempted to put off the debate, but nobody minded him: the question being put by the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Fane, there was no division; Lord Strange was the only one that put a negative against it, so that this may be looked upon like a perfect unanimity: the House was very full, there being above 400 Members. It is very observable, that not one word was said of Hanover in the whole debate; but I must not dissemble to you, that some severe reflections were made against the ministry at Vienna, that retained their old pride now they were a little elated, who insisted upon acquisitions, or at least equivalents, which could not be had but at the expense of the English nation, to whom they showed ingratitude, in not being more desirous of peace, and saving the treasures of the nation. It was a glorious day for Mr. Pelham, who had the praises of every body, and whose character was extolled beyond all those that ever were in his place. Mr. Pitt's eloquence was much commended, but it is thought he cannot live long; it is said that if he recovers and outlives Sir W. Yonge, he is to have the place of Secretary at War.

HON. PHILIP YORKE TO HORACE WALPOLE (THE ELDER).

London, May 4. 1745.

Dear Sir,

It is with the deepest concern I embrace so disagreeable an occasion of writing, as that of acquainting you that we have fought a battle to save Tournay, and lost it (1).

The news came early this morning, and was soon public; for the detail of this bloody affair, we must wait the arrival of another messenger. What I have been able to learn is briefly thus:—Our army was in sight of the enemy by 8 of the clock on Tuesday morning last; the attack of their entrenchments began about seven, and lasted till half an hour after one. The right wing (composed of English and Hanoverians) behaved most gallantly, and gained thrice ground upon the enemy, but were as often repulsed by the terrible fire of several entrenched batteries, which cannonaded them in front and flank without intermission during the whole time. It is said the left, where the Dutch were, did not show the same ardour. The retreat of our right was made in good order by Sir John Ligonier, the French not pursuing a step, nor have we lost a pair of colours, but what is much worse, a great number of brave men. The brigade of Guards has suffered prodigiously: Col. Conway's company has but 24 men left; Gen. Ponsonby is killed; Sir J. Campbell has lost an arm; the Colonels Douglas (of our house), Gee, Kellet, Montague and Ross are amongst the slain: Lord Albemarle, Lord Ancram, and Lord Cathcart are wounded. The Duke's behaviour is much commended; he was in every part of the action, encouraging the men and leading them on. My brother, who attended upon him, has, thank God! escaped without a hurt. Of particular

(1) The battle of Fontenoy.

corps, it is said, the Highlanders, Guards, and Blues, distinguished themselves. What we know at present is very general and imperfect, both his Royal Highness's and Sir Everard's⁽¹⁾ letters being short; but they promise a larger account in a few days. The army is now under the canon of Ath. I dread the consequences of this disastrous opening of the campaign, and doubt the French were more numerous and better fortified than we thought them. I should be content if Tournay may be the single fruit of their successes.

It is said (but I do not know upon what grounds), that the coming up of a reinforcement, led by the Dauphin, turned the fortune of the day. Lord Dunmore and the officers who went with him had not joined the army.

I am, etc.

P. YORKE.

P. S. Lord Petersham is likewise wounded.

HON. PHILIP YORKE TO HORACE WALPOLE (THE ELDER) (2).

London, May 16. 1745.

Dear Sir,

I should not have thought of replying upon you so soon, had you not invited me to it, by saying you expected from me a further account of the action; and had I done it sooner, it would not have been easy to have added any thing material or explicit to the first advices, which resemble always the confusion of the battle itself. One must stay till the smoke is a little cleared away, before one can take a distinct view of any object. I think you very right in your judgment, that the French were *only not beat*. Our repulse was owing, not to their bravery, but their advantageous situation and the number of their batteries, from which they had an hundred pieces of cannon or upwards playing upon us without intermission. Nay, even under these difficult circumstances, the opinion of the most intelligent is, that had Ingoldsby done his duty, and the Dutch infantry behaved as gallantly as ours, there was the greatest probability of our carrying the day. I wonder the former was not superseded on the spot, and that Zastrow, who was sent to him with orders, did not take the command of his brigade, and march directly to the fort, which the enemy were beginning to desert. We might then have turned their infernal engines of death upon the artificers themselves. The Duke's behaviour was, by all accounts, the most heroic and gallant imaginable. He was the whole day in the thickest of the fire. When he saw the ranks breaking, he rode up and encouraged the soldiers in the most moving and expressive terms; called them countrymen; that it was his highest glory to be at their head; that he scorned to expose them to more danger than he would be in himself; put them in mind of Blenheim and Ramillies; in short, I am convinced his presence and intrepidity greatly contributed to our coming off so well. Nor must I omit doing justice to Ligonier, who, the Duke writes, fought like a grenadier, and commanded like a general. His Royal Highness seems determined to keep up strict discipline, and drew out a pistol

(1) Sir Everard Fawkener, Military Secretary.

(2) Two extracts from this letter are already printed in Coxe's *Memoirs of Pelham* vol. i. p. 235.

upon an officer whom he saw running away. Konigseck was run over and bruised by the Dutch cavalry in their flight, insomuch that when the army marched to Lessines, he was left at Ath. I have not heard, as yet, that the French plume themselves much upon their victory. Their accounts run in a modester strain than usual. It was certainly a dear-bought advantage. You see by the Gazette they have a great number of general officers killed and wounded; their loss of private men is said to be from 5000 to 10,000. Ligonier writes that they confess it to be the latter, but whether he means the reports of deserters, or intelligence from the French camp, I cannot tell. We may thank Count Saxe for our ill fortune. It was he advised them to erect so many batteries, and to throw up entrenchments along part of their line, against the opinion of the rest of the council of war, who were for giving us battle *en rase campagne*. Perhaps you may not have heard that the French, who are generally reckoned a polite enemy, used the prisoners whom they took at Bruffoel with great brutality, stripping the wounded, driving away the surgeons, and taking from them their instruments and medical apparatus. Sir James Campbell died in their hands the next day. Doctor Wintringham was sent to visit him by the Duke, and found him lying in a cottage within the enemy's quarters, who had not been humane enough to give him any assistance. This has occasioned a pretty warm expostulation between the Duke and Marshal Saxe, who denies knowing or authorising the behaviour of their irregular troops at Bruffoel; but, by way of recrimination, accuses us of having first violated the cartel, by detaining Belleisle.

The orders which the States have despatched for their *corps de reserve* to join the army, and for trying the delinquents, alleviate the clamour which would otherwise be raised against them, on account of the bad behaviour of several regiments, both horse and foot, in their service. One Appius, Colonel-Commandant of the regiment of Hesse Homburg, rode off upon the spur to Ath, with the greatest part of his men, in the very beginning of the action, and with an impudent folly, equal to his cowardice, wrote from thence to his masters that the allied army had engaged the French, and been totally cut to pieces, except that part which he had prudently brought off safe. I hope after the loss of so much gallant blood, exemplary justice will be done upon the guilty.

Lord Chesterfield returned last Saturday from Holland, and looks much better in his health than when he left us: eating, negotiating, and the fat air of the country, agree with him. He has concluded a treaty regulating the contingents of force and expense for this campaign. I wish it could have been for the whole war. The States agree to bring 52,000 men into the field (including their corps on the Lower Rhine) to our 40,000. In sieges they are to furnish one third, and we the rest. The expense of the land carriage of artillery is to be borne by the government in Flanders. I take it for granted they could be brought to no more, though it is a most unaccountable thing that we should be at so much trouble to persuade them into what is absolutely requisite for their own security and independence. Have you seen my Lord's speech at taking leave? It is quite calculated for the language it is writ in, and makes but an indifferent figure in English. The thoughts are common, and yet he strains hard to give them an air of novelty; and the quaintness of the expression is quite *à la Française*. You may observe it is intended to steer wide of the alert,

and military, and invective turn which reigns through Lord Stair's harangue; and so far was prudent.

Besides the three regiments of Mordaunt, Rice, and Handasyde, there is a draught of 840 men, 15 per company, made out of the Guards, which embarked on Sunday for Flanders. With these reinforcements, and what the Dutch are sending, we hope to look the enemy once more in the face; and if Tournay does but hold out, some attempt will be made, either by diversion or attack, to raise the siege.

Martin is returned as usual, *re infectâ*. People imagined he was gone to the Leeward Islands, in search of Caylus, who threatens to invade Nevis and St. Kitt's, where I doubt we are weak. There is an expectation that the Elector of Cologne will join his troops to D'Arenberg. If he does, and Bathiany's come down to the Rhine, we trust Monsieur le Prince must leave the coast clear, and that Smessart's corps, at least, may be detached for Flanders.—You see, Sir, we follow the Roman *ne cede malis sed contra audentior ito*, and really people are less dispirited with this than I expected, and full of encomiums on the gallant spirit which has shown itself in our officers and private men.

And now, Sir, I must heartily beg your pardon for this long letter — I should rather call it despatch. This I promise you, not to trouble you with one so long in haste, for I am naturally a lazy correspondent; but when the scribbling fit is upon me, it is as difficult to leave off as it was uneasy to begin. One question let me put to you, and then I have done. Why are you quite immersed in *re rustica*? Put your papers in order; write some memoirs for the instruction of your friends, or, if you will, posterity, of your own negotiations and Lord Orford's ministry. Methinks I should be loath to go down to future times either portrayed with all the features of deformity which Lord Bolingbroke's pen can give, or what is as bad, daubed over with the sign-post colouring of the Gazetteers. But I run on insensibly, and you will excuse my freedom as the strongest proof that I can give you of the regard where-with I am, etc.

P. YORKE.

HON. PHILIP YORKE TO HORACE WALPOLE (THE ELDER).

London, May 27. 1745.

Dear Sir,

Before I leave the town, and consequently the fittest field for a correspondence which is not a mere idle one, I cannot help acquainting you with a very astonishing piece of treachery, which is but too true, and which has occasioned the so early surrender of Tournay:—Mons. Hertsell, a principal engineer in the Dutch service, and who was chiefly relied upon for the defence of the place, having been gained over by the French, made his escape to their camp the third day of the siege, and has assisted them with his advice and information in carrying on their approaches. He took off with him two persons who had the care of the sluices, which they had so spoilt, before they deserted, that the Dutch had, in many places, no water at all in it. It is likewise thought that the blowing up a powder magazine, with good part of a Dutch regiment, was owing to the trains this traitor had laid before he went off. In order to disguise for some time the black contrivance, Van Hoey writ his master a Canterbury tale he had picked up at Pa-

ris, that some Frenchmen, fishing in the Scheldt, had found a dead body, which was taken up and judged for that of the above-mentioned engineer. Every body is much shocked and surprised at this perfidy in a man at the top of his profession, and esteemed as well honest as able. Perhaps you may have heard of his name (if I do not mistake it) in the last war, for both Lords Cobham and Stair say they remember him; neither is the governor's conduct approved in consenting to receive the sick and wounded into the citadel, which must create a great and useless consumption of provision, and I am afraid the supplies in it are not near sufficient for the subsistence of so numerous a garrison. Our military men say Monsieur Dort should have retired into the citadel, and left the *bouches inutiles* to the French mercy, which God knows our poor countrymen have found to be that of the wicked, which David says is cruel. Tournay, if well defended and provided, would hold the enemy at bay a whole summer, but I wish, in the present instance, it may find them work for three weeks longer. Upon receiving news of the town's being surrendered, the States sat extraordinarily from eight in the morning till night, and, I hear, sent the governor orders to hold out to the last. Surely their old spirit has quite left them, as well as their old politics, or they could not see France making such large paces towards the conquest of Flanders, without exerting their whole force, and straining every nerve to oppose her progress. It was monstrous not to have even half the quota which they have agreed to bring into the field actually there; when the battle was fought, the whole confederate army, according to the best accounts I have seen, consisted of 46 battalions, and 73 squadrons, making in all 33,000 effective men; the French, of 102 battalions and 149 squadrons, making 60,000, a terrible disproportion, considering, at the same time, how advantageously they were posted, and lined with so many batteries. We have had few particular accounts of the action: some of those first despatched were stopped on the other side of the water, and the officers write with caution and reserve. It has whispered about, that Prince Waldeck pushed us into this desperate attempt: the best thing that can be said for it now it is over here is, that our Johns love fighting for their money, and that there was no other chance for raising the siege.

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD TO MR. DAVID MALLET.

Dublin Castle, November 27. 1745.

Sir,

I have just now received the favour of your letter of the 20th, which adds to my shame, for not having sooner acknowledged your former. The truth is, that the business of this place, such as it is, is continual; and as I am resolved to do it while I am here, it leaves me little or no time to do things I should like much better; assuring you of my regard and friendship is one of those things, but though one of the most agreeable, I believe the least necessary.

I cannot comprehend the consternation which 8000 of your countrymen have, I find, thrown seven millions of mine into; I, who at this distance, see things only in their plain natural light, am, I confess, under no apprehensions; I consider a Highlander (with submission to you) as Rowe does a Lord, who, when opposed to a man, he affirms to be but a man; from which principle I make this inference, that 49,000 must beat 8000; not

to mention our sixteen new regiments, which must go for something, though in my opinion not for much. I have with much difficulty quieted the fears here, which were at first very strong, partly by contagion from England, and partly from old prejudices, which my good subjects are far from being yet above. They are in general still at the year 1689, and have not shook off any religious or political prejudice that prevailed at that time. However, I am very glad I am among them; for in this little sphere, a little may do a great deal of good, but in England they must be much stronger shoulders than mine that can do any good at that bulky machine. Pray let me hear from you as often and as minutely as you have leisure; most correspondents, like most very learned men, suppose that one knows more than one does, and therefore don't tell one half what they could, so one never knows so much as one should.

I am, etc.

CHESTERFIELD.

DUKE OF NEWCASTLE TO THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND.

[State Paper Office.]

Whitehall, December 1. 1745.

Sir,

There is a person whose real name is Broadstreet. He is very conversant with the Jacobites, and has often given me intelligences relating to them. He sets out to-morrow for the rebel army, and will send me constants accounts by the name of Oliver Williams. If your Royal Highness will send in a countryman's coat any person you can depend upon, and order him to go to the head-quarters of the rebels, and inquire for Mr. Broadstreet, an Irish gentleman, and when he sees him to speak to him by the name of Oliver Williams, he will then open himself fully to him, and acquaint him with all the discoveries he shall have been able to make of the motions and designs of the rebels.

Though I am far from being sure that this will be of any service to your Royal Highness, yet at a time like this nothing ought to be omitted that has the least appearance of if it.

I am, etc.

NEWCASTLE.

MR. BRADKEN TO SIR E. FAWKENER.

[State Paper Office.]

Warrington, December 4. 1745.

Sir,

I have been trying to pass by the rebel army ever since Friday last, in order to bring His Royal Highness what accounts and intelligence I had, as well as my own observations on the force, etc. of it.

As I live in Lancaster, and was there while the rebels passed wholly through, I apprehend my account of them may be of use, and I hope it will contribute to their total overthrow. . . . I knew all their goings on in the year 1718, and have been used to see large armies abroad, so that I made my calculations without any hurry of spirits or surprise, and I am satisfied that their foot is not 8000, one third of which are 60 years of age and upwards and under 17.

As to their horse, they were counted by me in coming in and going out with little variation, and I make them 624, but scarce such as are fit to be called horse : they are so out of order and slender-shaped.

The common soldiers are a most despicable crew, being in general low in stature, and of a wan and meagre countenance, stepping along under their arms with difficulty, and what they are about seems more of force than inclination.

I believe one might single out about one thousand fresh-looking fellows amongst their officers and soldiers : the first I find are of desperate fortunes in general, and might as well be shot or hanged as go back. There are several very old fellows who were at the battle of Sheriffmuir, in the last rebellion, and have brought their sons and grandsons along with them now ; so you will judge what kind of a show they must make, especially to a person used to the sight of troops fit for the field.

While they were at Lancaster, I happened to sup with their Duke of Athol, whom I knew in France, after he went off with the Pretender. There were at supper two Scotchmen who I found were come over from France, and had been in the service of that Crown several years, and three other young gentlemen, some of whose names were Murray. What I observed by their discourse was, that they designed to push for London, with all speed, but did not themselves know the route. The Marquis of Tullibardine went so far as saying, it would be time for Don George to march off very soon. I observed also that they magnified their numbers exceedingly, and told confounded lies about their proceedings, but to repeat that part would be tedious.

As I came from Lancaster hither, I secured several of the straggling rebels, disarmed and sent them to our gaol, so that we have about nine or ten of them safe. Upon one of the fellows, dressed like an Englishman, I seized fifty-two letters, all dated 27th November, the day they left Preston, and I designed to have carried them to Field-Marshal Wade, but finding he was on Thursday sevensnight last only four miles south of Darlington, I made a trial to pass the rebel army at or near Manchester, and finding I could not do it with safety, I went to Liverpool, and, as I am yet hindered by the bridges being pulled down, I send this express by the post.

The letters were opened on my applying to Mr. Magnall, a justice of peace in Lancashire, and those from the great ones mention their full expectations that their King and Duke will be at London before this army, which they say gives them uneasiness.

Other letters tell their friends in Scotland that their army now consists of 24,000 men, and that neither dike, ditch, nor devil can turn them ; but I hope these are no true prophets.

In general they are well armed, but I dare say most of them cannot charge quick, for their pistols are of the screw sort ; and as to the common men, very few of them have any pistols, and the target, it is plain, is more for single combat than field fighting ; so that when their army is fairly faced, it must be borne down entirely, it is so weak and light.

Their chief is about 5 foot 11 inches high, pretty strong and well built, has a brown complexion, full cheeks, and thickish lips that stand out a little. He looks more of the Polish than the Scotch breed, for he has nothing like the King they call his grandfather. He looks very much dejected, not a smile being seen in all his looks, for I walked a quarter of a

mile with him on the road, and afterwards saw him in his lodgings amongst company.

His guards were in a horrible pother at Lancaster in the night, thinking they had lost him, but he was only gone for a little walk into the garden.

As to the 52 letters which I took from the foot-post between the army and Edinburgh, they are gone to Lord Cholmondeley, who, I dare say, will forward them to the Duke of Newcastle's office.

I am practiser of physic in Lancaster. If you think proper to honour me with two lines of your receipt of this express, for which I intend to wait at Warrington, and for any orders from you that can be executed by, Sir,

Your most devoted humble servant,

HENRY BRADKEN.

ABSTRACT OF THE EXAMINATION OF MR. MURRAY, OF BROUGHTON, BEFORE
THE SECRET COMMITTEE, AUGUST 13. 1746.

[From the Papers of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke.]

Lord Traquair acquainted him in the beginning of 1743, that in 1740 an association was signed by the seven following persons, in favour of the Pretender, namely, Lord Traquair himself, the late Lord Perth, Lord John Drummond, uncle to the late Lord Perth, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, Lord Lovat, young Lochiel, and Mr. John Stuart, brother to Lord Traquair. This paper was sent to Rothe by Drummond, alias Macgregor (1), who carried at the same time a memorial to the Cardinal de Fleury, with a list of the Highland chiefs that were thought well-affected to the Pretender. Amongst them were the names of Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod. Drummond on his return to Scotland in 1741-2, acquainted Lord Traquair and the rest, that the Cardinal had received him very graciously, and promised, on encouragement from England, to send troops into Scotland, in autumn, 1742. Lord Traquair was employed in London to get this encouragement, and told the examinant afterwards, that the principal persons he had conversed with on the subject were, Sir John Hinde Cotton, Sir Watkin Wynn, and Lord Barrymore; that Dr. Barry, Colonel Cecil, and Colonel Brett were concerned as agents.

In March or April, 1743, the examinant was prevailed with, by Lord Traquair and Lochiel, to undertake a journey to Paris, in order to see whether the French assurances were to be depended on. During the short abode he made by the way in town, he talked with no Englishman whatever on the Pretender's affairs. When he arrived in France, he was introduced by Drummond and Sempill to Cardinal Tencin and M. Amelot, to whom he opened his commission, and the latter told him his master had the Pretender's interest much at heart, and would take the first opportunity of assisting him. The examinant came back to Edinburgh in the summer, and made a report of what had passed to the persons above mentioned. The scheme was, that 3000 French were to be sent to Scotland, 1500 to land at Inverness, and as many in the Western Highlands, and to

(1) Of Bohaldie.

be joined by the disaffected clans in those parts. At the same time, Marshal Saxe was to make a descent with 12,000 men near London.

About this time Drummond was a few days in London, and had meetings with Sir J. H. Cotton, W. Wynn, and Lord Barrymore, in relation to these matters, which, after the invasion was disappointed, slept awhile, till, in June, 1744, the examinant was persuaded by Lord Traquair to make a second journey to France, which he agreed to, took our army in his way, and had frequent conversations at Paris with the young Pretender, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Lord Elcho, Drummond, and Sempill. The young Pretender made no doubt of being supported by the French Court, but told him he would come though he brought but a single footman.

The examinant, on his return to Edinburgh, reconsidered the whole matter with Lord Traquair, Lochiel, and Lord Perth. The two former thought it a rash enterprise; the latter had a better opinion of it. The Laird of Macleod declared that, though he looked upon it as a desperate scheme, he would join the Pretender if he came, and he informed Murray, in April, 1745, that the Jacobites in England were well disposed, but against stirring, unless France would assist them.

The first notice which the examinant received of the young Pretender's resolution to set out for Scotland, was in June, 1745, upon which he acquainted Lochiel and Macleod with it, who both disapproved it, as rash and unseasonable, and encouraged the examinant to write dissuasive letters, which he did accordingly, but they came too late; the young Pretender landed at Arisaig, and Mr. Murray joined him, and acted as his Secretary. He knows of no letters being sent into England, but one to Lord Barrymore from Perth, written with the young Pretender's own hand. Sir Thomas Sheridan told him he had sent Hickson to talk with people in the north, but named nobody. He knows of no letters received from persons not in arms, except Lord Lovat. He was not acquainted with Sir James Stewart's negotiation at Versailles, nor with Lord Clancarty's message to France in August last. He says Sheridan was the person in principal confidence with the young Pretender, who had the correspondence with France entirely in his hands. To the best of his knowledge there was no money remitted from England to the young Pretender, and, during the whole time of their being in England, they received no message nor application from any person in it, which vexed them extremely. He does not know that any body about the Pretender had any dependence on the late Provost, nor is he acquainted with the private correspondences they might have in Edinburgh. He recollects that during the siege of Stirling Castle, Sir John Douglas came to Bannockburn, and was introduced privately to him in his chamber, that is, he was obliged to go to Stirling. Sir John was carried to his audience of the young Pretender by Sheridan, and only told him (Murray) in general, at his return, that he had a message from the Pretender's friends in England, that 10,000*l.* was deposited in London for his use, and that a messenger was setting out for France when he left it; Sir John did not tell him by whom the message was sent to France, but he concluded it was by the persons above mentioned.

At Derby, the young Pretender was singly of opinion for marching on to London, against the advice of the whole council of war; but the examinant advised him to submit to the general sense of his officers. He does not believe the rebels were above 5000 men at Derby. They had little or no intelligence from any quarter whilst they were in England. He has heard

the Duke of Beaufort named by the Pretender's friends as one that wished them well ; but he does not know of any person that corresponded with him. After the battle of Culloden, Macdonald of Lochgarry offered to lie in wait for the Duke, between Fort Augustus and Fort William, and shoot him, but the young Pretender absolutely forbade him to attempt any such thing.

The declaration of the 10th of October, 1745, was drawn up by Sheridan and Sir James Stewart.

Being shown two letters, dated Paris, one signed Drummond Macgregor, and the other G. Kelly, he acknowledged both their hands, and recollected that the first had been read over to him by Sheridan. He also said, to the best of his remembrance, the deciphering of the names over the figures was in Sheridan's hand.

These two letters are most remarkable ones, and were found amongst the papers taken at Culloden ; but where, or in what manner, I can give no account. The first was written not long after the battle of Gladsmuir, and before the march into England. The writer speaks sanguinely of the French having a real intention to support the young Pretender's cause, and says he had taken great pains to persuade his friends in England to declare themselves ; that he had, from the beginning, corresponded with the principal of them, who were connected with and trusted by all the Royalists in the kingdom, such as the Duke of Beaufort, Lord Orrery, Sir W. Wynn, Sir J. H. Cotton, and Lord Barrymore ; that the latter was much relied on, and a great deal left to his management ; that he did not doubt but, as soon as the young Pretender had made any advances in England, and shown his friends there an army able to protect them, they would flock to his standard from all quarters. He mentions his long and painful adherence to the Jacobite cause ; that he was now worn out with age and infirmities, but could have wished to have ended his life gloriously in the field, fighting with the rest of his gallant countrymen in defence of his lawful prince and the liberties of Scotland. I think this letter is addressed to the young Pretender himself.

The other is a despatch to Sheridan from Kelly, who was sent to France after the taking of Edinburgh, to represent the state of the Pretender's affairs in Scotland, and solicit succours. After mentioning the narrow escape he had from being seized at Camp Veer (1), by the Consul there, he proceeds to give an account of the conferences he had with the French ministry upon his arrival, and how strongly he had represented the necessity of their making a speedy diversion in favour of the Pretender, by a descent upon the south. He relates the particular answers he received from Marshal Noailles, the D'Argensons, and Mons. Maurepas : but the most remarkable passage is what fell from Cardinal Tencin, who expressed himself very hearty in the Pretender's interests, but complained of the backwardness of the Pretender's friends in England to appear in arms for him, and insisted that, before the embarkation then in hand was completed, Sir J. H. Cotton should give up his place, and that when his resignation was published in the Gazette, he (the Cardinal) should consider it as a sufficient pledge for his master to send his troops upon. To which Kelly answered, that it was not reasonable to expect a rising of the Jacobites here till they saw an army capable of protecting them in the island ; and as to Sir J. H. Cotton,

(1) Camp Veer, in Zealand.

his Eminence should reflect how hazardous it would be for him to resign at this juncture, since the moment after he would be sent to the Tower.

I can recollect nothing else material in the letter. Mr. Kelly flourishes a little on the esteem and affection professed by every body at Paris for the young Pretender; and compliments Sheridan on the credit he had acquired by his conduct.

These letters were read over to us at the Secret Committee, when the drawing up a Report on the Rebellion was under consideration; but for what reasons I do not well know, it was afterwards laid aside. I have reason to think, that the moderation of Mr. Pelham, and the Cabinet Ministers, then satisfied with having brought the leaders of the Rebellion to the block, and having the rest at mercy, did not choose to push inquiries further. The Tories at first seemed very angry with us for letting the names of Sir Watkin, etc., slip out of Murray's mouth; and Prowse (1), a Tory, but no Jacobite, asked Speaker Onslow, if some notice ought not to be taken of it in the House. Mr. Onslow intimated that he believed the parties concerned would not choose it. Prowse replied, "That I cannot help; others know themselves best."

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD TO MR. DAVID MALLET.

Bath, March 9. 1748.

Sir,

I am very much concerned at the continuance of your complaint, and am afraid that you increased it by the letter which you favoured me with. I shall put your eyes to that trial no more of a good while at least, for I shall be in town next Monday or Tuesday, and I hope for the rest of my life, except now and then a little excursion to this place, which always does me good. I can say to you now, without a compliment, what I could not with truth have said to you some years ago, which is, that I do not know a pair of eyes in which I interest myself so much as I do in yours. I use the word, "interest," here very properly, for it is from the use of your eyes that I expect the best employment for my own.

By this time I suppose that I am a little out of fashion, as a subject of political refinements; and that new matter has shoved me off the coffee-house tables. I own I should not have been sorry to have heard, unseen, the various speculations thrown out, and facts asserted concerning myself of late; which I dare say were full as near the truth, as those will be, which some solid historians of these times will transmit to posterity. Not one of them will allow the desire of ease and quiet to have had the least share in my determination; but on the contrary will assert that it was only the pretence of disappointed ambition. Lord Chesterfield would be Cæsar or nothing, says a spirited politician; there is something more in this affair than we yet know, says a deeper; he expects to be called again, says a third; while the silent pantomimical politician shrugs at every thing eventually, and is sure not to be disproved at last. They are all welcome; let them account for my present situation how they please, this I know, and they do not, that I feel and enjoy the comfort of it.

(1) Mr. Prowse was M. P. for Somersetshire.

Before I left London I spoke to Mr. Pelham concerning you ; he told me that he had been exceedingly pressed by Lyttleton in favour of Thomson and West. I answered that I had a great value for them both, and should be extremely sorry to hurt either, but they had already something, and could therefore, in my opinion, better wait a little than you. Our conversation ended, as all those conversations do, with general assurances on his part, that he would do for you when he could. None but he who gives these assurances can know the real value of them ; for he could not say more if he meant to realize them, and he would not say less if he did not : all that I can say is, that he shall not want a remembrancer. The situation of your affairs makes me only more anxious, but not more desirous to serve you than I was before ; as it was your merit, which I did know, and not your circumstances, which I did not know, that made me, what I ever shall be,

Your most faithful friend and servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

THE END.

NT.

JW

